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EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JUNE, 1822.

N^o. LXXIII.

ART. I. 1. *Memoirs from 1754 to 1758.* By JAMES EARL WALDEGRAVE. 4to. pp. 176. London, 1821.

2. *Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George II.* By HORACE WALPOLE, Earl of Orford. 2 vols. 4to. pp. 1140. London, 1822.

WE have been much amused with these volumes. We have derived from them no small instruction and entertainment; and we anticipate, from their appearance, a copious harvest of further historical information. The depositaries of similar manuscripts will be induced, we trust, by the example of Lord Waldegrave, to open their hoards, and impart their stores to the public; and we feel still more assured that the acrimonious strictures of Lord Orford on the characters and conduct of his contemporaries cannot long be left without reply. Many valuable papers must remain in the families of those who have suffered from his sarcasms and love of censure; and no man who respects his ancestors will suffer them to be transmitted in an unfavourable light to posterity, if he has in his hands the means of vindicating their fame. Silence will be acquiescence; and history will form her judgment of the statesmen and courtiers of George II. from the pages of Lord Orford, unless his mistakes and prejudices are corrected from materials furnished by their posterity.

It is indeed very remarkable that no part of our domestic history since the Reformation is so imperfectly known to us, as the interval between the accession of the House of Hannover and the death of George II. Of this period, remarkable for the establishment and consolidation of our present internal system of government, the traditional accounts are become faint and obscure; while the authentic memorials have

not yet appeared. Events of public notoriety are to be found, though often inaccurately told, in our common histories; but the secret springs of action, the private views and motives of individuals, the quarrels and reconciliations of parties, are as little known to us as if the events to which they relate had taken place in China or Japan.

Mr Coxe is the author to whom we are chiefly indebted for the slight knowledge we possess of this recent portion of our annals. The access he has obtained to private collections of family papers, has enabled him to throw some light on its obscurities, and to dissipate many prejudices and misrepresentations regarding it, which had been raised by faction, propagated by ignorance, and consecrated by time. But, with every acknowledgment due to so useful and industrious a collector, we cannot bestow unqualified praise on his labours. He has undoubtedly extracted much original and valuable correspondence from the papers placed at his disposal; but his selections appear to us not to have been always the most judicious. In the details of petty negotiations abroad, which had no permanent influence on affairs, the information he gives is, perhaps, unnecessarily minute; while on great questions of domestic policy, on the changes and revolutions of the ministry at home, it is often scanty and imperfect; and, to add to our disappointment, we are continually provoked by marginal references to papers, which nowhere appear in his collections. Nor does the fulness or distinctness of the narrative in his *Memoirs* compensate for the omissions in his *Correspondence*. Whether from deficiencies in the documents confided to him, or from his hasty and careless perusal of their contents, he often fails to present his readers with a clear and comprehensive statement of the transactions he relates, and seldom places a difficult or complicated subject in a correct or distinct point of view. He is, besides, unnecessarily tender where he touches on the reputations of public men; and seems as fearful of offending a statesman or politician of the time of George II. as if he were still in office, or in favour at Court. But, with all their faults, it must be admitted that, till the publication of these volumes, the compilations of Mr Coxe afforded the most valuable, and almost the sole information we possessed of English history, during the reigns of the two first Princes of the House of Hanover.

The diary of Lord Malcombe presents an admirable picture of himself, and affords an instructive lesson to future statesmen. It shows us a man of wit, eloquence, knowledge, fortune, and Parliamentary interest, without elevation of character, consistency of principle, or steadiness of conduct, breaking with all parties, trusted by none, and finally dwindling into

contempt and insignificance, by his restlessness, meanness, and duplicity. In an age eminently selfish, and occupied exclusively with grovelling objects of ambition, Dodington shone conspicuous as the most intriguing, versatile, and shameless politician of his time. It is due, however, even to that age, to add, that, among his contemporaries, he appears to have been considered in the light in which he has exhibited himself to posterity.

Glover's Memoirs are the work of a vulgar, bustling, self-important politician, imperfectly acquainted with the stories he relates, lavishing his praise and censure without justice or discrimination, injudicious in counsel, intemperate in language, enjoying the confidence of no man who was of more weight or more in the secret than himself, but occasionally flattered and listened to by leaders of parties, who were in want of his services out of doors. The sole value of his Memoirs consists in the particulars he has given us of some private deliberations of Opposition to which he was admitted. He appears to have been twice consulted by Mr Pitt—and both times we find Mr Pitt acting in utter disregard of his advice.

Of a character directly the reverse, both in substance and manner, are the Memoirs of Lord Waldegrave, the earliest, in the date of its publication, of the works that are now before us. In a style clear, plain and unaffected, with no appearance of labour or attempt at ornament, but remarkable for its ease and purity, that noble personage relates to the political transactions, in which he was a principal agent, as governor of the Prince of Wales, confidant of the King, and, by desire of the latter, negotiator in forming an administration. His account of these affairs is interspersed with anecdotes and characters of the persons with whom, in the course of them, he was brought into contact, drawn with spirit and observation, and expressed often with happiness and *finesse*. Through the whole of his narrative, there is an appearance of truth and impartiality, seldom found in those who have taken part in the political struggles they describe. But, fair and candid as Lord Waldegrave appears to have been in his nature, and discriminating and observant in his judgments of character, we must not take his portraits for perfect likenesses. It is impossible, in the situations in which he had been placed, that he should not be influenced in his opinions of the persons he describes, by their conduct towards himself. 'I will advance no facts,' he says in the commencement of his work, 'which are not strictly true, and do not mean to misrepresent any man; but will make no professions of

‘ impartiality, because I take it for granted that it is not in my power to be quite unprejudiced.’

James Earl Waldegrave, author of these Memoirs, was descended of a Catholic family, and nearly related to the House of Stuart. His grandfather, who had married a natural daughter of James II., and followed his ill advised Sovereign into exile, died at Paris. His father, having returned to England, and embraced the Protestant religion, was taken into favour by the Government, employed in various embassies abroad, and created Earl Waldegrave in 1729. The son was born in 1715; and in 1741 succeeded his father in his titles and estate. In 1743 he was appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and in 1751, Master of the Stannaries. He appears to have been a man of honourable character, amiable dispositions, and cultivated understanding, warmly attached to George II., with whom he was a personal favourite; and, through that attachment, he was engaged in the political transactions which form the subject of his Memoirs.

On the death of Frederick Prince of Wales, who had passed the greatest part of his life in opposition to his father’s government, the Princess Dowager, his widow, with great judgment and discretion, threw herself and family, without reserve, into the hands of the King, who received her advances with tenderness and affection. Ever since her arrival in England, she had conducted herself with good sense and propriety, though placed in very difficult circumstances; and the King, notwithstanding his aversion to his son, had constantly behaved to her with cordiality and kindness. ‘ When the Prince died, he gave still stronger proofs of his favour and confidence. He patronised the act by which she was appointed Regent, in case of a minority; and what was of greater importance, he suffered the Heir-apparent to remain under her sole direction. For, though preceptors and governors were chosen by the King, or rather by his ministers, they had only the shadow of authority; and the two principal, the Earl of Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich, were soon disgraced, because they attempted to form an interest independent of the mother, and presumed, on some occasions, to have an opinion of their own.’ *

Which of the parties, the mother, or the governor and preceptor, was most to blame in this rupture, so briefly noticed by Lord Waldegrave, it is not easy, nor perhaps material, to decide. On the one hand, it is clear, by the whole tenor of her conduct, that from the death of her husband, the great object of the Princess Dowager, was to obtain the government of her

* Waldegrave, 36.

son; and from the investigation set on foot it appeared, that Cresset, her confidant, 'had dealt out very ungracious epithets, both on the governor and preceptor,' * without being dismissed, or even reprimanded for his presumption. On the other hand, it is not denied that Lord Harcourt, the Prince's governor, who owed his appointment to the Pelhams, was a man totally unqualified for so important a trust; and that the Bishop of Norwich, the preceptor, 'though sincerely zealous for the 'education of the Princes,' was hot in his temper, haughty and violent to the inferior officers of the establishment, and uncourtly enough to 'thwart the Princess herself, whenever, as an 'indulgent, or perhaps a little as an ambitious mother (and this 'happened but too frequently), she was willing to relax the 'application of her sons.' † To believe the friends of the governor and preceptor, where the Bishop ventured to have an opinion of his own, it was from his anxiety for the education of his pupils, which had been scandalously neglected, or miserably conducted in the lifetime of their father; ‡ and where he and the governor attempted to form an interest independent of the mother, it was to counteract the dangerous influence of Cresset her secretary, of Stone, the subgovernor and confidant of the Duke of Newcastle, who had wormed himself into her good opinion, and of Scot, the subpreceptor, who had been recommended to her by Lord Bolingbroke. § To take our account from the opposite party, the Bishop was a conceited pedant, devoured with ambition, who had formed a plot to make the governor and preceptor the sole directors of the young Prince, and not allow his mother to have the least influence over him; and had persuaded Lord Harcourt to concur in this notable project; which the Princess was too quicksighted not to discover, and with the help of Stone and Cresset, too dexterous not to defeat. If such was the true origin of the quarrel, the Princess had the prudence to enjoy her victory, without drawing attention to the real grounds of the contest. In her conversations with Dodington, she professes her total ignorance of the motives that induced the governor and preceptor to quit her

* Orford, i, 253. In some contemporary correspondence, we find the epithets to have been no less than calling Lord Harcourt a *groom*, and qualifying the Bishop with *Bastard and Atheist* in presence of a court chaplain, who, after remonstrating against such language in vain, sent an account of it to the Bishop, and offered to make an affidavit of the fact.

† Orford, i, 248, 253.

‡ Orford, i, 69.—Melcombe, 212.

§ Melcombe, 172, 185.

family; and, while she complains of Lord Harcourt's negligence in the discharge of his duty, of his want of respect to her, of his attempts to alienate from her the affections of her children, and of his brutal conversation to them about their father; she merely says of the Bishop, that he was 'a person not very proper to convey knowledge to children,' having so little clearness in his mode of communication, 'that she did not very well understand him herself;' and describes him as fawning to herself, and querulous without reason of others.* But, whatever was the secret history of the quarrel, it is a mistake to suppose that the governor and preceptor were dismissed at the request of the mother. The charges came from them; and it is one of her complaints against them, that they tendered their resignations without giving her notice of their intentions, or stating to her their grievances before communicating them to the King.† But whoever was in fault, the King, who had still entire confidence in the Princess, though it appears, from her private conversations with Dodington,‡ that she was far from being equally satisfied with him, decided without hesitation in her favour, accepted the resignations of the governor and preceptor, and did not even admit the latter to an audience.

The only part of this squabble in which the public had an interest, was far from being satisfactorily cleared up. It was alleged against the subgovernor and subpreceptor, that they were Jacobites; and imputed to them that they had endeavoured to instil their own arbitrary and unconstitutional doctrines of government into the minds of their pupils. This was the charge of Lord Harcourt and the Bishop, laid before the King. But the Bishop was not admitted to an audience, to explain the grounds of his accusation; and Lord Harcourt expressed himself so vaguely and unintelligibly, that he made no impression on his Majesty. Certain it is, that a book in vindication of the arbitrary and illegal acts of the Stuarts found its way into the hands of the young Prince, without the knowledge of his preceptor. The subgovernor protested his innocence; but, when afterwards accused with Murray, and Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester, of having professed the most violent Jacobitism in his youth, the inquiry was stifled in the House of Lords in a manner that leaves an unfavourable impression against the accused. There were discrepancies, indeed, if not prevarications, in the evidence of Fawcett the informer; but it was proved he had

* Melcombe, 172, 189-201; 212-214, 220.

† Melcombe, 190, 198.

‡ *Ib.* 167, 170.-254, 290.

been tampered with, and it was evident he was intimidated.* It is very probable that despair of success might have converted these young Jacobites into sincere friends of the House of Hanover; but experience shows that such converts, though they transfer their allegiance from one family to another, commonly retain their old principles of government, and are therefore unfit persons to direct the education, or form the character, of a King of England, who ought to observe the spirit, as well as respect the letter, of the Constitution; and never forget that it was a straining rather than violation of the law, a disregard of the sentiments rather than an actual oppression of the people, that precipitated the Stuarts from the throne.

On the removal of Lord Harcourt, the King appointed Lord Waldegrave to be governor of the young Prince. As his predecessor had not quitted on the most amicable terms, he was kindly received at Leicester-house, the residence of the Princess-dowager and her family, and for three years was treated with so much civility, that he thought himself almost a favourite. 'I found,' says he, 'his Royal Highness uncommonly full of princely prejudices, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bedchamber women and pages of the back-stairs.' This account of the young Prince, he it observed, is confirmed by his own mother, who, in a conversation with Doddington † about this period, describes him 'as very honest, but childish, and not forward for his age, and not particularly attached to any body about him, except to his brother Edward;' which she rejoiced at, 'as the young people of quality were so ill educated, and so very vicious, that they frightened her.' We have seen a note on this passage by a contemporary hand, in which it is observed, 'that she gave him a bad opinion of every body, that no body should gain his favour from her.' But without imputing to her so odious a conduct, we should think it could hardly have escaped an intelligent mother like the Princess, that a boy between 14 and 15, who showed little disposition to learning, and no attachment to any associate of rank, except to his brother Edward, was likely to solace himself in the society of bedchamber women and pages of the back-stairs, and dissipate, in their conversation, the ennui arising from the want or disregard of better occupations.

'As a right system of education,' continues Lord Waldegrave, seemed quite impracticable, the best that could be hoped for was to

* Orford, i. 261-290. Melcombe, 190. 197-201. 219. 228-231.

† Melcombe, 171-173.

give him true notions of common things ; to instruct him by conversation rather than by books ; and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies. The next point I laboured was, to preserve harmony and union in the Royal Family ; and having free access to the closet, I had frequent opportunities of doing good offices—was a very useful apologist, whenever his Majesty was displeased with his grandson's shyness or want of attention ; and never failed to notify even the most minute circumstance of the young Prince's behaviour which was likely to give satisfaction.*

This discreet and considerate conduct of Lord Waldegrave, seemed for some time to give entire satisfaction to the Princess and her son. This appears not only from his own testimony, but from the conversations of the Princess Dowager with Dodington. In answer to the hopes expressed by that gentleman, soon after the appointment of Lord Waldegrave, that they were well pleased with their new governor, ' she replied, Yes, ' indeed ; that she was but little acquainted with him, but from ' all she saw, she had a very good opinion of him ; that he was ' very well bred, very complaisant and attentive, &c., and the ' children liked him extremely.' And on a subsequent occasion, when complaining of Lord Harcourt, she added, ' that ' all she saw of Lord Waldegrave, she liked very well.'*

The harmony and union which it was the object of Lord Waldegrave to maintain in the Royal Family, continued without any apparent interruption till the departure of the King to Hanover in 1755. We say, without *apparent* interruption ; for, it is clear from Dodington's conversations with the Princess during this outward calm, that she was inwardly dissatisfied with the King and his Ministers, though she thought it prudent to dissemble her resentment.† The grounds of her displeasure appear to have been—that her husband's debts were not paid, which, be it observed, had been contracted by his opposition to his father's government‡—that his servants had not been brought into office, which most of them had formerly quitted in order to join him in opposition§—that she herself was not sufficiently consulted or attended to by Ministers||—and that her son, a lad not 16, was still kept under subjection to governors, &c., which, it seems, he felt, though, in his brother Edward's opinion, a boy under 15, he did not resent it with proper spirit.¶

* Melcombe, 211. 220.

† Ib. 204, 205. 207. 214. 290.

‡ Ib. 168–170.

§ Ib. 167. 216. 254.

|| Ib. 214, 215.

¶ Ib. 258. 289.

In summer 1755, two events occurred that induced her Royal Highness to change entirely the line of conduct she had hitherto, ostensibly at least, pursued during her widowhood. The first was the nomination of the Duke of Cumberland to be one of the Lords Justices in the King's absence; an appointment to which the Duke of Newcastle had reluctantly consented, in consequence of strong remonstrances from the Duke of Devonshire on the dangers to which the country might be exposed in time of war, without a military officer in the government. The second was a project of marrying her son, who was now in the 18th year of his age.

The Princess had imbibed all her husband's jealousies of his brother the Duke of Cumberland, and had inspired her son, when a child, with the most cruel and unfounded apprehensions of his uncle. * The exclusion of his Royal Highness, and her own appointment to the Regency, in the event of a minority, had allayed her fears, but had not in the slightest degree abated her hatred and distrust, which, from her conversations with Dodington, appear to have been as violent as they were unreasonable. † Every disagreeable occurrence that took place in her family, she ascribed to the influence of the Duke and of his sister, the Princess Amelia, with the King; and when his Royal Highness, from his appointment as one of the Lords Justices, was left in effect at the head of the Regency in the King's absence, she thought it time to take precautions against the ambitious and unprincipled designs she falsely imputed to him.

Her first step was to renew her old connexions with Mr Pitt and his friends, who, though in office, were dissatisfied with the small share they had of power. ‡ 'This treaty,' says Lord Waldegrave, whose situation at Leicester-house gave him the best means of information, 'was negotiated by the Earl of Bute, at that time a favourite of little fame, but who has since merited a very uncommon reputation, and who is supposed to execute a most honourable office with great ability; and the substance of the treaty was, that Pitt and his friends should, to their utmost, support the Princess and her son; that they should oppose the Duke, and raise a clamour against him; and as to the King, they were to submit to his government, provided he would govern as they directed him.'

This alliance appears to have been concluded in the beginning of May 1755, soon after the departure of the King. It was followed by great coldness on the part of the Princess to

* Orford, i. 91.
217. 221. 224. 258.

† Melcombe, 161. 175. 195. 208.
‡ Waldegrave, 37. 39. App. 160.

the Duke of Newcastle, ' who had hitherto been her favourite minister, and had shown himself on many occasions a very useful friend.' To Dodington, from whom, however, she carefully concealed her reconciliation with Pitt, she desired, with the strongest expressions of contempt and dislike to his Grace, it might be understood that her ' house had no communication with Newcastle-house; ' * and when the Duke obtained an audience, in order to ingratiate himself in her confidence, she received him coldly. † Knowing the ambition and timidity of his nature, she wished to terrify him by the appearance of her displeasure, and did in fact feel dissatisfied with him for yielding to the Duke of Cumberland being left in the Regency.

But another incident that occurred during the summer, had still greater effect in alienating her Royal Highness from the Court, and engaged her much deeper in opposition than she at first intended. The King, while abroad, formed a project of marrying her son. The story, as told by Lord Waldegrave, is as follows.

' While the King was at Hanover, the Dutchess of Brunswick Wolfenbittel waited on him with her two unmarried daughters. The elder, both as to person and understanding, was a most accomplished Princess.

' The King was charmed with her cheerful, modest, and sensible behaviour; and wished to make her his grand-daughter, being too old to make her his wife. I remember his telling me with great eagerness, that had he been only twenty years younger, she should never have been refused by a Prince of Wales, but should at once have been Queen of England.

' Now, whether his Majesty spoke seriously, is very little to the purpose: his grandson's happiness was undoubtedly his principal object; and he was desirous the match might be concluded before his death, that the Princess of Wales should have no temptation to do a job for her relations, by marrying her son to one of the Saxe Gotha family, who might not have the amiable accomplishments of the Princess of Wolfenbittel.

' The King's intentions could not be long a secret in England; and it may be easily imagined that they were not agreeable to the Princess of Wales.

' She knew the temper of the Prince her son; that he was by nature indolent, hated business, but loved a domestic life, and would make an excellent husband.

' She knew also that the young Princess, having merit and understanding equal to her beauty, must in a short time have the greatest influence over him.

* Melecombe, 319. 322-327. 354.

† Waldegrave, App. 161.

‘ In which circumstances, it may naturally be concluded, that her Royal Highness did every thing in her power to prevent the match. The Prince of Wales was taught to believe that he was to be made a sacrifice, merely to gratify the King’s private interest in the electorate of Hanover. The young Princess was most cruelly misrepresented; many even of her perfections were aggravated into faults, his Royal Highness implicitly believing every idle tale and improbable aspersion, till his prejudice against her amounted to aversion itself.’

‘ From this time all duty and obedience to the grandfather entirely ceased; for though it would have been difficult to have persuaded him to have done that which he thought wrong, he was ready to think right whatever was prompted either by the mother or by her favourite.’

This account, unfavourable as it may appear to the Princess Dowager, is corroborated in material points by her own conversations with Dodington,* to whom, though only half in her confidence, she expressed, without reserve, her repugnance to the match; and stated what she must have inspired, that her son ‘ was much averse to it.’ Her objections were not to the young lady, who ‘ was said to be handsome, and to have all good qualities and abundance of wit,’ but to her mother, who was ‘ the most intriguing, meddling, satirical, sarcastical, mischief-making person in the world.’ ‘ Such a character,’ she observed, ‘ would not do with George,’—as if George had been to marry the mother, and not the daughter. She lamented pathetically her fate in having her eldest son about to be married, while she had eight younger children unprovided for,—as if they were to be left on the parish. With more reason she complained, that an affair of such importance had been transacted without her knowledge; to which an obvious answer presents itself, that the marriage, though projected, was not settled, and that the King meant in person to propose it to her on his return to England. The real reason of her dislike to the match was of course not communicated to Dodington.

The King’s stay on the Continent was protracted till the middle of autumn; and before his return, a thorough coalition had taken place between Leicester House and the discontented members of his government. Finding, on his arrival, how much his grandson had been prejudiced against a marriage which he had projected for his happiness, he good naturedly gave up the point at once; and though mortified at the disappointment, by not proposing the match, did not even put the young man to the pain of refusing him.

* Melcombe, 354–356.

The breach between the King and Leicester-house was now complete. It had begun in April, and been gradually widening during the summer. Lord Waldegrave's situation about the Prince had no share in producing it. No dislike had been shown to him, no complaint had been made of his conduct, while 'the behaviour of the Princess to the King had been 'wise and dutiful, while she considered him as her protector, 'benefactor and friend, and while she took no step of any consequence without his approbation.' But when the scene began to change, it was impossible that Lord Waldegrave should not suffer from the progress of the rupture. His good offices with the King were no longer wanted. The personal favour and confidence he enjoyed with his sovereign, made it hopeless to engage him in the new cabals. It had been remarked by the Princess, that he had been present at the council, when the Duke of Cumberland was placed in the Regency. The immediate fruit of this observation was, that though he had been near three years in her family, and had been treated by her with so much civility that he thought himself almost a favourite, she now of a sudden pretended she did not even know him; and though Stone had at one time possessed her favour, yet having lately recommended the promotion of Mr Fox, an adherent of the Duke of Cumberland, the same forgetfulness was extended to him. He was such a man, 'that if she were to 'live forty years in the same house with him, she should never 'be better acquainted with him than she was.'* It was, indeed, her obvious policy to remove every person from about her son, who did not enter into her views. With respect to the Governor, the system adopted was, to provoke him to some hasty, imprudent action, which might oblige him to quit his station, and make way for the advancement of Lord Bute, who was become equally a favourite with the son and with the mother. 'However,' says Lord Waldegrave, 'they could not 'find even the slightest pretence for showing any public marks 'of their displeasure; and though some hard things were said 'to me in private, I always kept my temper, giving the severest answers in the most respectful language; and letting 'them civilly understand, that I feared their anger no more 'than I deserved it; and though it might be in their power to 'fret me, I was determined not to be in the wrong.' It was during these bickerings that Lord Waldegrave made his first confidential communications to Mr Fox on the intrigues and

* Melcombe, 357, 6th August 1755.

cabals he was compelled to witness at Leicester-house;* and in the King's absence, when such machinations were forming against his tranquillity and peace, there seems no person to whom they could with greater propriety have been communicated, than to one of his Lords Justices. Lord Waldegrave, be it remembered, was no follower or partisan of Mr Fox. He had been employed in the preceding summer by the King to negotiate between that gentleman and the Duke of Newcastle, 'because he belonged to neither of them, but was a well-wisher to both.'

The treatment Lord Waldegrave now received at Leicester House, determined him to retire from the Prince's service as soon as he could obtain permission from the King. 'Even in the best of times,' he says, 'I had found little satisfaction in my most honourable employment; and my spirits and patience were at length so totally exhausted, that I could have quitted his Royal Highness, and have given up all future hopes of court preferment, without the least regret or uneasiness. But, being under the greatest obligations to the King, the many favours I had received, having been conferred by him only, without any ministerial assistance; I thought it would be ungrateful as well as impolitic, to abandon my station without his Majesty's consent.'

The avowal that Lord Waldegrave makes of his motives and feelings on this occasion, appears to us frank, direct, and unaffected. He makes no pretence to extraordinary virtue or loftiness of spirit. He regards the King as his friend and patron; and from interest as well as gratitude, is disinclined to offend him. He attempts not to disguise his indignation at the unworthy usage he received at Leicester House; but as he had accepted his employment there in obedience to the King's wishes, so he had never looked to his young pupil, but to the King himself, for the advancement of his fortune. While he contributed to the tranquillity of his Sovereign by assisting to maintain harmony in the Royal family, he was content to retain his situation, though it afforded him little satisfaction. But when circumstances, in which he had no concern, had produced a rupture, he was anxious to quit, as soon as he could obtain the consent of his royal master and benefactor.

* The information from Lord Waldegrave, which Mr Fox conveys to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in his letter of the 16th July 1755 (*Wald. App.* 160.), is evidently the same that he hints to Dodington on the 21st July, as having been received from a person with whom he had the first confidential conference since he saw Dodington last.—*Melcombe*, 337, 342.

That consent he at length with difficulty obtained; and as a reward 'for having incurred the displeasure of Leicester-house 'on account of his attachment to the King,' he had the reversion of a Tellership given to him by his Sovereign, in lieu of a pension of 2000*l.* a year pressed upon him by the Minister, which he refused to accept. It is a proof of the sincerity of his wishes to retire from the court of the Heir-apparent, that when matters were accommodated between the King and his grandson, he declined to be Master of the Horse to the latter, though it was offered to him by the Princess Dowager with consent of her son.

That he was soured, and perhaps prejudiced against the inmates of Leicester-house, by their conduct to himself in the last months of his service, is not improbable; but during the worst period of their ill usage of him, he had an opportunity of showing, that however offended, he was not blinded by his resentment. When it was discussed in Council, whether the King should comply with the request of his grandson, to have Lord Bute appointed Groom of the Stole, in the new establishment provided for him when he became of age, Lord Waldegrave was the only person present who recommended an immediate compliance with the request.

It was the reluctance of the King and his ministers to this appointment, and the repugnance of the young prince to quit his mother and live at St James's, in a manner befitting his rank and prospects, that occasioned the delay of a few months after his majority, in completing his establishment. Lord Waldegrave had no concern in that delay, and before the new establishment was settled, had obtained the King's consent to quit his Royal Highness's service.

Within a few months after his retreat from the service of the Heir-apparent, Lord Waldegrave was selected by the King, in very difficult circumstances, to form an administration. His Majesty had rashly and abruptly dismissed Mr Pitt and his friends, in the midst of a war, without having provided successors to replace them; and the Duke of Newcastle, after much shuffling and changing, had refused to undertake the government, unless they were recalled to office. In this desperate situation, Lord Waldegrave was called upon by the King to form a ministry, and, though sensible of the difficulties of the enterprise, he was induced, in compliance with the wishes and entreaties of his Sovereign, to make the attempt. In this negotiation, of which he has given a circumstantial and entertaining account, strongly illustrative of the principal personages of that period, he ultimately failed; but retired from it with honour to

himself, and signal marks of the King's approbation. From that time, he appears to have taken no active part in public affairs. In 1763, he was solicited by his old enemies, the Leicester-house faction, to coalesce with them and Mr Fox, in opposition to the Duke of Cumberland, the old Whig families, and Mr Pitt, but refused the offers made to him; and was next day seized with the small-pox, of which he died on the 8th of April 1763, having completed the 48th year of his age. An interesting account of his last illness and death is given by Lord Orford in his letters to Mr Montague.

Though a man of strict honour and exemplary private worth, Lord Waldegrave belonged to that description of persons, known in our practical constitution by the name of the King's friends,—persons unconnected with political parties, and, in general, destitute of parliamentary interest or abilities, who look for honours and preferments to Royal patronage alone. It is perhaps impossible, in a monarchy, that persons of that description should not be found. In arbitrary governments they are often placed at the head of public affairs, with neither virtues nor talents to justify their elevation. In a monarchy like ours, they are commonly confined to inferior and subordinate situations. A step in the Peerage, or a place in the Household, is the utmost height to which their ambition usually aspires. By associating themselves with men of higher views and greater capacities, they sometimes contribute, by their intrigues, to form or subvert an administration. But when the change is once effected, they descend to their natural level, and are content with acting under those to whose rise they have contributed. It must be owned, that Lord Waldegrave appears to have been one of the best and most unexceptionable of this class of persons; and, as the Editor of his *Memoirs* has justly remarked in his preface, it reflects no small credit on the discernment and liberality of George II., that in chusing a private friend, 'he selected a man of sense, honour, and sincerity, who had few exterior graces to recommend him; and at a period of no unreasonable alarm, placed him, though a near relation to his competitor for the Crown, immediately about his own person.' Lord Waldegrave appears to have returned the confidence and partiality of his Sovereign with affection and sincere attachment; but though grateful for his master's kindness, and warmly devoted to his interests, he appears, from the concluding sentence of his *Memoirs*, to have felt and appreciated, though he endured, the misery of his situation, who, from interest or ambition, seeks for honour and promotion, by depending on the favour and partiality of one so much his superior as his present or his future Sovereign.

‘ I have now finished,’ says he, ‘ my relation of all the material transactions wherein I was immediately concerned ; and though I can never forget my obligations to the kindest of masters, I have been too long behind the scenes—I have had too near a view of the machinery of a Court, to envy any man either the power of a minister, or the favour of Princes.

‘ The constant anxiety, and frequent mortifications, which accompany ministerial employments, are tolerably well understood ; but the world is totally unacquainted with the situation of those whom fortune has selected to be the constant attendants and companions of Royalty, who partake of its domestic enjoyments and social happiness.

‘ But I must not lift up the veil ; and shall only add, that no man can have a clear conception how great personages pass their leisure hours, who has not been a Prince’s governor or a King’s favourite.’

As a specimen of Lord Waldegrave’s talents for portraiture, a species of writing in which he excels, we shall select the sketch he has left us of his Royal Pupil, in which, if we are not mistaken, our readers will not fail to recognise the characteristic traits of their late Sovereign, King George III.

‘ The Prince of Wales is entering into his 21st year ; and it would be unfair to decide upon his character in the early stages of life, when there is so much room for improvement.

‘ His parts, though not excellent, will be found very tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised.

‘ He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable.

‘ When he had a very scanty allowance, it was one of his favourite maxims, that men should be just before they were generous ; his income is now very considerably augmented, but his generosity has not increased in equal proportion.

‘ His religion is free from all hypocrisy, but is not of the most charitable sort ; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbour.

‘ He has spirit, but not of the active kind ; and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy.

‘ He has great command of his passions, and will seldom be wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right ; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent, and has strong prejudices.

‘ His want of application and aversion to business would be far less dangerous, was he eager in the pursuit of pleasure ; for the transition from pleasure to business is both shorter and easier than from a state of total inaction.

‘ He has a kind of unhappiness in his temper, which, if it be not conquered before it has taken too deep a root, will be a source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not

break out with heat and violence ; but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet ; not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill humour. Even when the fit is ended, unfavourable symptoms very frequently return, which indicate, on certain occasions, that his Royal Highness has too correct a memory.

‘ Though I have mentioned his good and bad qualities, without flattery and without aggravation, allowances should still be made on account of his youth and his bad education : for, though the Bishop of Peterborough, now Bishop of Salisbury, the preceptor : Mr Stone, the sub-governor ; and Mr Scot, the sub-preceptor, were men of sense, men of learning, and worthy, good men, they had but little weight and influence. The mother and the nursery always prevailed.

‘ During the course of the last year, there has, indeed, been some alteration : the authority of the nursery has gradually declined, and the Earl of Bute, by the assistance of the mother, has now the entire confidence. But whether this change will be greatly to his Royal Highness’s advantage, is a nice question, which cannot hitherto be determined with any certainty.’

In one respect, it will be said, the likeness entirely fails between the Boy we have here delineated, and the Man we have since known, matured by age and experience. So far from wanting application and being averse to business, his late Majesty was most exact and assiduous in despatching the affairs that passed through his hands. Lord Waldegrave seems to have been aware that such a change in the character of his pupil was not impossible. In a manuscript copy of his Memoirs, discovered since the publication of the printed work, but written before the accession of his late Majesty to the throne, there occurs the following passage at the end of the preceding sketch, which we have permission to add, though not contained in the printed work.

‘ Be that as it will hereafter, when the Prince shall succeed to his grandfather, there may possibly be changes of greater consequence. He will soon be made sensible that a Prince who suffers himself to be led, is not to be allowed the choice of his conductor. His pride will then give battle to his indolence ; and having made this first effort, a moderate share of obstinacy will make him persevere.’ Lord Waldegrave then goes on to add—‘ His honesty will incline to do what is right, and the means cannot be wanting, where a good disposition of mind is joined with a tolerable capacity : for a superior genius does not seem to be a *sine qua non* in the composition of a good king.’

Never was prophecy more exactly fulfilled than the first part of the preceding paragraph. If there was one quality more

characteristic than another of his late Majesty, in his Royal capacity, it was a determination not to be led in the choice of his ministers. If there was any doctrine to which he adhered with pertinacity, it was to the principles of that party in our Constitution who hold that the King ought to have the free and unfettered choice of his servants. At times he was compelled, by the calamities and misfortunes of his reign, to intrust with his affairs an administration formed in repugnance to his wishes. But his pride never forgave the violence to his dignity. Continually on the alert, he watched his opportunity; and no indolence ever interfered to prevent his availing himself of the first occasion that offered to regain what he considered the brightest flower of his prerogative.

We cannot conclude our remarks on these Memoirs, without stating as our opinion, after a careful, and, we trust, impartial consideration of the conduct of Lord Waldegrave, that he appears to us to have behaved in the most fair and honourable manner to his pupil and to the Princess Dowager. While they were disposed to remain on friendly terms with the King, he did them all the good offices in his power. When they leagued themselves with persons in opposition to his Majesty's government, he still endeavoured to do as little harm as possible, and made use of every opportunity to soften and alleviate what appeared amiss. But he owed a superior duty to the King; and, having been intrusted by his Royal Master with the charge of his grandson, it was his duty, when required, to give information to his Majesty of what passed at Leicester-house; and, to use his own words, if 'it had been his intention to deceive the King, even in that case it would have been absurd to have denied those things which might be seen at every drawingroom, and were the subject of conversation at every coffeehouse.' When the Princess Dowager engaged her son, a boy of seventeen, to set his grandfather at defiance, it was natural she should wish to remove from her household a person whose perspicacity she could not blind, and whose fidelity she could not shake. But it would be unjust to blame Lord Waldegrave for doing his duty to his Sovereign, and keeping aloof from intrigues of which he could not participate or approve.

Lord Waldegrave has certainly alluded to the rumours then generally prevalent about Lord Bute and the Princess Dowager. Whether the suspicions then current were founded or not, we have neither curiosity to inquire, nor means to ascertain. That they afterwards gave occasion to much gross and popular ribaldry, is undoubted; but, long before they descended to the rabble, they had been the topic of conversation among

their superiors. They are mentioned by Lord Orford * in still plainer language than by Lord Waldegrave; and allusions to them, we venture to say, will be found in the private correspondence of all the distinguished politicians of that time. They may have been false, but they appear to have been universally credited.

Lord Orford, to whose *Memoires* we must now proceed, was of a character very different from Lord Waldegrave, and not more dissimilar as a man than as an author. Of one so well known as Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, it seems almost superfluous to give any account. He was the youngest son of the celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, and was born in 1717. After finishing his education at Cambridge, he went abroad in 1739, and returned to England within a few months of the close of his father's long and fortunate administration. He was brought into Parliament in 1741; and he continued to have a seat in that Assembly till 1768, when he retired from public life. He succeeded his nephew as Earl of Orford in 1791, and died in 1797, in the 80th year of his age. His works were collected and published soon after his death, in five volumes 4to, to which two volumes of Letters have since been added. A separate and very convenient edition of his Letters, arranged according to dates, has been published in four volumes 8vo. Whatever may be thought of his other works, his Letters are deserving of unqualified commendation. They are full of wit, pleasantry, and information, and are written with singular neatness and sprightliness.

Mr Walpole took no prominent part in public affairs; but he was eager and active in politics, and, though destitute of ambition, he supplied the want of it by a meddling restlessness of character,—a propensity, as he calls it, to faction, and strong dislikes to particular persons. His uniform regard for Mr Conway, shows he was not incapable of steady friendship; but, in general, his attachments, though warm while they lasted, were changeable and uncertain. To share in his antipathies and resentments, was a surer passport to his favour, than to participate in his friendships or opinions. His political creed was that of the Whigs of his day, who differed from the Tories and the Jacobites chiefly in their Low Church principles, in their dread and hatred of the Stuarts, and in their attachment to the House of Hanover. In the mind of Mr Walpole, the opinions of his party were mixed up with a sort of speculative republicanism, which could lead to no results, and therefore

* Orford, 2. 28. 221. 302.

never influenced his conduct, though it sometimes gives a tinge to his reflections. As a public man, he was too much governed by his passions; and, though personally disinterested, was too apt, for the accomplishment of his ends, to dip in underhand intrigues and double negotiations. As an historian, his principal merit is the minute information he gives of the characters and motives of the persons with whom he acted; and his chief defect, an unjust propensity to satire, and disposition to refer to mean or interested motives the conduct of every man opposed to him, or connected with persons he disliked. He was a gossip, and therefore credulous; and though meaning to be honest, he was a humorist, and therefore guided, and often misled, in his judgments of character, by his own little passions and caprices. He has much wit, and relates anecdotes with neatness and point; but, as compositions, his historical works are inferior to his Letters. Their style is in general laboured and antithetical—often obscure, and sometimes unintelligible. He is continually in search of some unusual and striking turn of expression; and where plain language would serve his purpose, he clothes his meaning in stiff, affected phrases, that neither convey it clearly, nor express it with precision.

With all his defects of temper and littlenesses of character, he appears, however, on general questions, to have had a soundness of thinking, and rectitude of judgment, which led him, on many occasions, to anticipate the decisions of posterity. Referring our readers, in illustration of this remark, to his observations * on capital punishments, and on the silent but steady growth of power in the Crown, we shall add, from his unpublished correspondence, a passage on the African slave-trade, that does equal honour to his head and to his heart. In a letter of the 25th of February 1750, he writes to his correspondent—
 ‘ We have been sitting this fortnight on the African Company.
 ‘ ~~We~~ We, the British Senate, that temple of liberty, and bulwark
 ‘ of Protestant Christianity, have this fortnight been considering
 ‘ methods to make more effectual that horrid traffick of selling
 ‘ negroes. It has appeared to us, that six-and-forty thousand
 ‘ of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone!
 ‘ —It chills one’s blood—I would not have to say that I voted
 ‘ for it, for the continent of America! The destruction of the
 ‘ miserable inhabitants by the Spaniards was but a momentary
 ‘ misfortune, that flowed from the discovery of the New World,
 ‘ compared to this lasting havoc which it brought upon A-
 ‘ frica. We reproach Spain; and yet do not even pretend the

* Orford, 224. 326.

‘ nonsense of butchering these poor creatures for the good of
‘ their souls ! ’

Before entering on the consideration of Lord Orford’s *Memoires*, it may not be improper to take a short review of the times preceding the period when he begins his work.

The accession of the House of Hanover divided England into two parties—the Whigs, or friends of the new establishment; and the Tories and Jacobites, its secret or avowed opponents. The Tories, bigotted to the notion of indefeasible right in the succession to the Crown, but apprehensive for their religion if a Papist should mount the Throne, were distracted between their scruples about the validity of a Parliamentary settlement, and their fears, lest, in subverting it, they might restore, or pave the way for the restoration of, the Catholic church. Though deterred by their religious fears from embarking decidedly in the cause of the Pretender, they kept on terms with his friends, and were not unwilling to disturb, though they hesitated to overturn, a government they disliked, because it was founded on principles they abhorred. The Jacobites, though most of them were zealous members of the Church of England, had a stronger infusion of bigotry in their composition, and were ready to restore a Popish family, and submit to a Popish Sovereign, rather than own a government founded on a Parliamentary title. It was impossible that either Tories or Jacobites should have the confidence of the Hanoverian Princes; and therefore, while those divisions subsisted, all places of power and profit were in the hands of the Whigs.

Of these two parties, the Tories and Jacobites were the most numerous. They included a certain number of the ancient nobility, and comprehended a very large proportion of the landed interest; and, what gave them in those days a prodigious influence over the common people, a vast majority of the parochial clergy. The University of Oxford was at that time, as it was long after termed by Lord Chatham, a seminary of treason; and its members, dispersed over the kingdom in their different capacities of squires and parsons, retained in their several destinations the zeal and bigotry they had imbibed from their nurse. It may appear surprising, that a party so formidable by its numbers, its influence and its property, should have failed of success. The true solution of the enigma is perhaps given by Lord Orford in his character of Lord Elibank and his brother. * ‘ Both
‘ were such active Jacobites, that if the Pretender had succeeded,
‘ they could have produced many witnesses to testify their zeal for

* Orford, i. 15.

‘ him ; both so cautious, that no witnesses of actual treason could be produced by the government against them ; the very sort of Jacobitism that has kept the cause alive, and kept it from succeeding.’ If treasonable toasts, drunken bouts, election brawls, mobbing of Dissenters, and idle correspondence, could have brought back the Pretender, the Stuarts would have been restored. But, as the views of the party were irrational, so the zeal of its adherents had more of bluster than firmness in its ingredients. When their spirit was tried by the bold attempt from Scotland to establish their cause by arms, the success of the rebels only showed the incapacity of the rival government, and the prudence or faint-heartedness of their English friends.

As a favourable specimen of these Memoirs, we shall take this opportunity of extracting the description given by Lord Orford of the old Pretender, and of his court and family. His opportunities of personal observation, be it remembered, were confined to his first travels abroad, between 1739 and 1741. The sketch may be a caricature, but it is spirited.

‘ The Chevalier de St George is tall, meagre, melancholy in his aspect. Enthusiasm and disappointment have stamped a solemnity on his person, which rather creates pity than respect. He seems the phantom, which good nature, divested of reflection, conjures up, when we think on the misfortunes, without the demerits, of Charles the First. Without the particular features of any Stuart, the Chevalier has the strong lines and fatality of air peculiar to them all. From the first moment I saw him, I never doubted the legitimacy of his birth,—a belief not likely to occasion any scruples in one whose principles directly tend to approve dethroning the most genuine prince, whose religion, and whose maxims of government are incompatible with the liberty of his country.

‘ He never gave the world very favourable impressions of him. In Scotland, his behaviour was far from heroic. At Rome, where to be a good Roman Catholic, it is by no means necessary to be very religious, they have very little esteem for him : it is not at Rome that they are fond of martyrs and confessors. But it was his ill-treatment of the Princess Sobieski, his wife, that originally disgusted the Papal Court. She, who to zeal for Popery had united all its policy, who was lively, insinuating, agreeable, and enterprising, was fervently supported by that Court, when she could no longer endure the mortifications that were offered to her by Hay and his wife, the titular Counts of Inverness, to whom the Chevalier had entirely resigned himself. The Pretender retired to Bologne, but was obliged to sacrifice his favourites, before he could reestablish himself at Rome. His next Prime Minister was Murray, nominal Earl of Dunbar, brother of the Viscount Stormont, and of the celebrated Solicitor-General. He was a man of artful abilities, graceful in his person

and manner, and very attentive to please. He had distinguished himself before he was of age, in the last Parliament of Queen Anne, and chose to attach himself to the unsuccessful party abroad, for whose reestablishment he had cooperated. He was, when still very young, appointed Governor to the young Princes; but growing suspected by the warm Jacobites of some correspondence with Sir Robert Walpole, and not entering into the favourite project of Prince Charles's expedition to Scotland, he thought fit to leave that Court, and retire to Avignon, where, while he was regarded as lukewarm to the cause, from his connexion with the Solicitor-General here, the latter was not at all less suspected of devotion to a Court where his brother had so long been first Minister.

'The characters of the Pretender's sons are hitherto imperfectly known; yet both have sufficiently worn the characteristics of the House of Stuart, bigotry and obstinacy, and want of judgment. The eldest set out with a resolution of being very resolute, but it soon terminated in his being only wrong-headed.

'The most apparent merit of the Chevalier's Court, is the great regularity of his finances, and the economy of his exchequer. His income, before the rebellion, was about 23,000*l.* a year, arising chiefly from pensions from the Pope and from Spain, from contributions from England, and some irregular donations from other Courts. Yet his payments were not only most exact, but he had saved a large sum of money, which was squandered on the unfortunate attempt in Scotland. Besides the loss of a Crown, to which he thought he had a just title—besides a series of disappointments from his birth—besides that mortifying rotation of friends, to which his situation has constantly exposed him, as often as faction and piques and baffled ambition have driven the great men of England to apply to, or desert, his forlorn hopes, he has, in the latter part of his life, seen his own little Court, and his parental affections torn to pieces, and tortured by the seeds of faction, sown by that master-hand of sedition, the famous Bolingbroke, who insinuated into their councils a project for the Chevalier's resigning his pretensions to his eldest son, as more likely to conciliate the affections of the English to his family. The father, and the ancient Jacobites, never could be induced to relish this scheme. The boy and his adherents embraced it as eagerly as if the father had really had a Crown to resign. Slender as their cabinet was, these parties divided it; and when I was at Rome, Lord Winton was a patriot at that Court, and the ragged type of a minority, which was comprehended in his single person.' *

While the Tories and Jacobites engrossed so large a portion of the clergy and country gentlemen, the strength of the Whigs lay in the great aristocracy, in the corporations, and in the trading and moneyed interests. The Dissenters, who held Popery

* Oxford. i. 249—252.

in abhorrence, and dreaded the overbearing spirit of the Church, were warmly attached to a government that protected their religious liberty, and, as far as it durst, extended to them every civil right. It has, perhaps, been fortunate in its results for England, that her Church was for so many years in hostility to her Government. It was during this temporary dissolution of the vaunted alliance between Church and State, that religious freedom, such as it exists among us, struck so deep and vigorous a root as to withstand every subsequent effort to blighten or subvert it. * It was during this period that annual indemnity bills were introduced, which, though they have left the stigma, have taken from the Test Act its sting; and it was during the same period that the Toleration Act received in practice that liberal interpretation, which extends its benefits to every possible sect of Christians, the unhappy Catholic only excepted, who was then equally hated by both parties, and is still most unreasonably excluded, both in law and practice, from the most valuable privileges of an Englishman.

This protracted struggle between the adherents of the House of Hanover and the partisans of the Stuarts, was not, however, unattended with disadvantages. It confounded for a time, the antient distinctions of Whig and Tory, which had turned on constitutional differences of real and eternal importance, and converted two political sects or parties into two factions contending for the Crown. The Tories, forced to remain in perpetual opposition to the Government, learned to ape the language, and ended by adopting many of the opinions, of their adversaries. The Whigs, believing the preservation of their liberties depended on the maintenance of the Parliamentary settlement of the Crown, and finding themselves a minority in the country, were constrained to employ measures and sanction proceedings, from which their ancestors would have recoiled. To counteract the local influence of the gentry, they practised and encouraged corruption both within Parliament and without; and thus turned against their enemies the weapon they had invented under the Stuarts. To suppress tumults of the rabble, instigated by the vehicles of Tory sentiments annually exported from Oxford, and dispersed over the kingdom, they armed the magistrates with additional, and, till then, unknown powers;

* Every one must recollect the last attempt (in 1811) to infringe on our religious liberties, which was defeated by the activity and spirit of the Dissenters, and by the moderation of the heads of the Church, who refused to countenance the dark and insidious scheme to undermine the Magna Charta of religious freedom.

and to defeat the enterprises of foreign princes; acting in conjunction with the disaffected at home, they maintained a standing army in time of peace.

But, though the Government was at this time in the hands of the Whigs, they were not, as Lord Waldegrave observes, 'united in one body, under one general, like a regular and well-disciplined army; but might more aptly be compared to an alliance of different clans, fighting in the same cause, professing the same principles, but influenced and guided by their different chieftains.'

The first schism of importance in the Whig party, took place soon after the accession of George I. Lords Sunderland and Stanhope were leaders of one division; Sir Robert Walpole and his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, of the other. The latter ultimately triumphed; and, though the greater part of Lord Sunderland's friends were received into favour, a small part remained out, and formed the nucleus of that formidable opposition, which, after twenty years unwearied efforts against Sir Robert Walpole, finally overturned his administration. The leader of this party in the House of Lords was Lord Carteret, afterwards Lord Granville, a man of superior genius and eloquence, but rash, imprudent, and overbearing. Their leader in the House of Commons was Mr Pulteney, originally a friend of Sir Robert Walpole, but, from some imaginary slight or casual neglect, transformed into the bitterest of his enemies. With this body of discontented Whigs, the Tories, under Sir William Wyndham, and the Jacobites under Shippen, usually acted. The views of these several parties were different, but they all concurred in their hostility to the Minister. The Whigs meant to succeed him. The Tories had no definite object, but opposed him as the most formidable enemy of their party. The Jacobites, who dreaded, and had felt his vigilance, regarded him as the firmest and ablest support of the Protestant establishment, and considered his removal as the first and most necessary step to the restoration of the Stuarts. The activity and industry of Bolingbroke contributed to bring and keep together these discordant materials, and his genius supplied them with a plausible creed, which gave to their exertions the semblance of a public principle. Their union, however, even in the hottest period of their opposition, was more apparent than real. The more scrupulous Whigs were often alarmed and scandalized by the language of Shippen and his associates; and the old Tories sometimes refused to vote on questions of prerogative, which, though in perfect unison with the sentiments of their new allies, were at variance with the opinions formerly maintained by their party.

As a minister, whose business was to uphold the Protestant succession, the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole is beyond all praise. By his judicious, though profuse application of the secret service money, he had early intelligence of all the schemes of the Jacobites, and was able to defeat them before they were ripe for execution. But humane, both from character and policy, he was satisfied with frustrating their plans, without punishing their treasons; and even after the detection of an extensive and formidable conspiracy, he was content with banishing the factious priest, who was the soul of it, instead of sending him, as our modern politicians would have done, to the scaffold. Though the minister of a free country, where the authority of the magistrate is strictly limited by law, and though surrounded by secret and avowed enemies of the new establishment, constituting a clear majority of the nation, he maintained his Master on the throne, without any considerable or permanent extension of the powers of Government, and with rare and but short suspensions of the liberties of the subject.

As leading minister in the cabinet, the great and transcendent merit of Sir Robert Walpole was his love of peace, which for twenty years he preserved, with very slight and transient interruptions, through every change in the political state of Europe. If he was involved to a greater extent than the interests of England required in the labyrinth of German politics, if he was seduced into some treaties of subsidy, productive of nothing but expense, it must be considered, that his dependence was on Sovereigns who had German passions nearest to their hearts; and that if a people *will* have a King, they *must* expect to make occasional concessions to his personal wishes and predilections. The best minister is the one who submits to such sacrifices as rarely, and to as small an extent as possible. That Sir Robert Walpole merited this praise, we have the testimony of Mr Pitt, his enemy when in power, his admirer afterwards. ‘Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole,’ said that great orator and statesman, when arguing against some German job of their successors, ‘withstood Hanover. The latter was a truly English minister, and kept a strict hand on the closet;—as soon as he was removed, the door was flung open.’ *

As a man, Sir Robert Walpole appears to have been frank, open, cheerful, bold, firm, undismayed by dangers, despising invectives, steady to his friends and party, an undisguised, but not inveterate enemy, honest in his objects, too little scrupulous in his means, fond of power, over-jealous perhaps of the favour

* Orford, i. 176.

of his Sovereign, and too fearful of rivals to admit men of talents to a fair participation in his government. As a minister acting on Whig principles, his character is more problematical. We have already alluded to the corruption he was compelled to practise, in order to counteract the hostility of determined enemies to the new establishment. To his fears of endangering the Protestant succession must also be attributed his caution with respect to the Test Act. The church was Tory, if not Jacobite. He had felt its power in the trial of Sacheverell, and was unwilling to rouse a cry which had nearly brought back the Pretender. Instead of repealing a persecuting statute, he was therefore content, by an indirect device, to withdraw its victims from their foes. It has thus happened twice to the Protestant Dissenters to be sacrificed to the Protestant religion. In the time of Charles II., they consented to an act of self-immolation, in order to obtain security for the country against the accession of a Popish Prince to the throne; and when a friend of religious liberty was in power, their hopes of relief were postponed, rather than endanger the Protestant establishment. But it was not merely by his acts that Sir Robert Walpole injured the cause of constitutional liberty, which it had been the object of his early life to defend. He succeeded to the ministry at a time when political violence was at its height, and when a numerous party, full of rage and disappointment, was disposed, from passion as well as opinion, to engage in designs hostile to the establishment he was bound to protect. The course he took to allay these heats, and abate the warmth and violence of party feelings, was to deride the excesses, and expose the false pretences of patriotism, in a strain of good-humoured indifference, and easy, though coarse, jocularities, which contaminated the spirit of the country, while it softened the bitterness of faction. Not content with trading for numbers, and defending his measures by the majorities he had purchased, he chose to proclaim aloud the corruption he had spread, and boast, that of all his opponents, Shippen was the only man whose price he did not know. These arts answered his immediate purpose; but they lowered the tone of public feeling, induced a general laxity of political principle, and eradicated or impaired those high and lofty sentiments of honour and virtue, on which the security of freedom, and the greatness of nations, mainly depend. The effects of this change in the English character are lamentably seen in the portion of history recorded by his son. It required the spirit and genius of Lord Chatham to counteract the lethargic effect produced in our Councils by Sir Robert's long course of soporifics; it was not

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till the American war that the spirit of liberty burst out afresh ; and traces of the mischief he has done are still discernible, we fear, among the statesmen and politicians of our own times.

The failure of his scheme for extending the Excise laws was the first serious blow to Sir Robert Walpole's administration. Though he seemed to recover from this discomfiture, and continued for many years to enjoy the entire confidence of his Sovereign, the dismissals to which it led made a great and permanent addition to his opponents. Lord Carteret, who had been long discontented, then commenced his career of active hostility. Lord Cobham and Lord Chesterfield, one of whom was dismissed from his regiment, and the other from his place in the household, had little weight or consideration in the country ; but the latter had wit and parts ; and the connexions of the former, Pitt, Lyttleton, and the Grenvilles, were young men of active talents and aspiring ambition. Pitt, in particular, was of an elevated character and commanding eloquence. The quarrel that ensued between the King and Frederick Prince of Wales, by giving to the Opposition a head in the Heir-apparent, removed the scruples of the Whigs, who had been alarmed at finding themselves in opposition to the government, in conjunction with Tories and Jacobites. The Spanish war, into which Sir Robert was reluctantly dragged by the unjustifiable clamours of the merchants, the unsteadiness and folly of the Duke of Newcastle, and the warlike propensities of the King, with whom he had lost his chief stay by the death of Queen Caroline, accelerated his fall. A new Parliament, chosen in the midst of a ferment in the nation, and of distraction and division in the cabinet, completed his ruin. Large sums of money were expended in elections by the Prince of Wales, by the old Dutchess of Marlborough, and even by Mr Pulteney. Equal exertions were not made by the Court. The government boroughs in Cornwall were gained over by Lord Falmouth and Mr Thomas Pitt, and those in Scotland by the Duke of Argyle. Lord Chesterfield was despatched to Avignon to obtain an order from the Pretender's ministers for the hearty concurrence of the Jacobites. When the Parliament met, Sir Robert exerted himself with extraordinary vigour and animation ; but after a long struggle and ineffectual attempt, through Bishop Secker, to detach the Heir-apparent from his party, betrayed, as his son asserts, by his colleagues, he yielded to the general panic among his friends, and reluctantly consented to resign.

Immediately on this determination, if not before, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke, the persons of greatest weight in his cabinet, opened a secret negotiation with Mr

Pulteney and Lord Carteret, the object of which was, to exclude the Tories and Jacobites from the new administration, and to form a coalition between part of the Whigs out of office and the remains of Sir Robert Walpole's ministry. The scheme succeeded; but ruined Mr Pulteney, who never recovered the popularity he lost by breaking up his party and deserting his associates. The steps of this negotiation are still very imperfectly known; and, from the destruction of Mr Pulteney's papers, his part in it will never be satisfactorily cleared up. He and Carteret had been long suspected by their coadjutors of having no other views than to supplant the minister, and to succeed to his power. A letter from Lord Chesterfield to Dodington in the preceding autumn, describes them as impatient for office, and desirous to 'get in with a few by negotiation, and not by victory with numbers, who might presume 'on their strength, and grow troublesome to their generals.' * On the other hand, Lord Orford, the author of these Memoirs, repeatedly and unequivocally charges Newcastle and Hardwicke with treachery to his father; and, in a private letter of the 22d of January 1742, intimates his suspicions of secret dealing between the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Carteret, in consequence of Newcastle's concurrence with the Duke of Argyle in the debate on the officers absent with leave from Port Mahon. In a subsequent letter of the 4th of February, he gives the following account of his father's resignation. 'From that time' (the loss of the preliminary question on the Chippenham election) 'my brothers, my uncle, I, and some of 'his particular friends, persuaded Sir Robert to resign. He 'was undetermined till Sunday night (January 31st). Tuesday ' (February 2d) we were to finish the election, when we lost it 'by 16; upon which Sir Robert declared to some particular 'persons in the House his resolution to retire, and had that 'morning sent the Prince of Wales notice of it.' From these dates it appears, that unless there was a secret understanding of Newcastle and Hardwicke with Pulteney and Carteret, before Sir Robert's determination to resign, the coalition was effected between the 31st of January and the 2d of February: for, on February 2d, it was already settled, that Lord Wilmington should be at the head of the Treasury in the new administration. † So speedy an adjustment of a point of such consequence looks somewhat like previous concert.

* Coxe's Sir Robert Walpole, iii. 579-581.

† Ibid. iii. 592.

To obtain the sanction of the Prince of Wales to their new arrangements was an object of the highest importance to Carteret and Pulteney. An open schism in their party was declared at a meeting held at the Fountain Tavern on the 12th of February, when the Duke of Argyle declaimed against their proceedings to an audience of 300 peers and commoners. His Royal Highness hesitated for some days what part to take. But, on the 16th, Pulteney went to him in private, and, without the knowledge of the others, prevailed on him to write to the King. Next day he went to Court, where he was coldly received, and hardly spoken to by his father. His support of the new administration was secured by placing two of his dependents in the Board of Admiralty; and, though invariably treated with coldness by the King, he continued friendly to the ministers; and came at length to be so warmly attached to Lord Carteret, that when Pitt and Lyttleton, who were in his service, opposed with vigour the measures of that minister, he told them plainly, 'he should follow the advice they had long ago given him, of turning out all his people who did not vote as he would have them.' But, though reconciled to the Government, he retained his resentment to Sir Robert Walpole, now Lord Orford, and, till spring 1744, refused to receive him at his Court.

After the public breach at the Fountain Tavern, the Duke of Argyle relented, and kissed hands for the Ordnance and a regiment, insisting only on the introduction of Sir John Hinde Cotton into the Board of Admiralty, as a pledge that Tories were not universally to be excluded. Sir John was a noted Jacobite; and when proposed to the King for that situation, his Majesty put a flat negative on his appointment, saying to those who maintained he was no longer a Tory, 'It might be so, but *he* was determined to stand by those who had placed him and his family on the throne.' Offended at the acquiescence of the Ministers in this refusal, his Grace of Argyle threw up his new commissions (March 9), and went into Opposition. It was resentment for the rejection of Sir John Cotton, that produced the Committee of Inquiry into the conduct of Lord Orford (March 23), which threatened so much, and produced so little. Lord Stair succeeded to the Duke of Argyle; and at the end of the session, Lord Cobham was declared Field-Marshal, and Commander of the Forces in England.

To Chesterfield, Dodington, Pitt, Lyttleton and others, nothing was offered, and therefore they remained in Opposition with the Jacobites and Tories. Waller, who had expected to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused to be a Lord of the

Treasury, and joined the same party. At the close of the session, some Tories were promoted. Lord Gower was made Privy Seal, and Lord Bathurst Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners—both Tories, if not Jacobites. The condition exacted by the King for these and other appointments, made at the the same period (July 1742), was, that Pulteney should take out his patent as Earl of Bath, which he did with reluctance, and, in quitting the House of Commons, bid adieu for ever to his power. So notorious were the Jacobite principles of Lord Gower, that when some one asked, why he had not kissed hands sooner; it was answered, ‘The dispensation was not come from Rome;’ and so little sincerity was ascribed to his conversion, that in the following year (March 1743), on the death of Lord Litchfield, he was chosen President of the Board.* Murray, another convert from Jacobitism, was made Solicitor-General, to the great rage of Shippen, who complained loudly of his apostasy.

On the death of Lord Wilmington (July 1743), who was a mere cipher, the Treasury was given, by advice of Lord Orford, to Mr Pelham (August 1743), in preference to Lord Bath, who, too late for himself, had discovered, that, without acquiring real power or influence in the Government, he had bartered his popularity for a peerage. But though Mr Pelham was nominally at the head of the Government, Lord Carteret, who had accompanied the King to Hanover (May 1743), obtained entire possession of his Master’s confidence, by entering into all his German politics; and on their return to England (November 1743), the consciousness of Royal favour made him treat his colleagues with an overbearing haughtiness and contempt, which even the mean and timid spirit of the Pelhams could not endure. Lord Gower, in the mean time, finding no more Tories were to be taken into office, and foreseeing a break up of the Administration, resigned the Privy Seal (December 1743); and Lord Cobham threw up his command, and joined his relations in Opposition. The German measures of the King and of his Ministers became every day more obnoxious. Pitt distinguished himself by the eloquence and virulence of his declamations against Lord Carteret, now become Lord Granville; and the imperiousness of that Minister at length so disgusted his colleagues, while the wildness and rashness of his measures alienated the nation, that in November 1744 the whole Cabinet Council, with a few exceptions, having previously made their bargain with Opposition, in which they had the start of Lord

* An old Jacobite Club, which still subsists.

Granville, joined in a remonstrance to the King, insisting that he must either part with his favourite or with them. This intimation was equally disagreeable to the King and to the Heir-apparent, who, agreeing in nothing else, had equal confidence in Lord Granville. His Majesty hesitated for some time; but after consulting with Lord Orford, he submitted, and consented to the changes required of him (November 24, 1744). By this revolution in politics, Lord Granville and Lord Bath, with their friends, were removed from the Ministry; while Lord Chesterfield, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, George Grenville, Lyttleton, Dodington, Waller, and other Whigs, who had been left out on Sir Robert Walpole's resignation, were brought into office. Lord Cobham had a regiment; the Privy Seal was given back to Lord Gower; and Sir John Hinde Cotton and other Tories were gratified with places. Many more of them would have taken office, but they were deterred by the fear of not being returned again by the Jacobite counties they represented.

This coalition, however, of the Whigs and Tories was premature. So deeply rooted were the Jacobite propensities of the Tories, that, finding Lord Gower was become in good earnest a friend to the Protestant Succession, they discarded him from being their head, and supplied his place with the Duke of Beaufort, a determined and unwavering Jacobite. Their virulence and disappointment at Lord Gower's defection, are strongly marked in Dr King's strictures on his conduct;* and several years afterwards (1750), their resentment produced the warm opposition to Lord Trentham's reelection for Westminster, which was followed by the famous scrutiny, and by the violent proceedings in the House of Commons detailed at so much length in these Memoirs.† Of the other Tories who were at this time taken into office, Sir John Phillips resigned on the eve of the rebellion, and exerted himself in its progress to get the subscriptions and associations for the King declared illegal; and Sir John Cotton was turned out as soon as it was over, having never once voted for Government while he was in place, though he took the oaths, and pocketed his salary without scruple, (May 1746). When this inveteracy in folly is considered, is it to be wondered at that the Tories were for half a century excluded from all share in the Government?

Mr Pitt was the only man of consequence in the late Opposition, who was not included in the new arrangements. To preserve his character and authority in Parliament, he was unwill-

* King's Anecdotes, 45—48.

† Orford, i. 11—27.

ing to accept any thing as yet. His friends insisting he should take something, he asked for Secretary at War, knowing it would be refused, as it was, in the most peremptory terms, by the King, who had a rooted aversion to him, on account of his declamations on Hanover, and his bitter invectives against Lord Granville. Next year he prepared for office, by resigning his situation about the Prince, (March 1745). His friend Lyttleton had been dismissed from that service in the preceding year, when he was made a Lord of the Treasury on the resignation of Lord Granville.

The King had most unwillingly consented to the removal of Lord Granville, and had no confidence in the Ministers that succeeded him, who appear, indeed to have been altogether unworthy of their situation. A more inglorious period of our annals is scarce to be found, than from the fall of Lord Granville to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Defeats and disasters abroad—rebellion and discontent at home—no concert or activity in the Government—the King, led in secret by Lord Granville, thwarting his Ministers at every step, and openly and ostentatiously giving his countenance to their enemies—his Ministers, occupied with their mutual jealousies and hatreds, neglecting the business of the nation; and at length, in the midst of a rebellion, which had grown to a formidable height from their supineness and incapacity, * resigning in a body (February 1746), in order to force Mr Pitt into office, whom they equally feared and hated. To complete the picture, we have only to add, that the King, after trying ineffectually to get rid of them, and form a new Administration with the help of Lord Bath and Lord Granville, was forced to submit, and have his chains rivitted more firmly than ever. This unhappy situation of af-

* It must be owned, at the same time, that the Ministers had a difficult game to play. Till the defeat of General Cope, Lord Granville had persuaded the King the rebellion was of no consequence; and when his Ministers proposed any thing regarding it, he exclaimed, 'Pho, don't talk to me of that stuff.' The Duke of Newcastle, on his side, rejoiced to hear of any progress of the rebels, because it confuted Lord Granville. Even after the battle of Prestonpans, Lord Granville had influence, by buoying up the King's spirits, to persuade him it was nothing; in consequence of which he used his Ministers as ill as possible, and discouraged every one who was ready to risk his life and fortune for the Government. The Duke of Newcastle submitted to this usage with patience. Mr Pelham, who had pride as well as ambition, talked frequently of resigning.

airs arose in part from the personal character of the King, who was obstinate and prejudiced, but easily frightened, and ultimately governed by his fears; but chiefly from the characters of the two brothers, whom accident, and not their merits, had placed at the helm of his government. The Duke of Newcastle, false, fickle and irresolute, jealous of his colleagues, ridiculously afraid of his enemies, was continually forming new connexions, and quarrelling with the old. Mr Pelham, cautious, timid, and plausible, but peevish and easily alarmed about trifles, like his brother, was always blaming the Duke for his suspicions, and then adopting his resentments, and profiting by his treacheries. Mr Pelham was a man of business, and competent to the duties of his office. The Duke, ignorant, bustling, and incapable, had the opposite faults of rashness and negligence mixed up in equal proportions in his composition. But, different as were the two brothers in their tempers and characters, and ill as they frequently were with one another in private, they were inseparable in their public conduct. Lord Chesterfield, who had opposed and served under them, used to say, they were like Arbuthnot's Lindanina and Indamora; the latter was a peaceable, tractable gentlewoman; but her sister was always quarrelling and striking, and, as they grew together, there was no parting them.

At the time when Lord Orford's *Memoires* commence, the chief persons in the Ministry were the Pelhams and their dependants, of whom Lord Hardwicke was the most distinguished. By compliances with his Master's German propensities, the Duke of Newcastle had overcome the King's contempt for his abilities and aversion to his person; and Mr Pelham, in proportion as his power became more stable, had shown himself more worthy of his elevation. The Duke of Bedford was one of the Secretaries of State, and his friend, Lord Sandwich, first Lord of the Admiralty. His Grace was of an illustrious Whig family, but had been connected by his marriage with the Tories. He appears to have been a man of honest intentions, with respectable Parliamentary talents, and considerable application to affairs; but violent and impetuous in his temper, and, throughout his life, governed by artful and interested persons about him, who knew his weaknesses, and turned them to their own account. Mr Pitt and Mr Fox were in subordinate situations.

Mr Fox, almost the sole survivor of the old Walpole party, having adhered to the last with unshaken fidelity to Sir Robert Walpole, filled at this time the office of Secretary at War, and enjoyed the confidence of the Duke of Cumberland, who was at the head of the land forces, and the favourite son of

the King; but was exceedingly unpopular throughout the nation, on account of the haughtiness of his temper, the severities he used in Scotland after the suppression of the rebellion, and the strict and arbitrary government he had introduced into the army. With great parts, a sound understanding, and much dignity and force of character, his Royal Highness was as vigorous in enacting obedience in the merest trifles to himself, as he was dutiful and submissive to his father. It was one of the misfortunes of the times, that he was an object of unmerited jealousy to his childish and worthless brother; and this sentiment, inherited by the Princess Dowager, and infused into the tender mind of her son, was the principal cause of those disgraceful dissensions, which followed the death of Mr Pelham, and brought the country to the brink of ruin. The conduct of the Duke, when disowned by his father for the convention of Closter Seven, was noble, firm and dignified; and, as related by Lord Orford, from the most unquestionable authority, it forms one of the most striking passages in his *Memoires*. * It is remarkable, that the inveteracy of the Princess Dowager to his Royal Highness was manifested even after his fall. Of his enemies, Pitt alone behaved on that occasion with a degree of justice and firmness, which Lord Orford deservedly calls 'nobly honest.'

Mr Pitt held the office of paymaster, a lucrative place of little power, to which he had succeeded on the death of Mr Winington in 1746. He had broken entirely with the Prince of Wales, when he first came into office; and having separated from his next connexion, the Bedford party, through jealousy of Lord Sandwich, he was now in favour with the Duke of Newcastle, though seeking in private to regain his footing at Leicester-house. His talents and eloquence were his chief support, his friends and connexions being few, beyond the circle of his own family.

The Prince of Wales, who had been out of humour with the Government ever since the fall of Lord Granville and Lord Bute, and at times actively and even indecently in opposition, was at present at the head of a pitiful, disunited party, led, or rather split, into different factions, by Dodington, Lord Egmont, Lord Baltimore, Lord Middlesex, and others.

The *Memoires* open with the machinations of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr Pelham, to get rid of their colleagues, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich. With the timidity and proneness to suspicion characteristic of the two brothers, they had become jealous of the Duke of Bedford, on account of the

* Orford, ii. 247-253.

connexion he had formed with the Duke of Cumberland, through Lord Sandwich; and with the cunning that usually marked their conduct, they contrived, at the moment of their rupture, to detach from him his father-in-law, Lord Gower. In the mean time, the death of the Prince of Wales dissolved the opposition he had collected; and increased so much the jealousy of the Pelhams towards the Duke of Cumberland, that they persuaded the King to exclude him from the Regency, in the event of a minority; giving the title and nominal authority of Regent to the Princess Dowager, but securing the real power and influence to themselves. This point carried, they dismissed the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich; and took back into the ministry their old rival, Lord Granville, who, renouncing his former dreams of ambition, was content, for the rest of his life, with the dignified but unimportant post of President of the Council.

The placid state which the Government attained after these changes, ended with the death of Mr Pelham. Three persons presented themselves to the public as candidates for his power. Pitt, Fox and Murray, had been long the most distinguished speakers in the House of Commons. Pitt, according to Lord Orford, was 'the greatest master of ornamental eloquence. His language was amazingly fine and flowing; his action most expressive; his figure genteel and commanding. Bitter satire was his forte; when he attempted ridicule, which was very seldom, he succeeded happily; when he attempted to reason, poorly.'—'Fox, with a great hesitation in his elocution, and a barrenness of expression, had conquered these impediments and the prejudices they had raised against his speaking, by a vehemence of reasoning and closeness of argument, that beat all the orators of the time. His spirit, his steadiness and humanity, procured him strong attachments, which the more jealous he grew of Pitt, the more he cultivated.'* Murray was superior to Fox as an orator, and to Pitt as a debater; but he was a Scotchman, of a Jacobite family, timid to excess, and resolved not to quit his profession as a lawyer, where the highest preferment was within his reach. The choice therefore lay between Pitt and Fox. The Duke of Newcastle determined to disappoint them both.

Pitt was at Bath, where 'he had, or had unluckily acted, very ill health.' The King's prejudices against him were not yet removed; no party stirred in his favour; and his friend Lyttleton, rashly, and without authority, answered for his acquiescence in the new arrangements that were formed. Fox

* Orford, i. 79.

had the Chancellor, the Princess Dowager and the Scotch against him; and though he had been well with Mr Pelham, he had never lived on any terms with the Duke of Newcastle. 'But he was the ablest man in Parliament, at least the craftiest Parliament-man, had acted steadily with the Whigs, and had, in their eyes, the seeming right of succession.' * It was, therefore, necessary to have the appearance of a negotiation with him. Lord Hartington was accordingly sent to him with proposals from the Duke of Newcastle. But, next day, his Grace retracted part of his offers; on which Mr Fox, seeing he was to have a high station without confidence, and the management of business in the House of Commons, without knowing the secret engagements of its members with the ministers, declined the seat which he had accepted. His refusal exasperated the King, to whom his conduct appears to have been scandalously misrepresented by Newcastle. Sir Thomas Robinson, who had no parliamentary talents or experience, was appointed Secretary of State. The Duke of Newcastle became in effect sole minister, and Pitt and Fox were left in their former subordinate employments.

This state of things could not last. The House of Commons had been too long accustomed to an efficient minister, to submit long to such a miserable representative of Government as Sir Thomas Robinson;—for, 'though a good Secretary of State, as far as the business of his office and that which related to foreign affairs, he was ignorant even of the language of a House of Commons's controversy; and when he played the orator, which he too frequently attempted, it was so exceedingly ridiculous, that those who loved and esteemed him, could not always preserve a friendly composure of countenance.' Their mutual discontents led Pitt and Fox to an explanation and disclosure of the arts that had been used to inspire them with jealousy of one another. A sort of coalition took place between them; debates were raised on collateral questions not directly affecting the business of Government; the Secretary was covered with ridicule; the Duke of Newcastle himself was not spared; and 'though ministers had, in every division, a great majority, many of their steadiest voters were laughers at least, if not encouragers, on the opposite side of the question.' † A lively account of these skirmishing debates is preserved in the letters of Mr Fox to Lord Hartington published in the Appendix to Waldegrave's Memoirs; ‡

* Orford, i. 329. † Waldegrave, 32. ‡ P. 146-154.

from which it is evident, that the two rivals were at that time on a footing of friendly confidence, though not of party alliance. It further appears from Lord Orford, that Pitt, provoked at an attempt of the Chancellor to revive their ancient divisions, 'sought heartily and sincerely to league with Fox;' but that the latter, 'irresolute and borne down' by his connexion with the Duke of Cumberland, 'would not enter into real measures' of hostility to the Government. In this state of things 'the junto, who had laboured to keep Pitt and Fox disunited, more than to secure either of them, were reduced to take the one or the other;' * and Fox being 'thought more practicable, less disagreeable to the King, and more a man of business, was the first applied to.' The negotiation was conducted by Lord Waldegrave at the King's desire, and it ended in the admission of Fox into the Cabinet. † We are told by Lord Orford, that Fox communicated to Pitt the progress of this negotiation, and that the latter not only approved of the result, but suggested to the former some alterations in his letter to the King accepting the terms proposed to him. ‡ But when he adds that Fox, on his introduction into the Cabinet, 'privately foreswore all connexion with Pitt,' and hints, that 'this secret abjuration' was communicated to Pitt by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke, § we are inclined to doubt the fact. For, in the subsequent rupture of Pitt with Fox, we find no allusion to this double treachery, either in Dodington, || to whom Pitt communicates his grievances, or in Fox's letter to Lord Hartington, ¶ where he speculates on all the possible causes of Pitt's renunciation of every connexion with him, which appears to have been as unexpected and unwelcome, as it was peremptory and decided. On the contrary, there are expressions in Dodington attributed to Pitt, which are utterly irreconcilable with this story. He is made to complain of Fox living with his enemies; of the slackness of his exertions when they were acting together; of his taking the smooth part to himself, and leaving Pitt to be fallen upon; of his not being *sui juris*, in allusion to his connexion with the Duke of Cumberland, and therefore not a fit associate for one who was *sui juris*; but he is made to add, that he did not blame him, that he had nothing to complain of, that he esteemed him, and wished him well. **

* Orford, i. 362. † Waldegrave, 32-34.

§ Ib. i. 364.

¶ Waldegrave, Appendix 155-158.

** Melcombe, 319-321; 374-376.

‡ Orford i, 363,
|| Melcombe, 374.

The truth seems to have been, that, though Pitt had at first acquiesced in the introduction of Fox into the Cabinet, he became dissatisfied, when he saw his rival one of the Lords Justices, with his patron the Duke of Cumberland at the head of the Regency. * In this temper of mind he had communications with the Duke of Newcastle, through old Horace Walpole, which convinced him there was no serious intention on the part of his Grace to remove the King's prejudices against him. † On this discovery, he determined to 'endeavour at the reversion;' but knowing that to be incompatible with any appearance of connexion with Fox, who was regarded by the Princess Dowager as a devoted partisan of the Duke of Cumberland, he broke with him in the most public manner. The secret of his treaty with Leicester-house was for some time carefully concealed; but it was discovered, that the day before his final declaration to Fox, of an end to all farther connexion between them, he had an audience of the Princess Dowager. ‡ The motives that induced her Royal Highness to meet his advances half way have been already stated. Her fears of the Duke of Cumberland began; and her apprehensions of the intended marriage for her son confirmed and consolidated the alliance. Events that occurred abroad enabled the confederates to give a colour of public principle to their opposition.

During the King's absence, his Majesty concluded subsidiary treaties with Hesse and Russia for the security of Hanover, in the approaching rupture with France. These treaties were generally disapproved of in England. The old Duke of Devonshire, who had great weight with the Whigs, expressed strongly his dissatisfaction with them. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had secretly leagued himself with Leicester-house, refused to sign the Treasury warrant for the first payment of the Hessian troops, on the plea that it was contrary to the Act of Settlement. Pitt was then applied to for his support; but, finding nothing was intended for him, except a place in the Cabinet and the odium of defending the treaties, he declared against them; and, without directly asking for himself any particular office, he gave the Duke of Newcastle to understand, that he must oppose the mode adopted by his Grace of carrying on business in the House of Commons, and insist on having men of efficiency and authority in that assembly, who 'should have habitual, frequent, familiar access to the Crown, 'that they might tell their own story, do themselves and their

* Melcombe, 320.

† *Ib.* 339.—Orford i. 397.

‡ Orford, i. 398.

‘ friends justice, and not be the victims of a whisper.’ * Alarmed at this language, Newcastle dropped the negotiation, and had recourse to other quarters for assistance; but every where he met with a repulse. All other means having failed, and the subsidies becoming every day more unpopular, the King applied in person to Fox, who alone had withheld his opinion of them, but now expressed his readiness to support them, having determined at the same time, if not made Secretary of State, to resign, and, in the act of defending the treaties, to declare war with the minister. † The conclusion was, that, contrary to the wishes both of the King and of the Duke of Newcastle, the seals were taken from Sir Thomas Robinson and given to Mr Fox. Pitt and his friends, persisting in their opposition, were dismissed from office, with the exception of Lyttleton, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Session of Parliament that followed was remarkable for the exertions of eloquence it exhibited. Pitt distinguished himself by the brilliancy of his imagination, and the sharpness of his invectives; Fox, by his judgment and discretion; Murray, by his powers of argument and ability in reply. Lord Orford has given a full and animated account of these discussions, with striking passages from the principal speeches; and, though the questions then in agitation are now devoid of interest, his reports will be read with pleasure, as conveying a lively picture of the speakers, and affording the only specimen we possess of the style of debate then used in the House of Commons. One observation from a speech of Mr Fox, we are tempted to quote, on account of the subject. In a discussion on the augmentation of the army, that gentleman remarked, ‘ that the ‘ scheme for recruiting must be to enlist for a term of years.’ It is in the recollection of most of our readers, with what difficulty a measure of that sort was carried into effect in the last administration of his son. It must not be forgot, that when Mr Fox made this suggestion, he had been many years Secretary at War, and was the confidential friend of the illustrious personage who was then Commander-in-chief of the army.

The new Ministry, though victorious in Parliament, contained the seeds of its own dissolution. The King, dissatisfied with the removal of Sir Thomas Robinson, who was master of all the details of German politics, did not conceal from Fox his discontent at the change. The Duke of Newcastle, unwilling to break entirely with Leicester-house, treated the new Secretary of

* Melcombe, 370–374.—Waldegrave, 41.—Orford, i. 430.

† Orford, Appendix, i. 535.

State as an enemy, rather than as a colleague, broke the promises he had made in favour of his friends, and purposely weakened every part of the Government under his superintendence. Fox himself, despairing to gain the confidence of his Grace, and neither conversant in, nor attentive to, the duties of his office, was wholly employed in forming new connexions to strengthen himself. In this wretched state of the Cabinet,—with no head to direct—with no union or concert in its members—with no system or decision in its operations—the affairs of the country were neglected, while the candidates for power were thwarting and squabbling with one another. The loss of Minorca brought matters to a crisis. Fox, seeing himself involved in the bad success of measures on which he had not been consulted—scarce suffered to give an opinion—apprehensive of an union between Newcastle and Pitt, to which he must necessarily fall a victim—and foreseeing that he should be exposed, alone and unsupported in the House of Commons, to the storm gathering against the Ministry, tendered his resignation. * Newcastle, deprived of Murray, who was become Chief Justice and Lord Mansfield, after an ineffectual effort to gain over Pitt, who refused even to treat with his Grace, followed his example. † The King, deserted by his Minister, so far vanquished his repugnance to Pitt, as to empower Fox to treat with him, to the exclusion of Newcastle. ‡ But Pitt, who had now entire possession of Leicester-house, indignantly rejected all terms conveyed to him through such a negotiator. The new Duke of Devonshire was then selected to try to form an Administration. Many difficulties occurred. Pitt persisted in his rejection of Newcastle and Fox; and his demands were at one time thought so unreasonable, that the Duke had determined to set him at defiance, and form a Ministry with Fox; but terrified by the underhand representations of Conway and Horace Walpole (author of these Memoires), he relented, and accepted the Treasury, with Pitt and his connexions for associates. § From this Ministry, Fox and Newcastle were excluded, but many of their friends remained in office.

This administration, like the former, was not made to last. The King's unreasonable prejudices against Mr Pitt were unabated; and though that minister had great popularity in the

* Some time before the 17th of October; his resignation was accepted on the 18th.

† His negotiations attempted with Pitt, were on the 19th and 20th October, and his determination taken to resign on the 27th.

‡ On the 27th October.

§ November 3, 1756,

country, he possessed little influence in the House of Commons, which had been chosen during the Newcastle administration, and was filled with friends and dependants of his Grace. The tragical affair of Admiral Byng tended still farther to embroil the Ministry with the King. His Majesty was averse to pardon. The nation called aloud for vengeance. The ministers were inclined to mercy, but had not firmness at once to fight the King and face the country. Lord Temple, whose duty it was, as First Lord of the Admiralty, to sign the warrant for execution, after submitting his doubts to the Judges, which were resolved unfavourably to the prisoner, had not courage to refuse his signature, though he disapproved of the sentence; and his example was followed by the whole of the Board over which he presided, with the exception of Admiral Forbes. On the merits of the case it is not for us to decide. But, if there was injustice in the execution of Mr Byng, it is difficult to acquit the Admiralty of blame. As Mr Campbell observed in the House of Commons, when overtures were made for mercy, 'the law declared no execution could follow a marine trial, till the whole proceedings had been laid before the Admiralty. If they thought injustice had been done to Mr Byng, would not they make earnest application for mercy? If they made none, what must be the conclusion?' And though Mr Pitt, in expressing his opinion, 'that more good would come from mercy than from rigour,' thought, 'of all men, the Commissioners of the Admiralty ought the least to interfere;' and asked, 'what could add weight in the prisoner's favour to the recommendation of his judges?' we own we agree with Campbell, 'that they, who had all the proofs before them, were the properest to enforce the recommendation of the Judges.' Pitt, after all, did move the King for mercy; but his prayer was harshly and abruptly rejected; and the only effect of his interference was to make himself for a time unpopular in the country. The Duke of Bedford made a similar application, with no better success. Seven of the Court Martial applied to Lord Temple to intercede for mercy. He reported their solicitations to the King, to no purpose. For the scene that followed we must refer to Lord Orford, who relates it with feeling, but with an irritation that clouds his judgment, and abates our confidence in his conclusions. Several of the Court Martial applied to be released from their oath of secrecy, as they had something uneasy on their minds, which they wished to communicate. A bill to that effect passed the Commons, but it was rejected by the Lords, after a captious examination of the members of the Court Martial at the Bar of the House, in which those mem-

bers who had applied for the measure conducted themselves, it must be owned, feebly and undecidedly. On the rejection of this bill, the unfortunate Admiral was left to his fate, which he met with singular firmness and resolution.

While this matter was pending, the aversion of the King to his ministers increased. In an audience Lord Waldegrave had in February, his Majesty expressed to him, in the strongest terms, his dislike of Mr Pitt and Lord Temple, and commissioned him to negotiate with the Duke of Newcastle for the return of his Grace to office. Lord Waldegrave found the Duke timid and irresolute, 'eager and impatient to come into power, but dreading the danger with which it must be accompanied; jealous of Fox and of those who must be his associates in the new administration, yet not daring to be the only responsible minister by taking the whole power into his own hands.' Proposals were then made to Fox, Lord Egmont and others, and various projects of administration discussed; but no plan was matured, or even in a state of forwardness, for a change of government, when, impatient of his situation, and pressed to do something decisive by his son, who was about to take the command in Germany, and was unwilling to leave Pitt behind him in the Cabinet, the King determined on the hasty and ill-advised step of dismissing his ministers, * before it was settled who were to be their successors. His hopes were in Newcastle and Fox; but neither of them could accept of office, till the inquiry into the loss of Minorca was brought to a close; and when that affair was over, † though Fox was ready to engage, the Duke of Newcastle was averse to any connexion with him, and afraid to undertake the government alone, without the assistance either of him or of Pitt. It would be in vain to pursue the negotiations that followed. An arrangement was at one time made, by which Newcastle was to be sole minister, without either Fox or Pitt in the Cabinet; but when it came to the point, his heart failed him, and he drew back. Though contumeliously rejected by Pitt in the preceding year, and not unfrequently exasperated by his haughtiness in the present negotiations, he had still greater antipathy to Fox, of whose favour with the King he was jealous, and to whose resignation in the autumn he imputed the necessity of his own retirement. He felt, besides, that, by engaging with Fox and the Duke of Cumberland, he must ruin himself irretrievably at Leicester-house,

* Lord Temple was dismissed on the 5th of April; Mr Pitt, in the following week.

† 3d of May.

and forfeit all hopes of favour in the new reign, of which the great age of the King afforded no very distant prospect. While still wavering and uncertain, the advice of Lord Chesterfield fixed his resolution, and determined him not to undertake the government without the concurrence of Mr Pitt and the support of Leicester-house. He accordingly prepared a plan of administration on this footing, and laid it before the King, by whom it was indignantly rejected.*

The interministerium, as Lord Orford calls it, had now lasted for two months, when the King, as his last effort, prevailed on Lord Waldegrave to accept the Treasury, with powers to form an administration. After what had already passed, the attempt was evidently impracticable; but it was crushed in embryo by the machinations of the Duke of Newcastle, who, professing the contrary in public, prevailed on his friends to resign the offices they held, and to refuse all offers that were made to them. After several fruitless interviews, the persons engaged in the new plan were compelled to inform his Majesty that they could not go on.† The triumph of Leicester-house was complete, and the King forced to accept an administration formed in fact under the auspices of his grandson. Convinced of the inefficiency of further resistance, his Majesty resigned himself to his fate. 'But though passively obedient to the new ministers,' it is remarked by an intelligent bystander, 'that he wanted sufficient dissimulation to submit with a good grace. He behaved to Pitt, as to a prince who had conquered him, and to the Duke of Newcastle, as to a faithless servant who had delivered him into the hand of an enemy.'

To many of our readers it will be as great a surprise as it was to ourselves, to find his late Majesty King George III. so deeply concerned in the political cabals that disturbed the tranquillity of his grandfather's age. He appears, indeed, to have been merely a passive instrument in the hands of others; and, probably on that account, the part he took attracted little notice, and escaped observation. We have not found even an allusion to it in the histories of the time; and so little was it known or suspected, that a contemporary work of deserved celebrity, enumerating the felicities of the last years of George II., ventures to add, 'that he had the satisfaction to see in his successor, what is very rare, the most affectionate obedience, the most dutiful acquiescence in his will.'‡ Had the truth been at that time generally known, the most courtly writer would

* Waldegrave, 94-113; Orford, ii. 195-219.

† Waldegrave, 115-134; Orford, ii. 219-224.

‡ Annual Register for 1760, p. 40.

hardly have hazarded, even in praise of a reigning monarch, a topic of panegyric so totally inconsistent with reality. Even Dodington appears to have been unacquainted with the fact. He was on bad terms with Leicester-house during these negotiations, having forfeited the confidence of the Princess Dowager by his connexion with Fox. No other work has appeared from persons in the secret of affairs, with the exception of the volumes now before us. Future documents, when they appear, will probably give a different colouring to these transactions, according to the politics and connexions of the writers; but, judging from what we have seen, we are convinced they will confirm, in substance, the statements of Lord Waldegrave and Lord Orford.

It was this Ministry, be it observed, thus formed in opposition to the Court, that carried to so high a pitch the glory of the country, and humbled the pride of her enemies in every quarter of the world. It is worthy also of remark, that Mr Pitt, who was at this time forced into the Closet by the faction at Leicester-house, when known only as an eloquent speaker in Parliament, was afterwards, by the same persons, removed from the conduct of public affairs, when he had proved a great and successful Minister; while Mr Fox, whose exclusion from the Cabinet was at this time the great object of their intrigues, was the person they afterwards drew from his retirement, and embarked again in active life, to oppose and defeat his former rival, and their former favourite, Mr Pitt. In the interval, Mr Pitt had offended Lord Bute by his want of deference and his reserve, and had wounded the pride of his young Sovereign, by making him alter some material expressions in the declaration read at his Accession, which, contrary to usage, he had drawn up in private with his favourite, without the participation of his Ministers. Mr Fox, on the contrary, in an evil hour for his fame, had been seduced, by the flattery and blandishments of his new Master, to enlist in a system of favouritism, repugnant to the spirit, and, for many years preceding, to the practice of our constitution.

The more we consider the dissensions and political intrigues that followed the death of Mr Pelham, and lasted till the formation of the Pitt and Newcastle Administration in 1757, the more plainly does it appear, that, though they originated from the Duke of Newcastle's love of power, they were prolonged by the ambition of the Princess Dowager and her jealousy of the Duke of Cumberland. It was the connexion of Fox with his Royal Highness, that made him the object of aversion at Leicester-house. It was Pitt's 'aiming at the reversion,' when he became sensible of the hollowness and insincerity of the Duke

of Newcastle's professions, that dissolved his incipient friendship with Fox, and prevented the two great leaders of the House of Commons from forming a permanent coalition. The Duke of Newcastle, false, timid and ambitious, feared both, and cared for neither. For a time he held the balance, and seemed to hesitate between the two rivals; but the rising star of Leicestershous prevailed, and determined him in his preference of Pitt.

We must now bring our account of these works to a close. So far from finding them barren or unsatisfactory, we are inclined to regard them as the most valuable addition made to English memoirs, since the publication of Burnet's History of his Own Time; and, with the exception of Lord Clarendon's account of his own life, we know of no works in our language that contain such minute and circumstantial details from an eyewitness, of so many persons remarkable in our history. Many passages in Lord Orford, to which we have not even alluded, are worth attention, and full of entertainment. His account of the reasons assigned for setting aside the legitimate heir of the Spanish monarchy, is given with sprightliness and humour; and his transient notices of Louis XV. and his Court, though short, are amusing. Of matters entirely English—the trial and execution of Lord Ferrers—the conduct of Lord George Sackville before his Court-martial—the appearance of Lord Tyrawley at the Bar of the House of Commons—the forbearance of the Duke of Cumberland under the severest provocations—the Quixotic expeditions of Mr Pitt against the coast of France—his brilliant successes in America and the West-Indies—the victory and death of Wolfe—are told with spirit, and will be read with pleasure. Instead of making extracts of such passages as specimens of the style and execution of the work, we have thought it more useful to collect and arrange the scattered facts we found dispersed in the two Memoirs; and, with the help of other publications, to digest them into a concise and connected account of the struggles of parties, and succession of Ministers, from the fall of Sir Robert Walpole to the settlement of 1757. Where the materials we have used are not to be found in the volumes before us, or in other printed works, we can assure our readers they are derived from contemporary correspondence of equal credit.

In the Appendix, there are some interesting Letters furnished by the editor. The correspondence of Mr Fox and the Duke of Newcastle with Lord Hartington, throw additional light on the transactions of 1756; and the lively and satirical Letters of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, make us regret that his prose compositions have been communicated with so sparing a hand to the public.

ART. II. *Sur les Ichthyolites, ou les Poissons Fossiles.* Par M. H. DE BLAINVILLE. Paris, 1821. 8vo. pp. 91.

THAT Hercules might be known by his foot, is a fact of which no learned man has had any doubt for 2000 years; but it is not so generally known, we suspect, that it is just as easy to find out a hippopotamus from his tooth, or an elephant from the last joint of his os coccygis. Nay, such are the wonders of art and nature, that from half a dozen bones, half broken and half rotten, and selected out of half a hundred more, we can now make animals such as the world never saw,—that is to say, excluding the pre-Adamites. Thus, we have Palæotheriums, and Megalonyxes, and Mastodons, and Megatheriums, and Ornithocephali, and Proteo-sauruses,—hydras and chimeras dire, such as Mr Pidcock never dreamt of. Thanks for all this new creation to Monsieur le Baron de Cuvier, who has left Zadig far behind.

We are fully sensible, however, of the real merit of this able naturalist and acute anatomist; and if others had not striven to share with him a portion of these honours, to be derived from these antemundane discoveries, it would have been somewhat wonderful. Accordingly, M. Blainville comes in with the second course, (this is very correct according to French gastronomy), and we are here treated with sundry *entrées* and *hors d'œuvres* of fish, by the name of Ichthyolites. M. Cuvier ‘apparemment’ had neglected this subject; ‘apparemment’ he had no great respect for it. But we have lost nothing by his neglect—in hard words at least; for we have Palæobalistum, and Palæothrissum, and Palæoniscum, and Palæorhynchum, besides species without end, that are *dubiæ* and *ignotæ* (very properly), and so forth,—all in right good Greek and Latin. Who shall now dare to reproach the French nation with their neglect of the classic tongues, when we have *Potamoid* formations, where plain ‘eau douce’ or ‘fluviatiles’ used to serve the turn?

That Monsieur Blainville however has, in other respects, equalled his model, we are afraid cannot be pretended. His additions to the science are rather nominal than real; and he has managed to contribute a number of new *genera*, without making any discovery. Thus, perhaps Knorr, or Volta, or Burten, or Schenchzer, had given the figure of half a head, three quarters of a fin and five vertebræ, or at least of a stone containing the impressions of these things, after having been flattened by half the weight of Mont Blanc. To this figure

they had added a name which Monsieur Blainville does not approve of. He therefore changes it; and so we have a new genus. The stone is black and fissile; and therefore, it must come from Pappenheim, or Paris, or Antibes, or Antigua, whichever of these is in fashion at the time; and so the geology is settled. By the by, the fish from Antibes are excellent. They are described from our Philosophical Transactions; and when all is settled, M. Blainville begins to doubt whether Antibes may not mean Antigua!

As a specimen of the sufficient reason for making a genus, we shall take the first that turns up on opening the book—*Anenchelum*, or *Palæorhynchum*—'tis all one. All authors had agreed, that a certain fossil fish found in Switzerland is an eel of some kind. Scheuchzer had also given a figure of the tail, 'mais c'est réellement à tort.' M. Blainville has seen part of the head, and of the 'extrémité postérieure;' whence he concludes, that it had a distinct caudal fin, longer than that of an eel, and with fewer rays. The vertebrae are also longer, &c. 'Je n'ai pu;' also 'découvrir aucun indice de membres; en sorte que, quoique 'je n'ai pas du une empreinte complète de cet animal, je ne balance pas à en faire un genre distinct, que je nommerai *Anenchelum*.' In the same way, there is to be a *Palæorhynchum*; but because the learned author has only seen a figure of the fore-part of the specimen, he modestly proposes that, until 'des circonstances plus favorable' arrive, it is to be *Palæorhynchum* 'provisoirement.' We then proceed to an *Esox*, of which he knows nothing more than that it is represented in Knorr's plates; and he at once determines that it comes from Pappenheim, because Knorr says nothing about its locality! The stone is black, and that is enough. Thus, the geology is proved as well as the locality; and the ichthyology is established pretty much in the same way; because the 'forme générale est un peu celle d'un *esturgeon*, et cependant il est beaucoup plus probable que c'étoit une espèce de *brochet*!'

We have not the least objection to ransacking the antemundane earth for bones, be they *Palæothrissums* or *Palæotheriums*. Quite the contrary: We think it perfectly delightful to learn that things are so much improved, that there is no longer any fear of being swallowed alive by a *Megalonix*; and that fishes have nothing to do in the golden age, but to eat each other, as they do now. But Monsieur Blainville should really have considered the fitness of things a little, before he allotted heads and tails to them, in the dictatorial way he has done. There is more wit in the title than in the body of Scheuchzer's work, (*Querelæ Piscium*), as if he had a presentiment of the *Voltas*

and the Blainvilles that were to arise; and we really think that the fishes themselves would have good reason to grumble, if a general resurrection of the Paris Museum were to take place. A Sprat, it is true, might feel some such gratification as a new Irish peer does, at finding himself raised to the rank of a Palæobalistum; but a Cod would be much puzzled to eat his dinner, when he found on his shoulders the head of a Diodon, with a mouth just big enough to admit a tobacco-pipe.

Skipping over much skippable matter, we shall take up Monsieur Blainville at Monte Bolca, where he appears in his best. Not so Volta,—who seems to have had a marvellous delight, not only in marvelling himself, but in making others marvel. Count Gazzola had a large collection of these fishes; he himself, assisted by the ‘Savans’ of Verona, published them. And then came Volta, who christened them with many strange-sounding names. Blainville next abuses Volta’s ichthyonomy—very properly; and the collection, to justify this abuse, is now in the Paris Museum. The people of Italy say that the French plundered the Count; and Cuvier writes a letter to say, that they never plundered any thing. So much for the history of the collection.—But the substance of it leads to matter still more weighty.

Antonio Lazzaro Moro, many years ago, proposed a theory of the earth, which all our readers, who have ever heard of theories of the earth, know to have been the forerunner, of a principal part at least, of Dr Hutton’s system. It is very simple. Finding that Santorini had been elevated from the sea by a volcano, and looking about him at Naples and elsewhere, he thought that such an event might have happened there also; since nothing else was capable, in his opinion, of explaining the phenomena. It was but a step further to elevate all the continents from beneath the waters, by actions of an analogous nature; and thus all the difficulties that relate to the supramarine position of bodies originally submarine were solved, without the necessity of conjuring up and destroying, *ad libitum*, oceans that must have reached from the earth to the moon.

Brocchi, it is true, does not chuse to see this very simple explanation of the subappennine formation, and prefers bewildering himself with the ocean, as usual; as if it was the rule in physics, as it is in most *geognosies*, that wherever there are two modes of solving any phenomenon, we are to reject the possible, and chuse the impossible solution. For ourselves, we shall stick to Lazzaro Moro: and let us see, for a moment, how the facts stand. Taking it in a broad view, Italy forms a long ridge, of which the Appennine is the highest part. That ridge is limestone; the same as that of the Jura, we are told; but that is of

no moment. On each side of this ridge lies a series of strata forming hills or plains, as it may happen, consisting, to put it in the simplest point of view, of a marly stratum and a sandy stratum, both of which may be indurated or loose; so that sometimes there is sandstone, and at others sand. These substances do not indeed now cover all Italy: For, to the north, the plains of the Po and the Adige interfere on one side, and the sea on another; some places have also been overwhelmed or disturbed by recent or old volcanoes; and, of others, if rivers have not covered original land with their depositions, as the Po has done, they have washed the superficial strata away.

Now, in these strata there are marine fossils, such as shells and fishes; and there is a peculiarity about these shells which is solitary, as far as ancient marine strata are concerned. The animal matter is preserved, and that not only in the shell, but often in the very ligament. In the fishes of Monte Bolca, which we refer to the same origin, the fleshy matter often remains, although converted to a brown compact substance, somewhat resembling horn or gluc. Moreover, there are skeletons of whales and dolphins, and that often at considerable elevations, entire and undisturbed; so undisturbed, that shell-fish are still adhering to some of the bones, and that many carcases are complete. And these also, it must be observed, are often found in a loose soil; so loose, that observers have confounded the terrestrial alluvia with it. Now, there are no such appearances in any of the ancient strata: if we find whales or other marine bodies presenting analogous appearances, it is only in marine estuaries. No commotion of the sea, deluge or inundation, could have deposited any one of these fossil substances as we now find them, at elevations sometimes of a thousand feet and upwards. They have not been transported therefore, but are lying in the soils on which they died; and the lower part, at least, of the subappennine alluvial soils, whether rocky or solid, are the bottom of that part of the Mediterranean which once covered the shores of Italy.

It is quite as easy, we admit, to talk of the sea rising up to the top of the Appennine, as to the top of the Andes or Teneriffe; and if it chose to go there long after the present continents were arranged, for the purpose of leaving on them a few square yards of the *newest sturtz trap formation*, it might as well have deposited whales where Hannibal afterwards left elephants. But it would be convenient to know what was going on at the same time in the Black Sea, or the Red Sea, or the ocean—what Spain, and Corsica, and Greece, and Asia Minor, and Africa, were doing,—and why there is nothing in all these lands

that bears the least resemblance to the subappenine strata of Italy. The true solution is as plain as possible. We will take the words of Lazzaro Moro and Dr Hutton for a thousand pounds.

We are quite aware, however, that it will be objected to us that this solution is impossible, unless the sea bred elephants and buffaloes, as well as whales and dolphins. Now, we know well enough that there are terrestrial remains found in the same country, and in the same places. But we know also, that these are just as independent of each other as the gentlemen that are, or were, buried in the Calton-Hill, are of the floetz trap formation, to which they are gathered. Where else could the terrestrial alluvia and the terrestrial remains lie but upon the substrata, be these rocky or alluvial? The fact is, that these most distinct classes of fossil substances are *never intermixed*, except casually, from the effects of rivers, or of earthquakes and volcanoes; and that there are no facts that stand in the way of our hypothesis.

And now, perhaps, we may profit a little by seeing what is the fact about Monte Bolca. We already mentioned the preservation of the fleshy matter of these fishes, or ichthyolites, as our author calls them; and must now add, that they lie in an indurated marl, or marl slate. It is also important to remark, that though there are many beds of this substance, the specimens are confined to one; that they are all lying on their sides undisturbed, as far as relates to the stratum; but that the strata themselves are broken to pieces, and lie against the side of the hill. To ask how they became imbedded in the marl, we have only to look at Iceland, where, at this day, in St Peter's fiord, there are fishes in the act of being preserved in the mud, which becomes indurated round them in time. As to their elevation from the bottom of the sea, if that is not rendered probable, or rather certain, by the general theory of Italy which we have just given, and by the peculiar manner in which these strata lie in Monte Bolca, we despair of ever seeing any thing proved in geology; and are of opinion, that the sooner it is abandoned the better.

If we are right so far, all the fishes of this place should belong to the Mediterranean. We do not mean to say, that every individual can be traced to an existing species, because we think that many have disappeared from this sea, just as the whales have certainly done, and as many land animals are unquestionably extinct, in regions where they once abounded. But we must inquire what the geologists think.

Signor Volta imagines, that he has distinguished one hundred

and five species. - Twenty-seven of these, he says, are European sea-fish, thirty-nine are Asiatic, three belong to Africa, eighteen to South America, and eleven to North America; besides which, there are seven fresh-water species, Italian we presume. We cannot help admiring that total want of compunction in the mind of Doctor Seraphino Volta, which could collect a congress of fishes at Verona, from all parts of the world, for no other apparent purpose than to be blown up by an Italian volcano, and baked into dirt-pyes for Count Gazzola's collection. But this is, in truth, half the battle. There would be no merit in geology if it was intelligible. There must be something to marvel at, and to write books about—some paradox to give scope to ingenuity—some startling asseveration, to show how little belief has to do with evidence! For once, however, we must follow a more vulgar course, and try to discover how far the descriptions and characters of the fishes themselves support our theory. And here we really are much indebted to Mons. Blainville, who, without any theory to serve, has gone pretty near to show, that all the species that are sufficiently distinct to be intelligible, are truly marine and Mediterranean fishes. We have very little doubt that better specimens would have proved this far more completely. We shall not, however, crowd our pages with these pieces of ichthyological criticism, because we fear that not one reader in a thousand would understand them. They are creditable to the author's acuteness and good sense, of which, from the rest of his book, we had very much doubted; and those who may have a specific interest in this question, will do well to examine the memoir itself. We may merely mention here, that he has, without ceremony, reduced the list to about ninety; and we question much whether ten or twenty more might not be struck off with advantage, and whether the only new genus which he has attempted to establish, the *Palæobalistum*, might not go into the *Balistes*. Every genus, we may add, is marine; and every genus is found in the Mediterranean, whether all the species be now known there or not. There are about forty tolerably well determined, and four or five that may be considered doubtful.

At Oeningen, there is a deposit of fossil fishes which Mr Blainville thinks is a fresh-water formation, analogous to that of the celebrated Basin of Paris. The exact place in question lies on the right bank of the Rhine, where it issues from the Lake of Constance; on the side of a hill called the Schienerberg, and at an elevation of about five hundred feet above the present level of the lake. The rock is a grey or whitish shale, or schistose marl, since it contains both calcareous and argillaceous

carths; it is fetid, or bituminous, as it is commonly called; and, besides these fossil fish, it contains numerous fragments of *vegetables*. This latter fact, we hold, decides the question respecting the fresh-water origin of this marl, as much as the *vegetables* in our coal strata do for them, or as the land quadrupeds do for the Paris basin. The fishes, therefore, must be fresh-water species, or, to speak more correctly, they must have lived in fresh water; because it is consistent with all geological experience, that the Lake of Constance should have subsided five hundred feet by the lowering of the bed of the Rhine, and consistent with none, that the ocean should have been more than a thousand feet higher than it is at present.

M. Blainville, who, we doubt not, would have illustrated the nature of these fishes as successfully as he has done that of the ichthyolites of Monte Bolca, has unfortunately had little opportunity of studying them. He finds, however, three species of carp (*Cyprinus*) and the common pike. Saussure and Lavater between them, have made far other work of it—by finding, as we think, twenty-nine species, out of which six are marine, including the herring and the dab. We have little doubt that their ichthyology is all wrong; but can excuse their geological errors, because the existence of fresh-water deposits had not then been suspected. Saussure, in another place, following Darluc partly, has, in the same way, described a number of marine species at Aix, where it has been concluded that the strata belong also to fresh water. It is probable that these are equally ichthyological errors.

But at Glaris we find the same thing in somewhat a more difficult shape; and here M. Blainville, who had decided for the land before, now decides for the sea. We doubt if his ichthyology is here worth much. We are very sure that his geology is worth nothing, here or any where else; and that the marine character of the strata of the Plattenberg in question, will not be proved by his giving them the name of *Grauwacke schiefer*, or *Phyllade paillesée* either. Haller says that these rocks contain ferns; if this be so, which we are not in the least inclined to doubt, the point is determined; because ferns cannot live in the sea; whereas, if we have not made a great mistake, marine fish might live in rivers or lakes—allowing nothing in this case for the blunders of the ichthyologists.

In the first place, if those ages in which the fishes of Oeningen, or Glaris, or Pappenheim, lived, supplied fishes resembling the salmon, or the lamprey, or the sturgeon in their habits, how could it be determined whether they were marine or fresh-water animals? These that are found in the earth may have

been of the same accommodating habits;—though to be sure we cannot speak with the same assurance of them, as if we enjoyed the pleasure of daily catching and eating their posterity. In truth, we may say as much of all the migratory fishes; for, how are they to be classed in this geological division? Nor is that a very small number—though a few must serve our purpose; as we have no time to ransack books of natural history, and can only take what comes uppermost. Such are, besides those we have just named, the grey salmon, the quiniad (*salmo lavaretus*), the *salmo migratorius*, the smelt, the lamprey, the eel, the cottus quadricornis, and the stickle-back. Without being absolutely migratory, at least for the purpose of spawning, many other fish enter rivers,—such as the torsk, the conger, the shad, the sprat, the plaice, and the mullet. Even a whale has been taken in the Thames, to the infinite delight and instruction of the inhabitants of Cockayne.

Here then is a list of marine fish that are likely enough to die, and be buried occasionally in *fresh-water formations*. But this is not all. The mackarel, the flounder, the *gadus barbatus*, the *gadus tricciratus*, and the common cod, seem fully as well pleased to be in fresh water as in salt, provided they can get any thing to eat; marking, in them, a soundness of judgment superior to that of the Geologists, who determine for them where they ought to live. To be sure, it may be said, they can get out again whenever they please; but the plaice and the mullet have been locked up in ponds, and have gone on breeding for generations, with an utter defiance of all geological formations and theories. M. Blainville lays a great deal of stress on his genus *Clupea*, as if it must needs be marine. Let us see how that matter stands. We have just now said, that the sprat and the shad, which are two species of it, come into the fresh waters; and there in fact they abide till they have some good reason for leaving it; a great number of them at least staying, most unwisely, long enough to be caught and eaten. Besides which, we have the best authority to prove, that the herring, another *clupea*, frequents the Potowmack, the Hudson, the Elk, and the Delaware rivers. So far indeed is this fact received by personages who are not geologists, that a very intelligent German naturalist and economist, whose name has escaped us, has proposed to naturalize the herring to the fresh waters of that country by force, as was done by the plaice in the ponds of East Friesland.

As to the matter of whales again, the *delphinus leucas* ascends the Hudson, and many other American rivers, for some hundreds of miles from the sea, which is its proper place. So

much is this a steady occurrence, that there is a fishery of this animal, called commonly the White Whale, in one of the rivers in the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. This was the whale that made Hearne first, and Mackenzie afterwards, fancy that they had arrived at the sea, because they saw it blowing; and thus was the north coast of America laid down, for the amusement, if not the instruction, of geographers. Some day will arrive when the progeny of the Geologists that are now hatching in the Universities of Columbia, will dig holes in the alluvial soils, or the clays and shales of this region, in the fresh-water formations of the Coppermine and the Red River; and when they shall wonder at some fin, or vertebra, and erect a new fresh-water genus by the name of Palæo-thauma or Megathauma.

But this confusion of habits as to salt and fresh water in fishes, is fully more remarkable in Northern Asia, than even in the instances we have quoted. We think it particularly necessary to point out this case; because, if there is any thing respecting which geologists have troubled themselves and the world at large in the matter of alluvial organic fossils, it is the intermixture, or the approximation, of the bones of the elephants and rhinoceroses of Siberia to these remains, which they have thought fit to consider as marine. In this business, De Luc shines preeminent; having contrived so many deluges, and such renovations of sea and land, and elephants, and forests, and oysters, that we may hug ourselves in having any land at all left to stand on.

As, in this affair, we go by the authority of Pallas, we are on safe ground. We need not tell our readers that the Caspian Sea is salt; and thus, as far as relates to its fishes, they are, *quoad hoc*, marine. Now, this inland sea is inhabited by many species which, with us in Europe, are all fresh-water fish. And that this is not a matter of compulsion, but choice, is proved by the same naturalist; who, having no theory to serve, as we have, may be relied on. A few wander into the Wolga and back again, just as they might migrate from the Downs to Gravesend; but the greater number remain entirely in the salt water. Our pike is one of these last, as are our crucian, roach, bleak, and bream; and the others, for which we must give Linnean names, having no English ones at hand, are of the same genus as our carp; being the *Cyprinus idus*, *C. nasus*, *C. aspius*, and *C. ballerus*.

Now, we may ask the Geologists, what the conclusions are that must be drawn from all this? It is impossible that any ichthyologist can decide exclusively respecting the habitation of

a fossil fish from its characters, since there is no character whatever in the anatomy of a fish capable of forming such a distinction.

But the Geologists have other objections and difficulties. They find that a certain clay at Sheppey, which they chuse to call the Plastic Clay Formation, out of compliment to our French neighbours, contains marine bodies, indisputably so we believe, such as fragments of fishes and shells. They also find that it contains certain durable parts of vegetables, such as nuts,—five hundred fruits, says some one. Here then is a miracle, or something quite as good; a thing to be disputed about, and wondered at; a *formation* which is both terrestrial and marine at the same time. Now, in all this, there is no difficulty to us who are not geologists, or we mistake the matter woefully. Sheppey is still, what it once was far more decidedly, the maritime estuary of the Thames and the Medway, one or both. Admitting that the plastic clay formation were even beneath the chalk, instead of above it, and that the marine remains were as ancient as the creation, these rivers may, or must, have flowed on and through it. On that clay, the Thames and the Medway left their mud and their nuts: they might have even left the skull of King Lud; and we should be glad to find a geologist who will tell us the necessary differences between the one mud and the other,—the clay of the rivers and the plastic clay, when they are not only in mere contact, but absolutely intermixed.

But to return to our fish. There is just the same sort of dogma, and worse, going about *shells* marine and non-marine. It is impossible to distinguish them by any natural or conchological characters. The fresh-water shells are delicate and thin, says one; but the river-muscle, the *myapictorum*, is thicker and stronger than the sea-muscle. Sea-shells, again, are said to be thick and coarse; whereas there are pinna, patellæ, and pectines, which the wind can blow away like chaff, and which the light almost shines through. The swimming argonauta, the Nautilus of Pope, is one of the most tender and fragile of shells—and so of hundreds more. What is to the same purpose in another way, they seem, not only generally, but even as individuals, fully as indifferent to the quality of the water as their neighbours the fish. If it were not so, what would become of all the green fat of the Colchester oysters? Our muscles and periwinkles plainly care not whether the water about their ears is fresh or salt; and indeed the former have wit enough to quit the sea, and crowd round the mouth of any stream they can find; having discovered, doubtless, that earth-

worms and such small geer are very good eating. But we are weary of proving what wants no further proof; and shall take leave of our friends the marine and fresh-water men, by reminding them that, in the Gulf of Livonia, all sorts of shell-fishes, fresh and salt, belonging to *Tellina*, *Cyclas*, *Venus*, *Unio*, *Cardium*, *Anodon*, &c. live in the utmost harmony together.

A word or two now for the Gastrologists, before we quit this subject. As far as our own particular taste goes, we think that nearly all the sea-fish are very good eating, and that three-fourths of the fresh-water ones are abominable. We propose, therefore, to turn them out of their tenements, and to send in cod and turbot to eat up the roach and the gudgeons, and, when they are well fed, then to eat them ourselves. Sir William Curtis has expressed his approbation of this project warmly,—little caring how it may puzzle future geologists to find fossil surmulletts in Erick Forest, or john doreys petrified in a horsepond on Hampstead Common. We really think that his Grace the Duke of Montrose would make a good exchange in dredging oysters in Loch-Lomond instead of stinking muscles; and that our summer-tourists, who wander about with a basket on the back and a rod in the hand, would be fully as well amused at dinner-time in contemplating the display of a pair of twin soles, or the ample rotundity of a well-grown cod, as in grumbling over a scanty dish of powans.

We are surely as little obliged to stop our improvements at ducks and geese, and turkeys and pintados, as the Tartars at horse, and the Otaheitians at dogs. If the smelt and the cod chuse to come into our rivers and lakes when they please, why should we not keep them in when we please?

It is somewhat easier to hedge in a cod than a cuckoo. In sober earnest, for it is dangerous jesting with the stomach, we would say to the gastronomers, Try, and do not tell us that a turbot will not live in Loch-Tay till you *have* tried. There can be but three reasons why a fish should not live in fresh water as well as in salt. Either he cannot breathe, or cannot hatch his young, or can find nothing to eat. Now, as to the first, it is plain, that he who can breathe in a river or a lake for a day, may do so all his life; and where twenty do that, twenty more may, and twenty more to them. So much for the respiratory functions. As to the young, that is a matter which seems a good deal to depend on soil, or the nature of the bottom. The eggs must be hatchable; and the young, when excluded, must find something to eat. That cannot be much anywhere; and a young cod is as likely to do well as a young pike, or somewhat better. So much for the function of reproduction. But, not

to speculate in possibilities, the fact is so in the mullet and the plaise, by human force, and in the flounder by choice. In the Caspian Sea, only reversing the proposition, it is the same with the pike, and the whole breed of carps that we already named.

As to the function of eating, we see no very good reason why a smelt should be worse off than a par, or a whiting than a trout. Besides, they live on each other. The more fish, the more food. The lady of the cod lays six millions of eggs, and, out of this somewhat large family, does not probably rear sixty. Hence there are five millions nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand and forty codlings of all ages for the general supply of the market; and, of the remainder, we catch and eat as many as we can ourselves. But we are wandering wide of M. Blainville; though we flatter ourselves that our discovery, which we do not despair of seeing carried into effect immediately, will prove more valuable than all his, in proportion as a fine turbot with lobster sauce is better than all the ichthyolites of Glaris, and Pappenheim, and Monte Bolca to boot. We are confident that M. Blainville himself will think so, if his stomach is as French as his geology; and can only regret that it was not made in time to save the life of the unfortunate Deville.

We had got thus far in our lucubrations for the improvement of Highland lakes, no very valuable property at present, and for increasing the value of canal shares throughout the country, when we received a letter from the Board of Fisheries, to whom we had proposed taking out a joint patent, telling us that it was all theory—a very favourite term used for designating those who reason in one manner, by those who reason sometimes without knowing it, in another. Now, if there is any thing that can be called practice, it is the evidence which we have brought forward in support of our invention. But, that we may help them to guess what a theory is, we would beg leave to suggest, that all fresh-water fish did once most probably live in salt-water first, and that the present distinction is accidental. When the sea covered the land, which every body believes, Wernerian or Huttonian, although they explain the matter in different ways, there was no fresh water at all, and consequently no fresh-water fish. But, at last, the sea left the land, or the land left the sea; and as the rains rained, and the river St Lawrence ran thundering down Niagara, Lake Ontario and Lake Superior became unsalted, while the Caspian and the Aral, having no water to spare, except to the sky, continue petty oceans to this day. Our theory, in short, for we need not trouble these worthy personages with spinning it out any longer, leads to the

same conclusions as our practice, but by a geological and a somewhat different road.

If the Gastrologists will nevertheless not lay these things to heart, we hope that the Geologists will not scorn all that we have thus been trying to teach them. If we are to have fresh-water formations and marine formations, and be thus compelled to go to school again (for these things had not been heard of when we first began our career), let it be for something: Let us understand what it is that we are to believe, and why we are to believe it. We consider Zoology and Geology to be two distinct pursuits; and are not to be dazzled out of our geological senses by Blainville, or Cuvier, or Laotzarck. It is very pleasant to know that such things as they treat of are and have been; but we never did, and never will admit, that the whole science of Geology is contained in M. Cuvier's Preface. Fundamentally, these studies belong to Natural History, and they are worthy the pursuit of naturalists. They are, in a narrower sense, departments of Geology, but they do not constitute the whole of the science. As evidence respecting the origin, the relations, or the relative antiquity of particular strata, they are occasionally of considerable value. We consider this science as much indebted to the pursuits and the pursuers of Zoology, and shall always hail their labours with pleasure—often receive from them instruction.

Our notions of geological science, however, are, we must own, somewhat different from M. Cuvier's; and we select him for the observation, because there is a dangerous weight in his name—dangerous, at least, when in the wrong scale. The very name of a geological theory, he says, excites a smile—something more; but we will not translate his strange expression, because we hope that he has learnt to be ashamed of it. Well might they be matters for jesting, if they were like that with which he has favoured us in his Preface. But the science of Geology is neither limited to the Basin of Paris, nor to the study of cockle-shells. It is one which yields not, either in difficulty or dignity, to any department of Natural History. In the extent and splendour of its range, when properly viewed, it associates itself with the great system of the universe. In our Solar system, it proves that which cannot be deduced from any kind of astronomical reasoning. We will not endure, therefore, to see it debased, or to submit it to those whose views take no higher flight than the wing of their own *Ornithocephalus*—whose chemistry is confined to a drop of muriatic acid, and to whom the siphunculus of a belemnite is matter for quarto volumes. Let the conchologists, the ichthyologists, the palæologists of all

kinds, flourish away as they may—flourish and fade: Géology, like Mont Blanc, will lift its head far beyond the region of oysters and ammonites, when these shall have been consigned to their proper places in those long catalogues of hard names which are the delight and study of the tribes that now ‘blacken all the way.’

We shall be very glad, however, to see M. Blainville again, well castigated—by himself, we mean,—and with figures *en taille douce*; for without that, it appears to us he may write for ever with little chance of being either believed or understood. We should not say this, if we did not believe him fully capable of doing what he certainly has not yet done. A good deal more of géology than he possesses is indispensable; and if, with that, he will only reason as he has done against Volta—(a little better even would do no harm)—he cannot fail to make himself a name which we shall be among the first to immortalize. Until he has done that, let him not determine whether a fragment of stained slate belonged to a *Palæorynchum*, or a *Palæobalistum*, without following the example of the Roman emperor, and summoning a proper senate to sit upon the fish.

ART. III. 1. *Reflections on the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century.* pp. 276. London, 1822.

2. *Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland.* pp. 58. London, 1820.

3. *Observations on the State of Ireland.* By the EARL OF BLESSINGTON. pp. 88. London, 1822.

4. *State of Ireland Considered; with an Inquiry into the History and Operation of Tithes.* 2d Edition. pp. 154. Dublin, 1810.

It has been observed by Mr Hume, that there is, in human affairs, an extreme point of depression, from which they naturally begin to ascend in an opposite direction. We think this observation must soon be verified in the case of Ireland. The excess of misery in which the people of that unfortunate country are now involved, the magnitude of their numbers, and their growing fierceness and desperation, will, at no distant period, compel that attention to be paid to their claims for a redress of grievances, which has been so long denied to the calls of justice and humanity. Ever since the era of the Conquest, Ireland has, a few short intervals only excepted, been sub-

jected to a military regime. Laws of the most revolting and sanguinary description have been enacted and rigorously enforced. Instead of investigating and removing the causes of disorder, the rulers of Ireland have generally contented themselves with endeavouring to suppress them by force. The gibbet and the bayonet—those sovereign and infallible specifics of weak and vindictive legislators—have been kept in a state of incessant activity, and the whole country has been outraged and disgraced by the ceaseless recurrence of bloody and barbarous executions. But has this harsh treatment eradicated, or at all assuaged, the evil passions of the people? Has it made them orderly, industrious, and submissive? Let the late insurrection acts, and the inhuman atrocities now perpetrating in Limerick and the adjoining counties, answer these questions. Oppression and misgovernment are not the means by which the tranquillity of any country can be secured. Peace and prosperity do not spring from the sword. The experience of more than four hundred years must surely convince every reasonable person, that the system on which the government of Ireland has been, and still is conducted, is radically vicious and unsound. During the whole of that period, murder has followed murder, and insurrection has succeeded to insurrection, in one continuous and uninterrupted series. There are no verdant spots—no oases—in this moral waste. Whenever the struggle between oppression and revenge has ceased, the rival parties have employed the treacherous and delusive tranquillity that followed to whet their angry feelings and passions, and have never failed to rush with new fury into their unnatural and parricidal contest. The incentives to crime have been suffered to gather strength and luxuriance—to scatter their seeds and spread their roots on all sides; and crime has, in consequence, become more prevalent than ever. Oppression produced outrage; and outrage was alleged as a sufficient reason for increasing the severity of the law. This, again, occasioned fresh outrages, and gave to revenge a deeper and a deadlier dye. White-boys, Oak-boys, Steel-boys, Peep-of-day-boys, Carders, Caravats, Thrashers, Ribbonmen, &c. &c. have all been guilty of the very same excesses that are now perpetrating, and, without deterring others by their fate, have each, in succession, expiated their crimes on the scaffold!

Is this system never to have an end? Are not the numberless victims that have been sacrificed—are not centuries of national degradation, distraction and civil war—*enough* to convince the Parliament of England that *coercion*, that mere brute force, is ~~not~~ the means by which the tranquillity of Ireland can be esta-

blished on a solid basis? The Irish are not gratuitous ruffians. There is nothing either incurably bad or vicious in their character—they have the same feelings and affections as the people of England. It is the circumstances in which they are placed—their squalid and abject poverty—their gross ignorance, and the violence that has been done to their rights, feelings, prejudices and opinions, that have rendered them cruel, savage, and vindictive. The enemies of Ireland do not pretend to say that the present discontents have originated in political motives. Catholic and Protestant, Whig and Tory, seem to have been equally the object of popular vengeance. The present is, in fact, a real *bellum servile*—an insurrection of an oppressed and starving peasantry against police-officers, landlords, middlemen, Orangemen and tithe-proctors—against all, in a word, whom they consider as their oppressors. The wrongs and the privations to which they have been exposed, have driven them to despair; and in their fury, they have apparently resolved to wreak their vengeance, without distinction, on the upper classes, and, if possible, to reduce high and low to one common level of wretchedness. Is it not high time that a *radical change* should be made in a system of government, under which so monstrous a state of things has attained to a baleful maturity? When we look at the condition in which Ireland is now placed, are we not entitled to say, that the period has arrived when a serious and deliberate inquiry *must* be instituted into the real causes of the multiplied outrages and aggressions of which she is, and has been, so long the theatre, and that a vigorous and persevering effort must be made to remove them? This is no longer a matter of choice, or of expediency, but of *necessity*! So long as Ireland was only occupied by a million, or a million and a half of starving wretches, it was a comparatively easy task to hold them in servitude, and to force them to submit to injustice. But, thanks to the Potatoe and the Cottage system, Ireland contains at this moment nearly *seven* millions of inhabitants, of which, at the very least, *six* millions are in a state of helotism and extreme destitution! And can any man, out of the precincts of the Dublin Corporation, think that any number of troops which this country can afford to send to Ireland, should be able constantly to retain such a mighty and rapidly increasing mass of discontent and disaffection in unwilling subjection? The idea is utterly visionary and ridiculous. Although we were now in possession of the countless millions we have expended in upholding and securing the power of the Bourbons, the Pope, and the Grand Seigneur, we should not be able to main-

tain a garrison in every village in Ireland; nor would the dominion of that country, though it were a thousand times richer, and more fertile than it really is, be worth preserving on such terms. But if we continue our present system, nothing less than this will be sufficient to secure our ascendancy. And, therefore, if we are really desirous of preserving the connexion between the two countries, we must endeavour to render it, what it has never hitherto been, productive of advantage to Ireland. The Irish people—not the priests, corporators, and middlemen—but the *people*, that is, the cottiers and occupiers of mud-cottages and cabins, must be taught to feel that they have a *stake in the hedge*, and that it is their interest to respect the laws, and to support the institutions and government of the country. Until this be done, we shall look in vain either for tranquillity or improvement in Ireland. White-boy acts and Insurrection acts may repress disorder for a time; but they do not touch the causes whence it springs, and really serve only to give a darker shade of atrocity to the outrages which they alternately put down and provoke.

It is not easy to write dispassionately on such a subject:—But our warmth, on the present occasion, certainly is not reinforced by any party or factious feeling. This is a question far beyond the little hostilities of Whig and Tory; and possesses an interest which must, in all good minds, extinguish and efface the distinctions of Ministry and Opposition. The misgovernment and consequent misery of Ireland is chargeable, not upon the present Minister, but upon the English nation generally, and upon *all* the statesmen, of every persuasion, who have administered its affairs for the last two centuries. We entreat, then, that no one may shut his ears to our representations, under an impression that they are in any degree distorted or aggravated by party feelings. They are addressed, with all imaginable earnestness and humility, to men of sense and influence of all parties, and chiefly to those who have most power to give effect to our suggestions. If the Ministers would but listen to them, we should have no objection that their reign should be immortal; and, as we shall refer for our facts, in a great measure, to ministerial and official authorities, we shall endeavour so to word our observations, as to avoid revolting any of those without whose cooperation we are aware that no speedy or efficient redress is to be expected.

It would require a large volume to trace and point out the precise influence and effect of the various causes which have conspired to sink the people of Ireland to that extreme of poverty and wretchedness to which they have arrived, and which have rendered that country a vast arena for the display of the

most implacable animosities, and of the most brutal and sanguinary atrocities. But, in an article like this, we can do no more than state what we conceive to be *the leading causes* of this unexampled distress and irritation, and *the remedies* which appear most necessary and indispensable to promote the return to a better state of things. Leaving, therefore, the discussion of the lesser grievances; and the details of many subordinate remedial measures, to another opportunity, we shall now proceed to offer a few remarks on the grand subjects of Catholic Emancipation,—Church Establishment and Tithes,—Government and Magistracy,—Education,—Revenue Laws, and—Population. In the discussion of these topics, we flatter ourselves we shall be able to discover both the causes which have counteracted and prevented the prosperity of Ireland, and the means by which it may yet be restored.

1. *Catholic Emancipation*.—There can be no question, we think, that the master grievance which has depressed Ireland, and the great source from which the rest have been derived, is to be found in the circumstance of the government of that country having been hitherto vested in, and administered for the particular advantage of, a small minority of her inhabitants. The avenues to power and emolument have been always shut against the great majority of the people of Ireland. They have been forced to support the burden of an extravagant and corrupt government, but they have not been permitted to exercise its functions, or even to enjoy its protection. ‘The government of Ireland,’ said Mr Grant, in a speech that did equal honour to his head and heart, ‘had never sympathized with the people: It had been supported by foreign force or foreign fraud: It had not been thrown on its own resources. There was a tendency in all governments,’ added the Right Honourable Gentleman, ‘to adapt themselves to the wants and wishes of the people; but, from the time of Henry II. up to 1782—(why not 1822?)—there was not a month in which the government of Ireland could have stood without foreign aid.’* Previously to the Reformation, the English settlers, or those within the *pale*, alone enjoyed power and authority. The mere Irish, as every body knows, were held and reputed aliens, or rather enemies to the Crown of England, inasmuch, that it was adjudged no felony to kill an Irishman in time of peace!† Since the Reformation, and more especially since

* The Right Honourable Charles Grant’s Speech on Sir John Newport’s motion, 29th April 1822.

† Davies’s Historical Tracts, p. 77. Edit. Dublin, 1787.

the breach of the articles agreed upon at Limerick between the Catholic adherents of James II. and William III., all the influence of Government has been engrossed by the Protestants. Statute after statute was assed, for the avowed purpose of preventing the growth of Popery, but with the real intention of rooting out and suppressing that religion. The Catholics were in consequence reduced to the lowest possible state of degradation. 'The laws made in this kingdom against Papists,' said Mr Burke, 'were as bloody as any of those which had been enacted by the Popish Princes and States; and, where those laws were not bloody, they were worse; they were slow, cruel, outrageous in their nature, and kept men alive, only to insult, in their persons, every one of the rights and feelings of humanity.' This picture is not overcharged. Until the latter part of the reign of George III., no Catholic, although the persons professing that religion comprise *five-sixths* of the entire population of Ireland, was permitted to carry arms in his own defence—to acquire property in land—to lend money on mortgage—to vote in the election of members of Parliament—to act as guardian to his own children—or to have the least share in the management of the county or parochial affairs of the district to which he belonged! Is it possible to render slavery more galling and intolerable?

This infamous and detestable code has since been greatly modified; but a good deal that is positively oppressive, and much that is irritating and vexatious, still remains. In fact, we have either gone too far in the way of concession to the Catholics—which even Mr Ellis does not allege—or we have not gone far enough. Either we ought to have withheld the greater part of the rights we have conceded to them; or we ought to grant them the few that are still withheld. Bigotry might find out some miserable pretext for retaining the Catholics in a state of perpetual helotism, and depriving them of all political privileges whatever; but having conceded those that are most important—having raised the Catholics from the state of abject depression into which they were sunk—having put weapons into their hands, and given them power and influence which cannot be resumed, why should we labour to destroy the value of the gift?—why should we still hold the Catholics up as objects of distrust and suspicion?—why, in a word, should we endeavour to perpetuate and embalm all the odious prejudices to which the penal code gave rise, by withholding the few remaining privileges from the exercise of which the Catholics are still debarred? What we have already given up was valuable—what we now withhold is comparatively worthless. And the evil

consists, not in the intrinsic worth of the privileges which are denied to the Catholics, but in the feelings of insolent superiority on the one side, and of debasement and degradation on the other, which that denial generates and keeps alive. It has been contended, that the exclusion of the Catholics from the Legislature and the Bench, and from Corporations and other situations of power and emolument, is not felt as a grievance, except by a few individuals ! But nothing can be more erroneous than this idea. The meanest Catholic in Ireland knows that he is excluded from rights which Protestants possess—that he occupies a lower place in society. He knows that the penal code is *not* abolished ; and he does not stop to calculate the precise value of the partial repeal. The Catholics, to a man, believe that the laws oppress them and favour the Protestants. They consider the restraints under which they labour, as badges of the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism—of England over Ireland ; and in addition to their own sufferings, tradition has preserved, and magnified the sufferings of their forefathers, by the plunder, confiscations, and massacres of English governors and English armies in former times. The Irish peasantry are possessed of great natural talents, and are full of intelligence. They are well acquainted with all the public measures which immediately affect their interests ; and they discuss whatever aggrieves them with a force of language which rouses their passions, and leads them to form the boldest and most desperate resolutions. There is a sort of Irishry about them which makes every thing English, and derived from an English origin, nationally odious. This peculiarity in their character generally escapes the notice of common observers ; but the notions and prejudices which are grafted upon it establish a strong bond of union amongst them, and teach them to look forward with confidence to the period, when they expect to be able to throw off the English connexion and Protestant ascendancy together.

Had the Catholic code been totally abolished in 1793, these prejudices would now have been greatly abated ; but enough of it was unfortunately left to preserve them entire. The Catholics believe that this code was framed to secure the conquest of their country and their own degradation ; and it is not a cold calculation of what it deprives them of, because they are Catholics, that decides their opinion upon it, but a deep-rooted, though general conviction, that it debases them as Irishmen, and has sunk them below the level of Protestants. It is in vain to say that these feelings are not justified by the *present state of the law* against the Catholics, or that the existing restraints affect only the higher

orders! The people judge practically, and not speculatively—they judge from what they *see* and *feel*, and not from what they read, or what may be told them. The *anticatholic spirit of the Government* has proved the bane of every successive concession. Real inequality has rendered the letter of equal laws a mockery and an insult. The marked indifference with which the bacchanalian outrages of the Orange Societies, and their continued attempts to disturb the public peace, and even to injure the persons of the Catholics, have been regarded, convince the latter that they continue to this hour a degraded *caste*. They feel that they are regarded with jealousy and aversion by those in authority; and they perceive that the zealots of the Protestant party are permitted, without molestation from Government, to treat them with contumely, indignity, and contempt.

‘The word Papist or Catholic,’ says Mr Wakefield, the grand authority on all that regards Ireland, ‘carries as much contempt along with it as if a *beast* were designated by the term. When the comfort or the interest of the Catholic is under consideration, he must always give way; for, although he stands as erect before his Maker as does the Protestant, he is yet considered as an inferior animal, and thought unworthy of participating in the same enjoyments. The Protestants are in general better educated than the Catholics; but many of them are still ignorant enough to believe, that their Catholic fellow-subjects are the *helots* of the country, and that they ought to be retained in a state of perpetual bondage.

‘That the character of the Irish Catholics is different in different parts of Ireland, has been already mentioned. *They all*, however, *agree* in dislike to the Government; and it is to be recollected that the mob, in consequence of their numbers, turn the scale to whatever side they incline. In one case they form the strength and security of the Government; in the other, they become its most dangerous enemies, when the tie of affection is dissolved. Wretched and perilous must the state of that country be, where oppression has excited among this class a general spirit of discontent, and where they look forward to a favourable opportunity, either of enlisting under the banner of rebellion, or of throwing themselves into the arms of the first foreign invader that may offer their assistance.

‘The causes which have produced this irritable and inflammable spirit among the great mass of the Irish Catholics are various, and, perhaps, unequally felt. Every individual exposed to oppression, is not equally alive to suffering; nor are general evils viewed in the same light by those upon whom they fall. But the grievances of the Catholics are considered as concentrated in *one great political evil*, which palliatives will but increase, and which can be cured only by emancipation, and other great benefits conferred by the liberal

hand of a wise and enlightened policy. To emancipation their chief attention is directed; and although influenced by different motives, a conviction that nothing but unanimity can ensure success, unites them firmly together. Their priests, in consequence of their dependent condition, must yield to the current of public opinion, and sanction sentiments which they might be, under other circumstances, inclined to condemn.—(*Account of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 570.)

It is plain, from these statements, which might, were it necessary, be corroborated by a thousand additional proofs, that the complete emancipation of the Catholics is necessary as a preliminary measure to the restoration of tranquillity in Ireland. Without emancipation, the foundations of good order, of happiness and wealth, can never be laid. Ireland requires a grand overt act of such an intelligible character, and administered with such perfect impartiality, as will make every man feel, that the great curse of that country—the Catholic penal code—is destroyed *in law and in fact*. It is worse than idle to expect that the mere recommendation of a gracious Sovereign—a recommendation disregarded as soon as made—or that any thing short of the full and complete emancipation of the Catholic population, should be able to eradicate the sense of self-debasement from their minds, or to protect them from a continuance of the insults to which they have been so long subjected. The true *fiat nature* of Ireland, the Orangemen, are not to be soothed and patted into good manners. To render them harmless, we must begin by rendering them impotent. When we have pulled the lion's tusks, and paired his nails, we may safely lie down with him—but not before. The Orangemen ought not to be merely requested to forbear making an ostentatious display of their superiority; they ought to be deprived of it; and compelled to submit, with what grace they may, to see their Catholic country invested with the same privileges, and placed on the same level with themselves. This is a reform which ought to precede every other, and which justice and sound policy alike require. When complete emancipation has placed the Irish Catholics on a fair footing of equality with the Protestants, they will, for the first time these hundred years, feel that they are no longer slaves and outcasts in their native land. They will feel that the badge of their inferiority has been struck off, that all the avenues to power and consideration in the State are opened to their honourable ambition, and that no overbearing and selfish faction can any longer insult them with impunity. The satisfaction they will experience, the positive good they will enjoy, and the victory they will have achieved over bigotry and intolerance, will make them regard the King and the Parliament which shall really emancipate them, with the warmest gratitude. The

ground will then be cleared for the adoption of measures calculated to promote the prosperity of Ireland. The demon of religious discord will cease to blast and blight every scheme of improvement. The people will cease to regard whatever emanates from Parliament with jealousy and distrust; and will learn to venerate a constitution, which admits them to a full participation in all its benefits.

We do not mean to say, that emancipation will be immediately productive of these effects, or that it will of itself cure every thing. No such opinion can be rationally entertained. The mind cannot be instantaneously divested of the hatreds and animosities generated and kept alive by centuries of religious and political persecution. After emancipation has been carried into full effect, a considerable period will be required to allay and calm the angry passions which the want of it has excited; and it will require a still longer period, even for the most enlightened and zealous government, to carry into effect the measures necessary to raise the peasantry of Ireland from the abyss of poverty and wretchedness into which they have fallen,—to give them habits of industry, and to impress them with a desire to rise in the world and improve their condition. But evils which cannot be cured, or which it is plainly impossible for the best intentioned government immediately to redress, are always submitted to with comparative tranquillity. It is those evils only which spring from obvious and remediable causes, from the flagrant abuse of power, or from the exaltation of one party and the depression of another, that inflame a whole nation with discontent, and deluge it with bloodshed, barbarism and crime.

II. *Church Establishment and Tithes.*—Next to the Catholic code, the present overgrown Church Establishment, and the manner in which it is supported, forms the greatest obstacle to the prosperity and happiness of Ireland. The Protestant Religion is declared by the Act of Union, to be the established religion of Ireland; and we have no wish whatever to disturb this resolution. But the Act of Union cannot prevent Parliament remodelling the Church establishment, or adopting those reforms which the interests of religion seem imperiously to require. The circumstance of the Protestant Religion being the established religion of Ireland, can never be urged as a valid reason why the people should be made to support a vastly greater number of religious functionaries, than the service of the Church requires—or that the tithe system should be deemed sacred. Such a monstrous doctrine would be subversive of every principle of improvement; and is suited only for the darkest periods of ignorance and superstition. No sound divine, and

no reasonable man, will ever identify the support of the Establishment with the support of the many gross and scandalous abuses with which every part of it is infected. We respect the establishment, and we are anxious to see it not only respected but revered; but for that very reason, we cannot allow any false delicacy to individuals to prevent us from dealing plainly with the abuses which have drawn upon it so much odium and contempt. The real purposes and interests of the establishment, its capacity for communicating and preserving sound religious knowledge, its influence on the minds of the people, and its hold over their affections, instead of being weakened, will undoubtedly be immeasurably increased by a thorough reform of the abuses we are now to bring under the public notice.

The first thing that strikes us in the Irish Church Establishment, is the vast number of its dignitaries, compared with the number of the people committed to their charge. In England there are twenty-six Archbishops and Bishops, and in Ireland twenty-two. But either there must be too few of these dignitaries in England—a complaint we have never heard made—or their number in Ireland must be altogether excessive. The population of England is about *twelve* millions, three-fourths of whom or *nine* millions, are Lutherans, and members of the Established Church. But the entire population of Ireland scarcely amounts to *seven* millions; and we have the concurrent authority of Dr Beaufort, Mr Newenham, and Mr Wakefield, for stating, that at the very least, *five-sixths of this number, or about six millions, are Catholics!* The remaining million, must, therefore, include not only the members of the Established Church, but the whole body of Protestant Dissenters; and, considering the number of Presbyterians in Ulster, we think there are good reasons for doubting, with Mr Wakefield, whether the members of the Established Church, exceed *one-twentieth* part of the population; certainly, however, they cannot exceed 500,000, or *one-fourteenth* part of the whole population. But, besides the twenty-two Archbishops and Bishops, there are upwards of *thirteen hundred* beneficed clergymen for the instruction of this small fraction of the population! So numerous an establishment of functionaries is in the highest degree redundant, and unnecessary. Those who are best acquainted with the state of Ireland, are of opinion that one Archbishop, and a Bishop for each of the provinces, could very easily discharge all the episcopal duties; and common sense tells us, that there need be no rector where there are no parishioners, and that the salary given to the officiating rec-

tors, should have some reference to the number of their parishioners, and the laboriousness of their duties. It is quite irreconcilable with every principle of sound policy, to tax and oppress the vast majority of the people, to support an overgrown and superfluous body of established clergy. How, we beg to know, would our countrymen the Protestants of Britain feel, were they compelled to pay *a tenth* part of the produce of their farms, and even of their gardens, to enable 1300 Catholic clergymen to wallow in wealth and riches? Would such a system be tolerated for a single moment? And yet it is plain, that such an establishment would be in no respect more galling and oppressive to them, than the existing Church Establishment is to the Catholics of Ireland.

The number of the clergy is, however, of comparatively little importance. It is with the amount of their stipends—with the sum which is taken from the pockets of the people to be put into theirs—that we are chiefly interested. But in this point of view, the Church Establishment of Ireland is still more liable to objection. It is in fact a perfect pattern of profusion and extravagance. The poorest country in Europe is made to support fully *five* times as many established clergymen as it has occasion for,—and is besides made to pay them not five, but *ten* times as large a sum as would suffice to procure the services of an equally learned and pious body of men. In England, there are several bishoprics, not worth more than from 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.* a year; and the bishopric of Llandaff is, we believe, worth only from 800*l.* to 1000*l.* a year. But the poorest bishopric in Ireland is worth fully 4,000*l.* Mr Wakefield estimated the revenue of all the Irish Archbishops and Bishops at 146,000*l.* a year; but the following is a later, and, we understand, a more correct estimate :

	Per annum.		Per annum.
Archbishop of Armagh,	L.14,000	Bishop of Ferns,	L.8,000
— Dublin,	14,000	— Kildare,	8,000
— Tuam,	9,700	— Ossory,	6,000
— Cashel,	9,000	— Cloyne,	7,000
Bishop of Clogher,	9,000	— Cork,	6,500
— Dromore,	6,500	— Killaloe,	7,000
— Down,	7,000	— Limerick,	8,000
— Derry,	15,000	— Waterford,	8,000
— Kilmore,	7,000	— Clonfert,	4,000
— Meath,	8,000	— Elphin,	12,000
— Raphoe,	10,000	— Killala,	4,000
		Total,	L.185,700

The greater part of these enormous incomes arise from e-

states belonging to the different sees, and only a comparatively small part from tithes. The incumbents are restrained from granting leases for a longer term than *twenty-one* years; but they have obtained an act of Parliament authorizing them to renew leases every third or seventh year, on receiving a fine or *grassum*. This system has been almost universally adopted; and in consequence, the *apparent* rental of the church lands is very far below their *real* rental. Mr Wakefield is of opinion, that the estates belonging to the under-mentioned sees would, if fairly let, bring the following sums.

The Primacy	-	-	L. 140,000 a year.
Derry	-	-	120,000
Kilmore	-	-	100,000
Clogher	-	-	100,000
Waterford	-	-	70,000 *

If this valuation be nearly correct, and it is thought to be rather under than overrated, it is obvious that the estates belonging to the Church-establishment of Ireland would, if put under proper management, yield a revenue sufficient for the support of the whole body of the established clergy. The real rental of the Irish ecclesiastical property cannot fall much short of a million; and supposing that the plan of reforming the establishment we have suggested were adopted, and that the single archbishop of all Ireland were allowed a revenue of 15,000*l.* a year, and each of the four provincial bishops 10,000*l.* a year—for we would deal handsomely with these dignitaries—there would still be a surplus of at least 650,000*l.* or 750,000*l.* a year to provide for the rest of the established clergy. Now, the entire expense of our Scottish establishment, the efficiency of which has never yet been questioned, does not exceed 250,000*l.*, or at most 300,000*l.* a year; and if we consider that the number of persons whose spiritual instruction is intrusted to the care of our clergy is fully three times as great as that intrusted to the Irish, we have certainly a good right to conclude, that 650,000*l.* or 750,000*l.* ought to be amply sufficient to provide for the comfortable and even luxurious maintenance of the latter. In point of fact, nothing can be more palpably erroneous than to suppose, that the abolition of tithes would deprive the Irish Established Church of the means of support. So far from this being the case, it is clear to demonstration, that, notwithstanding their abolition, that Church would still be among the richest, or, rather we should say, *the very richest in Europe*.

The patronage attached to the Irish bishoprics is a vast source

of influence and emolument. It appears from a table given by Mr Wakefield, that there are in all Ireland 2244 parishes, of which 1391 are in the gift of the Bishops, 293 of the Crown, 367 in that of laymen, 21 in that of the College, and 95 impropriate, and without churches or incumbents. The Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, and the Bishops of Cloyne, Cork, Ferns, Killaloe and Kildare, have the most extensive patronage. The livings in the gift of the Archbishop of Cashel are worth 35,000*l.* a year; those in the gift of the Bishop of Cloyne 50,000*l.*, and of Ferns 30,000*l.* In the bishopric of Cloyne, one living is worth 3000*l.*, one worth 2000*l.*, one worth 1800*l.*, and six worth from 1500*l.* to 1200*l.* The deanery of Down is worth 3700*l.*; in the bishopric of Cork there are two livings worth upwards of 1000*l.*; and in Killaloe, Mr Wakefield says, there are *many* worth 1500*l.* We have already mentioned, that there are about 1300 beneficed clergymen in Ireland, and, averaging their incomes at from 700*l.* to 800*l.* a year, they will amount to about a *million*! That the average is not taken too high at 700*l.* or 800*l.*, may be inferred from the fact mentioned by Mr Newenham, that the aggregate income of *fifty-six* benefices in the county of Cork exceeded 40,000*l.* * Mr Wakefield also states, that, in Ireland, 'a living of less than 500*l.* is considered as *very low*.'

A landlord is entitled to spend his income where he pleases, and how he pleases. But we think the people of Ireland have a good right to expect, that those who receive such enormous sums for their spiritual services should reside on their dioceses, and contribute all in their power to promote the interests of the country of whose wealth they share so largely. This, however, is not the case. It is in the brilliant and dissipated circles of London or Bath, and not in the Episcopal palaces, that we must look for the Bishops of Ireland. Mr Wakefield quotes a passage from a work of Mr Ensor on Church Establishments, in which it is stated, that 'although the Primate of all Ireland enforced, in summer 1807, the duty of residence on his clergy, he *almost immediately after quitted the island*.' The Bishop of Cloyne was long a resident in Bath; the Bishop of Meath had lately a permanent residence in this city; and the late Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, resided twenty years in a *foreign country*; and, during that period, had about 300,000*l.* remitted to him from his see! We could refer to a thousand other cases of non-residence; but are not these enough to prove, beyond all question, that the number of Irish Bishops may be advantageously re-

* Natural and Political Circumstances of Ireland, p. 233,

duced? What are the duties connected with his see which the Bishop of Derry could discharge when resident in France or Spain? In truth, the Irish Church Establishment is not an instrument of Christianity, but of the most flagrant corruption and abuse. 'It is, says Mr Wakefield, 'a POLITICAL LEVER' in the hands of Government, with the power of which persons 'in England are but little acquainted.' Instead of being bestowed on men of experience, and of acknowledged talents and acquirements, as a reward for services already performed, and a stimulus to others to exert themselves in the cause of religion, some of the best benefices have been given to persons every way unqualified to discharge the duties attached to them, merely because they could command extensive political influence. But let us again refer to the unexceptionable authority of Mr Wakefield.

'I have often heard it asserted,' says he, 'that large benefices ought to exist, and to be bestowed on men of learning and merit, as an encouragement to others to exert themselves for the benefit of the Church. But is merit and long service always attended to in the choice? Were I called upon to state the ages of some of the Irish Bishops, it would appear that these valuable dignities have sometimes been conferred on very young men. It may however be said, that they were educated for the profession, and fitted for discharging its duties by a learned and regular education. But this does not seem to have always been the case; one Archbishop was, I believe, before his appointment, a *LIEUTENANT IN THE NAVY*; the Dean of Clogher was a Member of the *Imperial Parliament*; and the rector of a valuable benefice, was lately an *AIDE-DU-CAMP* at the Castle! *Many similar instances might be adduced*; but I hope my readers will consider these sufficient.' (Vol. ii. p. 475.) We believe ours will do the same.

In the earlier ages of the Church, and, we believe, in Ireland up to the era of the Reformation, the Ecclesiastical Revenue, whether derived from lands, tithes, or other sources, was divided into *four* shares, of which one went to the Bishops, one to the clergy, one to the poor, and one to the building and repairing of the churches. But, now, the priests swallow all. The Irish clergy are not obliged to advance a single shilling from the enormous funds of which they are possessed, either for charitable purposes, or for the building or repairing of churches. About 10,000*l.* have been voted this year for building churches and glebe-houses, and for purchasing glebes in Ireland; and the aggregate sum voted for the same purpose during the last twenty years, exceeds a *million*!

A considerable part of the incomes of the beneficed clergy are derived from *tithes* levied on the corn, cattle, pigs, poultry,

and potatoes of the cottiers. The vote of the Irish House of Commons in 1735, declaring any man a traitor to his country who should assist in a prosecution for *tithes of agistment*, or of pasture lands, threw the clergy, from the opulent grazier, and the Protestant proprietor, upon the *Catholic peasantry*—for the peasants are almost universally Catholics—for support. It drove them from those who were able, and who ought to have been willing to pay their *own* pastors, to those who were miserably poor, and who had a different clergy to provide for. The resolution of 1735 declared, in effect, that the established clergy should get nothing from the parks and demesnes of the Protestant nobility and gentry, the proprietors of the whole country, but that they might enter the garden of the poor Catholic cottier, and pluck from the lips of his starving family a tenth part of their scanty subsistence! And, is it really surprising that the peasantry should have revolted at such an atrocious system?—that they should have endeavoured to wreak their vengeance on their ruthless oppressors?—and that from the era of the Whiteboys, down to the present hour, the tithe-system should have been the inexhaustible source of contention, bloodshed, and murder? The Irish clergy generally employ an agent, or proctor; who, immediately before harvest, estimates the barrels of corn, tons of hay, or hundred weight of potatoes he supposes to be on the ground, and, charging them at the market price, fixes the sum to be paid as a compensation to his spiritual superior. The parson sometimes leases the tithes to a proctor; and he again, not unfrequently, lets them to another; so that the land really becomes, as Mr Grattan emphatically stated, ‘*a prey to a subordination of cultures.*’* In the South, Mr Wakefield says, the tithe is set out and sold by public auction on the premises; and, in Connaught, he tells us, that it was customary to hold a sale *before* harvest; and to give to the highest bidder a license to collect the tithe! ‘It is not alone,’ said Mr Grattan, ‘the excess of exaction which makes the tithe farmer a public misfortune—his mode of collection is another scourge. He puts his charges into one or more notes, payable at a certain time; if not then discharged, he serves the countryman with a summons, charging him 6d. for the service, and 1s. for the summons; he then, sometimes, puts the whole into a *Kerry bond*, or instrument which bears interest; he then either keeps the bond over his head, or issues out execution, and gets the countryman’s *body and goods completely into his power*! To such an abuse is this abominable practice carried, that in some of the southern parts of Ire-

* Grattan’s Speeches, Vol. ii. p. 11. London. 1822.

land, the peasantry are made tributary to the tithe farmer: draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf, or give him their labour, their cows, their horses, at certain times of the year for—nothing! These oppressions not only exist, but have acquired a formed and distinct appellation—*tributes*; tributes to extortioners; tributes paid by the poor in the name of the Lord.”—*Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 45.

‘Those who are favourable to the tithe system of Ireland,’ says Mr Wakefield, ‘assert that a farmer can claim the protection of the law against any illegal exaction or oppression of a tithe proctor. This argument may appear plausible to those who are not acquainted with the situation of the cultivators of land in that country. It may be true as far as the *theory* of the law is concerned; but theory and *practice* are very different. I have seen the practice, and I know that *redress from the law is out of the reach of the Irish cultivator*. His poverty precludes him from preferring his complaint in a Court of Justice. In Ireland there is law in abundance, and it is dealt out with no sparing hand to those who can purchase it; but to the poor man, justice is inaccessible; it is, however, at the command of his opponent, who never hesitates to sue him in the Spiritual Court, while the clergyman, shielding himself under the act of his proctor, stands by a cold and unconcerned spectator, taking no part in the transaction! The consequence is what I have already stated—discontent, riot, and bloodshed. The poor, miserable, and ignorant cottier when thus oppressed, has recourse to resistance as his only alternative; he despairs of legal redress, and submission would expose him to ruin. In this pressing and deplorable situation, he gives way to the ferocious impulses of passion; he ranges himself under the banners of his associates in misfortune; and the whole depending on their united strength, proceed to acts of violence and outrage, which they consider as a just retaliation.”—Vol. ii. p. 492.

Mr Wakefield’s authority does not require corroboration; but if it did, we could produce a host of witnesses to substantiate what he has here advanced. We shall, however, give one additional testimony, that of Mr J. W. Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty. That gentleman is well known to be the author of the able pamphlet, entitled ‘Past and Present State of Ireland;’ and it is there distinctly stated, that ‘*in Ireland, the law is not a refuge to the poor, but a luxury to the rich. The Courts are open to the indigent only as spectators. The peasant, oppressed or defrauded to the amount of 10*l.*, cannot buy even a chance of redress in the lottery of the laws for less than 60*l.* By victory or defeat, he is equally and irremediably ruined.*’ (p. 48. Dublin Ed.)

Such are the Courts before which the poor Irish peasantry are dragged by thousands! On the 18th of March last, the House of Commons ordered that a return should be made

of the number of tithe cases tried before the Quarter-sessions of the different counties, and the Ecclesiastical Courts of the different dioceses of Ireland, during the last five years. The returns since obtained have been printed:—but they are not by any means complete. The returns from the Quarter-sessions of Clare, Cork, Limerick, and some other important counties, and from the Ecclesiastical Courts of Dublin, Derry, &c. have not been received; and it has, in most instances, been found impossible to separate the tithe from the other cases tried at the Quarter-sessions. Enough, however, has transpired to show the enormous and almost inconceivable extent of litigation, or, to speak more correctly, of legal oppression, to which this system has given occasion. It appears from the return, that no fewer than 3037 tithe cases have been tried during the last *five* years before the Quarter-sessions of the single county of Tipperary! In 1817 alone, there were 1084 tithe cases! The number of such cases tried before the Quarter-sessions of the small county of Monaghan, is not exactly ascertained; but it appears from the return, that in the course of the last *five* years, 2198 suits, being at the rate of 500 suits a year, have been entered by *clergymen and tithe-farmers!* The expense in which these actions involve the peasantry, is ruinous in the extreme. We are told by Sir Henry Parnell, that a mere citation in a tithe case of the value of 18s. 10d., costs the defender *fifty shillings!* *

It will be remembered, that these cases are all *exclusive* of the actions before the Ecclesiastical Courts. Now, these make a goodly show. The same official paper informs us, that in the last *five* years, 158 tithe cases have been brought before the Consistorial Court of the diocese of Cloyne; 195 before that of the diocese of Cork; 228 before that of Down; 513 before that of Ossory; 203 before that of Meath, &c. &c. We learn from the same returns, that the Consistorial Court of Meath rated the tithe of wheat land, in 1821, so high as 1*l.* 5s. an Irish acre! † The highest rate, in most of the other Ecclesiastical Courts for the same period, does not appear to have exceeded 16s. The rate per acre charged on potatoes seems to vary from 21s. to 16s., 12s., and 5s. The average is, we think, about 12s. or 14s.

Such are the principal features of the Irish tithe system—a system which has paralyzed Ireland to the heart, and which has

* Parliamentary Debates, 5th July 1820.

† The English acre is to the Irish acre as 121 to 196, or nearly as 5 to 8.

powerfully contributed to fill a country that ought to have been rich, flourishing, and happy, with misery and crime. ‘The most sanguinary laws in the statute-books of Ireland, said Mr Grattan, ‘are tithe-bills. The Whiteboy Act is a tithe-bill; the Riot Act ‘is a tithe-bill;’ * the Insurrection Act is a tithe-bill. But the outrages they were intended to suppress have, notwithstanding, increased. No severity of punishment will ever be sufficient to induce men quietly to submit to such unparalleled extortion. We may send hundreds of thousands of troops into Ireland—we may erect a gibbet in every village, and fence every cottage with bayonets; but until this monstrous and complicated system of abuse and oppression be put down, the flames of civil war, and the inhuman attacks of the midnight murderer, will never cease to spread terror and desolation throughout the country.

It is affirmed, that any scheme for the abolition of tithes in Ireland, or even for their *commutation*, would be opposed by the whole influence of the clergy of England. But such a statement is altogether incredible. It is impossible that the ministers of the Church of England can ever become the supporters of the abuses we have now exhibited. It is idle to attempt to excite their fears by telling them, that if tithes are abolished in Ireland, they must also be abolished in England. There is no parallel whatever between the two cases. The Church Establishment of England is as unlike that of Ireland as Protestantism is unlike Catholicism. We think, with Dr Paley, that it would be greatly for the mutual advantage of the Church and people of England, were tithes fairly commuted. But scarcely any one will say, that the number of ecclesiastical dignitaries, and of beneficed clergy, in England, as compared with the duties they have to perform, is excessive; or that the services of so learned, respectable, and useful a body of men could be obtained at a cheaper rate. In Ireland, the case is totally different. A *fifth* part of the dignitaries, and a *third* part of the beneficed clergy of that country, would be amply sufficient for the performance of every duty which the most conscientious discharge of their functions, as ministers of religion, could possibly impose on them.

But if it be deemed inexpedient to reduce the number of the clergy, and to abolish tithes altogether, they must at all events be *commuted*. We say *must*; for it is plain that the present odious system cannot be allowed to continue to propagate discontent and bloodshed. Various plans of commutation have

* Grattan's Speeches, vol. ii. p. 49.

been suggested; but the imposition of a *percentage* on rents appears to be decidedly the best. It proceeds on plain and obvious principles, and would always secure an ample provision for the clergy. Such a *percentage* should be made to affect all rents indiscriminately; and an end should be put to the unjustifiable distinction which the vote of 1735 made between pasture and tillage lands. It would be proper to enact, that the *percentage* on account of tithe should always be paid by the landlord. Such a regulation would remove every ground of contention between the clergy and the peasantry and farmers, and would do more to consolidate the interests of the Established Church, and to make its functionaries respected and beloved, than any other measure it is possible to adopt short of the total abolition of tithes.

III. *Government and Magistracy.*—But the total repeal of the Catholic Code, and the commutation or abolition of Tithes, will have comparatively little effect, unless the system on which the Executive Government of Ireland has been conducted, be wholly changed. She requires a national, not a partisan government. The Anticatholic faction which has always predominated at the Castle, has never suffered the Catholics to derive any real or solid advantage from the concessions of 1793. ‘It had been often asked why, in the case of the Irish Catholics, satisfaction did not follow concession. One reason might be assigned: it was this—because concession was always followed by the curse of bigots in that country, which, like blight or mildew, fastened on the boon, whether it proceeded from Royal favour, or Legislative graciousness.’ * Every thing liberal and conciliatory which the Cabinet of St James’s or Parliament have done towards the Irish people, has been intercepted in its progress to them, and either stopped altogether, or sent forth under some illiberal qualification. The violence of the Catholic leaders, which gave so much offence during the administration of the Duke of Richmond and Mr Peel, was provoked and kept alive by Castle prosecutions against them for meeting to petition Parliament; and by the efforts of a scurrilous press ‘openly paid by Government, for the most scandalous, malignant, and indiscriminate libels on the whole Catholic body.’ † The circumstances which led to the dismissal of Lord Talbot, will, we trust, open the eyes of Ministers and Parliament to a conviction of the necessity of doing away altogether with the colonial or

* Mr Plunkett’s Speech, 22d April 1822.

† Mr Plunkett’s Speech, 26th April 1816. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 34. p. 46.

deputy-government of Ireland. The people have been so long accustomed to see this government continually in the possession and under the control of the Ultra-Protestant party; and it has so bad a character amongst them, that they will never place any confidence in any act of Parliament, or any measure of the English Cabinet, so long as it exists. They never have derived any protection from it; and they will never look for protection to any other quarter, but to the King and his Ministers in London.

The communication between London and Dublin is now, by means of improved roads and steam-navigation, rendered so perfectly safe, expeditious, and regular, that there is no reason why a Secretary of State, resident in London, should not transact the business of Ireland, as easily and effectually as he transacts that of Scotland. A Lord Lieutenant ought to be appointed to each Irish county, who would, at all times, convey to the seat of Government intelligence of any symptoms of disturbance, at the same time that he would serve to control the violence, or rouse the activity, of the magistrates; and prevent them from being, as at present, either in a state of feverish excitement, or of indolence and apathy. By this means, the laws intended to conciliate the people would have their legitimate influence upon them; and the laws for their coercion would be administered with the force and effect of measures coming directly from the seat of Government. By this means, also, a most salutary reformation would be effected in the disposal of the patronage of the Crown in Ireland. The Bench of Bishops, the Bench of Judges, the Revenue department, and all the Public Offices would soon wear a different appearance, were the rules, such as they are, by which the patronage of the Crown is bestowed in England, applied in Ireland.

It is commonly supposed that Dublin derives great advantage from the residence of the Lords Lieutenant, and that the recall of these functionaries would be productive of its decline and ruin. But this opinion is plainly unfounded. It is impossible that so populous a city can be materially affected by the expenditure of 30,000*l.* a year! Dublin does not depend for its support on its being the focus from whence the follies and vices of a mimic Court are dispersed throughout the country. The foundations of its prosperity rest on a firmer basis. The Courts of Law, the University, the facility of conveyance to England, and the polished and agreeable society of that city, must always render Dublin a place of genteel resort; while the canals that connect her with nearly the whole interior of Ireland, and her advantageous situation with respect to the great

trading cities of Glasgow, Liverpool, and Bristol, must always secure for her a very large share of the export and import trade of the country. It is only necessary to walk through her streets to be convinced of her improving condition,—a circumstance which is now placed beyond dispute by the late census; which shows that there has been an increase of 4,421 houses, and of 55,821 inhabitants, since the census taken by Dr Whitelaw in 1798.

The faithful discharge of the duties attached to the office of Sheriff, is obviously a matter of the highest importance; but in Ireland, this office has been most shamefully prostituted and perverted. Nominally, the appointment of Sheriff is in the Lord Lieutenant and Council; but, in reality, it always rests with the head of the party in each county who supports ministers. The whole business is transacted by the Sub-Sheriff.

‘He is commonly,’ says Mr Wakefield, ‘some attorney in the county, and is the law agent for all dirty work, and the ready minister of corruption. His employer requires no other qualification than good or substantial security; and although this office is one of great risk, and high responsibility, these Irish attorneys are always anxious to obtain it, and generous enough to undertake it *without any salary!* The truth is, every thing is done by a “Chamberlain’s Key.” I was informed from good authority, that the situation of Sub-sheriff for the county of Tipperary, was worth 2000*l.* a year. In matters of arrest, a writ might as well be sent to the captain of a Newfoundland trader, as to a Sheriff’s officer; it would be an immediate fee in the pocket of the Sub-sheriff, who would apprise the debtor of his danger, and, in return, receive the expected present! Where the higher classes are concerned, the common expression is, “What, arrest a gentleman!” I should not venture to exhibit a charge of this kind, were I not certain of the fact. I have experienced practical instances of this corruption myself, and I could relate upwards of five hundred that have been communicated to me by respectable persons.’ Vol. ii. p. 346.

Nothing can be more disgraceful to the executive Government, or more derogatory from the character of the courts of law, than their suffering such abuses to grow up and flourish under their immediate observation. Lord Reddesdale, when Chancellor of Ireland, said from the Bench, that he found the dictum of Sir Edward Coke, that execution was the termination of the suit, did not apply in Ireland; for that the writ of execution there, led to endless litigation, by the attachments which became necessary against the Sheriff. We hope the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Abuses of the Irish Law Courts and Offices, will sift these villanous and destructive practices to the bottom; and not only expose the extent and iniquity

of the corruption carried on, but propose some effectual remedy for preventing a set of profligate attorneys from enriching themselves by the sale of law and justice.

A reform of the Irish Magistracy is another absolutely necessary measure. Mr Wakefield reprobates 'the partiality, corruption, venality, ignorance, and tyranny' of the Irish Magistrates in the severest terms; and the charges which he brings against them, are supported by the concurrent testimony of the most respectable Irish Judges and Members of Parliament. When the question respecting the disturbances in the county of Sligo, in 1806, was before the House of Peers, Lord Kingston declared that he believed 'the Magistrates were their real promoters.' And his Lordship added, that 'the conduct of many of these functionaries was such as to disgrace the Magistracy; and some of them deserved rather to be hanged than to be made Magistrates!' And Mr Justice Day, in his address to the Grand Jury of the county of Kerry, at the spring assizes for 1811, publicly accused the Magistrates of the county 'of neglect, corruption, and partiality.'

Religious prejudices, and the Ultra-protestant spirit of the Government, seem to be the chief causes of the wretched state of the Irish Magistracy. The great body of Magistrates throughout the whole of Ireland are exclusively Protestants; and in the northern counties, they are not only Protestants but Orangemen, or violent supporters of the Orange faction. This partisan system vitiates and contaminates every thing; but, above all, the judicial character. A large class of the cases which come before the Magistrates in the capacity of grand jurors, sheriffs, &c., originate in the riots which are always taking place between the Orangemen and the Catholic peasantry; and with such Judges and such parties, it is idle to suppose that impartial laws will ever be impartially administered. What must be the situation of a country, where an insurrection act gives to such a Magistracy the power of *transporting; without the intervention of a jury, any individual who shall happen to be out of his own house after sunset?*

We shall refer to one more authority to show the wretched composition of the Irish Magistracy, and the practicability of reforming it. In a speech made by the late Right Honourable George Ponsonby, in his place in the House of Commons, 26th April 1816, he stated, that, 'when he had the honour to hold the Great Seal for Ireland, he had found that the Catholics were, in point of fact, excluded from many of those offices they were by law eligible to fill. He had found that a *Catholic gentleman was never chosen for a Magistrate.* Not only the office

of Sheriff, but even that of Justice of the Peace, was invariably given to the friends of those who had political power. Such a state of things he had viewed as that which ought not to exist. A complete change he had felt must be effected in Ireland; and all idea of making the officers of justice subservient to political purposes, he was satisfied, ought to be put an end to. On looking into the state of the Magistracy, he had found it to be any thing but what it ought to have been. He found among the Magistrates one who had been a waiter at a little inn, and whose office it had been to wait behind the chairs of the Grand Jury over whom he had been chosen to preside! He had found several cases in some respects similar to that just alluded to, and to these he had thought it his duty to supply a remedy. He had tried to effect a general reform; and he had undertaken so arduous a task in this way—he first wrote to every Privy Councillor and Peer in the kingdom, requesting each to point out to him, without any regard to political or personal feeling, any Magistrate known to them against whose continuance in office any fair charge could lie. Acting on this principle, the information he had obtained enabled him to effect some important changes. He had only been able to apply this plan to two counties before he retired from office. Enough, however, had been done to show that a general reform might be effected, and ought to be accomplished at the first favourable moment.*

Mr Ponsonby left office in 1807, after being about a year in possession of the Seals. An Anticatholic Ministry succeeded; and the Magistracy continues to this hour in the state it was in fifteen years ago. 'In England there is a vigorous and united Magistracy. In Ireland, the Magistracy is distracted by party and political differences; and there are many Magistrates on the Bench who, to say the least, *never ought to have been there.*'†

We do not mean to say that the character we have now given applies to all the Magistrates of Ireland. In that country, as in most others, there are a number of gentlemen of character and fortune, who rise above the prejudices and party feelings which exert so powerful an influence over the conduct of the ultras of either party. But truth constrains us to say, that the number of such magistrates is comparatively few; and that the system which has been followed in promoting to the Bench, has had the effect of making a considerable number of them decline taking any active part in public business. This is a state of things which calls loudly for amendment. 'From Henry to George, the habitual weakness of the law has been the first cause of the habitual weakness of the country.' To do away

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxxiv. p. 70.

† Mr Grant's Speech, 22d April 1822.

this cause of weakness, jealousy, and distrust, you must give the peasantry confidence in the law, and you must render it cheap and easily attainable. To effect the first object, the Magistracy must be thoroughly reformed. The services of the clergy in that capacity, ought, if possible, to be dispensed with; the good they do is extremely problematical—the mischief certain and obvious. The Justice-seat ought to be preserved alike from being polluted by the insignia of Orange societies, and the presence of Orangemen. But no man's religion ought to be a bar to his elevation, provided he be otherwise unexceptionable. For the same reason that we would not exclude Protestants from the Bench, because they are Protestants, neither would we exclude Catholics merely because they are Catholics. It is not to the conscientious Protestant or Catholic that we object, but to the intemperate zealots of both parties. No confidence will ever be placed in the tribunals of the country, if the utmost fairness and impartiality be not displayed in the selection of Judges and Magistrates. In vain do the apologists of the present system contend, that these functionaries are not so corrupt, venal, and partial as has been represented. The charges, we think, have been completely made out. But supposing them to be entirely unfounded, you could not, as the law now stands, convince the body of the people, that justice either is or can be impartially administered. It is the bane of the existing system, that it gives a suspicious colour, an appearance of partiality, to the acts of the most upright judge.

‘It is in vain, while penal exclusion exists, to preach to the Catholic peasant the doctrine of equal justice between Protestant and Catholic. As long as he sees the Judges, the Sheriffs and their official dependents, exclusively Protestants;—the bigotted portion of the clergy on the Bench of Magistrates,—their very bigotry, and propensity to intermeddle in politics, often forming their title to that office;—the beneficed parson the judge, and, in the ecclesiastical courts, the sole judge of tithe cases, and of the numerous questions thence arising—often adjudging the claims set up by his own tithe-farmer—it is not within the power of rhetoric to persuade him to rely on procuring redress from oppression from such magistrates. So long as the wretched remnant of the Catholic code remains, so long will it excite suspicions of partiality,—so long will every error—every accidental slip, and many such must occur in a country like Ireland—of the judicial or civil magistrate, be imputed to a premeditated design, on the part of Protestants, to trample under foot those whom such distinctions continue to degrade.’ *

To render justice easily attainable, which is as indispensable

* Reflections on the state of Ireland in the nineteenth century, pp. 53. 55.

as a reform of the magistracy, you have only to repeal the worst of all taxes—those on law proceedings—and to reduce the fees of Court!—to dispense justice, instead of selling it at a price which none but the rich can afford to pay.

At present the Grand Juries appoint and dismiss the constables. They are authorized to appoint *ten* to each barony, and to give each a salary of 20*l.* a year, though they rarely give them more than 4*l.* or 5*l.* The unfitness of the magistrates for their duties, has had the effect of rendering the constables, on whose efficiency so much depends, utterly impotent. Instead of appointing strong, active and vigorous persons to this arduous situation, the constables generally consist of the lodge-keepers, coach-drivers, and other dependents of the Grand Jurors, who protect them when they are charged with being absent, as they generally are, from their duty. The consequence is, that there is really no active or efficient civil power in the country; and to the impunity for crimes, which is thus produced, must be attributed no small portion of those violations of the public peace which are daily occurring. The system of intimidation, upon which the people act, has the greatest influence. And until a really efficient magistracy, and a numerous and active body of constables, shall have been formed, it will be impossible to counteract the illegal combinations of the people, or to give that security to witnesses which is indispensable to the ends of justice. The direct, and, we think, the best way to effect so desirable an object, would be to cancel all the existing commissions of the peace; to appoint a Lord Lieutenant, a resident nobleman if possible, at all events a resident proprietor, to each county, who should have the selection of the persons to be put into the new commission, an instruction being given him not to allow difference of religion to have any influence in determining his choice; and to give to the magistrates so chosen full power to appoint as many constables as they thought necessary,—to raise or diminish their salaries according to the duty they had to perform, and to dismiss them at pleasure. By this means, the magistracy would be purified; and Government would have to deal with a public functionary—with an individual of rank and fortune, who would feel himself personally responsible to ministers and the public for the peace of the county. The civil power would thus acquire a consistency, an activity, and a force which it can never attain so long as the present system is kept up; and we venture to predict that, under such an arrangement, the system of intimidation would be repressed; and that it would be comparatively seldom necessary to call in the military, or to have recourse to the dangerous assistance of an armed police.

The frequency of litigation might be lessened, and a most prolific source of oppression and irritation dried up, by making a change in the existing law between landlords and subtenants. We are not disposed to join in the clamour that has been raised against middlemen. In the actual circumstances of the tenantry of Ireland, subletting is unavoidable. But we think it equally unjust and inexpedient that a subtenant, who has paid his rent to the principal tacksman, should, in the event of the bankruptcy of the latter, be liable to be distrained by the landlord. Were this practice put an end to, landlords would be rendered infinitely more attentive to the character and qualifications of their principal tenants; and the occupiers would be relieved from that insecurity and want of confidence which at present tends to paralyze all their exertions, and to make them indolent and careless. The late Earl of Clare, then Attorney-General, had this practice in view when he affirmed in the House of Commons, that 'the peasantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords!'

No scheme for the improvement of the institutions of Ireland deserves the least attention, which has not for its object to give the people an interest in the support of the Government, to remove the existing provocations to violate the laws, or to secure their execution. Now, it appears to us that these three grand objects would all be materially forwarded by the adoption of the measures we have proposed. Catholic emancipation, by taking away all those degrading disabilities which the majority of the people now lie under, would remove one great source of distraction and of disaffection to the Government, and would induce the people to rally round a constitution which protected and secured the rights of all. 'Emancipation is not a charm that will allay every discontent, or remove every grievance, but it is a *sine qua non* to this being done; and without it, no other system of measures can be entirely successful.'* The abolition or commutation of tithes would relieve the peasantry from a most oppressive, arbitrary, and ruinous impost. And the consolidation of the Governments of the two countries, with the reformation of the magistracy and civil power, would go far to take away the spirit of partisanship from the acts of the executive, at the same time that it would give the people confidence in the administration of the laws, and provide for their being carried into effect by cheap, adequate, and constitutional means. Hitherto the dominant party have overlooked the real cause of the disturbances and atrocities of which Ireland has been the

* Mr Plunkett's Speech, 26th April 1816.

theatre. It does not lie in the perverse habits and inclinations of the wretches whom they have browbeaten, oppressed, and sent to the gallows, but *in themselves*—in their own domineering, rapacious, and intolerant behaviour. If they reform their own conduct entirely, the poor, they may be assured, will not be long in reforming theirs. Let them bear in mind that ‘exile and death are not the instruments of government, but the miserable expedients which show the absence of all government.’ * Let them treat the peasantry as men who ought to be as free, and who have the same rights and feelings as themselves, and those disorders which are the result of religious and political habits and animosities, will soon cease to disturb the peace and tranquillity of society.

IV. *Education*.—But although it is unquestionably true that much of the turbulence and disorderly habits of the Irish people have their source in the political and religious oppressions to which they are subjected, it is no less true that much also is owing to their ignorance, poverty, and redundant numbers. The adoption of the measures we have already suggested, will do a great deal to promote the tranquillity and prosperity of the country; but, to render them completely effectual, they must be combined with others. A vigorous effort must be made to change the habits of the people—to wean them from idleness to industry, and to induce them to exercise a little more prudence and forethought in the formation of matrimonial connexions. We do not wish to underrate the difficulties which must always oppose every plan which has for its object to effect any considerable change in the habits of the bulk of the people; but these difficulties are not insuperable. And the astonishing increase of population in Ireland, the habitual and growing poverty of the people, and their total incapacity to provide for themselves in seasons of scarcity, are evils of the first magnitude, and call upon Government immediately to adopt such measures as may tend to arrest the progress of pauperism, and, if possible, to lessen its amount.

Of the different measures which have been proposed as likely to attain this object, none have been more generally recommended than the extension of Education. But we are of opinion, that infinitely more benefit would result from the adoption of a *different system* of education, than can ever result from the utmost extension of the present system. The Irish are ignorant; but they are not ignorant in the common acceptation of the word. In so far as mere reading and writing are

* Mr Plunkett's Speech, 26th April 1816.

concerned, they are quite as well, if not better instructed than the English. But the schoolmasters of England, and, more emphatically still, of Scotland, are a highly respectable, as well as a most useful body of men. Besides instructing their pupils in the elementary branches of education, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, they have imbued their minds with a deep sense of the obligations of religion and morality, and with a just respect for the laws and institutions of their country. But such, we regret to say, has not been the line of conduct pursued by the greater number of the country schoolmasters of Ireland. They have not enforced a regard for the *benevolent* precepts of the Gospel on the infant minds of those intrusted to their charge, and they have sedulously inculcated not a respect, but a contempt, for the laws and institutions of the country. 'Instead of expanding, the education of the Irish peasantry has served to narrow their minds; and instead of inspiring them with notions of morality, it has paved the way for the commission of every species of vice.' *

'The country schoolmaster,' says the well-informed and liberal author of the "Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland," 'is independent of all system and control; he is himself one of the people, imbued with the same prejudices, influenced by the same feelings, subject to the same habits; to his little store of learning he generally adds some traditional tales of the country, of a character to keep alive discontent. He is the scribe, as well as the chronicler, and the pedagogue of his little circle,—he writes their letters, and derives from this no small degree of influence and profit; but he has open to him another source of deeper interest and greater emolument, which he seldom has virtue enough to leave unexplored—he is the centre of the mystery of rustic iniquity, the cheap attorney of the neighbourhood, and, furnished with his little book of precedents, the fabricator of false leases, and surreptitious deeds and conveyances. Possessed of important secrets and of useful information, he is courted and caressed; a cordial reception and the usual allowance of whisky greets his approach; and he completes his character by adding inebriety to his other accomplishments. Such is frequently the rural schoolmaster,—a personage whom Poetry would adorn with primeval innocence, and all the flowers of her garland! So true it is that ignorance is not simplicity, nor rudeness honesty.' p. 12.

And yet it does not appear to us that either the schoolmasters or the people are to blame—the fault is not theirs, but ours. The immorality, prejudices, and disaffection of the one and

* Essay on the Condition and Manners of the Irish Peasantry, by Dr Bell. p. 39.

the other, are the result of the persecution they have undergone. Instead of establishing parochial, or other schools for the education of the poor Catholics, we actually forbade their instruction. Under pretence of discouraging Popery, laws were enacted, prohibiting, under heavy penalties, any Catholic from teaching in any school, or instructing youth either publicly or privately! * It is highly to the credit of the Irish people, that their taste for knowledge was not altogether effaced by *eighty* years operation of these brutal and disgusting statutes. But their tyranny and injustice were too gross and glaring to render their rigorous execution possible. In summer, the children of the peasantry sought instruction from their teachers beneath hedges, in the open air; and in winter, they followed them to some miserable hovel. Surely, however, it was not to be expected that men exposed to so unmerited, and so intolerable a persecution, were to inculcate moderation and the forgiveness of injuries—or that the victims of injustice and oppression were to enforce the duty of obedience to Government, and of respect for the laws! Gratitude is one of the strongest marked traits in the Irish character; and, had the schoolmasters been kindly treated, they would, doubtless, have laboured to promote the interests of Government; but, finding themselves persecuted and oppressed, they laboured to instil a rooted hatred of the English name and nation, and of the professors of the Protestant religion, into the minds of their pupils. They represented the English as plunderers, who had robbed them of their lands, and reduced them to a state of bondage, and as infidels who had abjured the only true faith; and they taught them, that it was their duty to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for expelling the invaders from their shores, and for repossessing themselves of that property they had usurped. Every one who knows any thing of the state of Ireland, knows what a powerfully disastrous influence this early training has had on the public mind.

The laws prohibiting Catholics from teaching, were repealed in 1782; but the infection which they generated has not yet been extirpated. It has been sheltered and protected by the miserable remnant of the penal code. Men naturally hate and undervalue that in which they are not permitted to participate. And so long as emancipation is withheld, it will be worse than idle to expect that the Catholic schoolmasters should be sincerely attached to the institutions of the country, or that they should seriously inculcate a respect for them.

* 7th William III. cap. 4. § 9.; 8th Anne cap. 3. § 16.]

The poor and dependent condition of the schoolmasters is also productive of very bad effects. Their salaries are so small, that no respectable, or well educated man, would choose to devote himself to so unprofitable and irksome an occupation. Neither are the books generally used in the schools of the class best fitted to instruct and inform the mind. So far indeed from this being the case, they are, with a very few exceptions, of the very worst description. For the most part, they consist of the lives of thieves, witches, smugglers, and prostitutes, or of wild and extravagant tales; of books which either tend to inflame and strengthen the worst passions, or to fill the mind with extravagant and absurd notions of real life. It is an abuse of language to say that people taught to read only such books are educated. They are worse than ignorant. Their understanding is depraved and perverted. To learn, they must begin by unlearning most of what they have already acquired.*

We must say, that the Catholic Clergy seem to have been guilty of a very culpable inattention to the state of the schools at which their parishioners are educated, in not putting a stop to the use of these publications. Had they interfered with the spirit and energy they have sometimes manifested on occasions of infinitely less moment, it is difficult to suppose that this demoralizing practice could have been so long continued. Certainly we have no right to expect that the Catholic Clergy should charge their schoolmasters to enforce respect for a Government which has loaded them with degrading disabilities: But we have a right to expect, and we do expect, that they will charge them to discard the infamous publications now taught in their schools, and to substitute others in their place, fitted to improve the moral

* Mr Wakefield has given (vol. ii. p. 400) a list of some of the common school and cottage classics of Ireland. It contains, amongst others, the 'History of the Seven Champions of Christendom;' 'History of Fair Rosamond and Jane Shore,' two prostitutes; 'Ovid's Art of Love;' 'Devil and Dr Faustus;' 'Moll Flanders;' 'Mendoza's New System of Boxing;' 'History of Donna Rozina,' a Spanish prostitute, &c. &c. Mr Wakefield's censure has not abated the nuisance. In the debate on Sir John Newport's motion, 22d April, Mr Spring Rice stated there were 8000 schoolmasters in Ireland. 'Among these, however, he was sorry to say there existed much mischief. In some of the schools he knew pernicious books were used. In one instance he had found that the *text book* for the boys was the history of a famous robber, the Captain Rock of some fifty years ago.' Mr Grant corroborated Mr Rice's statements. 'The schoolmasters and the books,' he observed, 'were of the very worst species.'

and intellectual qualities of the scholars. If the clergy have any regard either for the temporal or eternal interests of their flocks, and we are willing to believe they have both, they will certainly interpose to check so disgraceful a practice, and to prevent the seminaries destined for the instruction of youth from becoming hotbeds of iniquity, and nurseries for the gallows. The Catholic Clergy object to the use of the Bible in schools, unless it be accompanied with notes; and we are not theologians enough to say whether this is right or wrong. But if such be their opinion, let them print a cheap edition of the Bible with notes, for a class-book. The author of the 'Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland,' and all other intelligent Catholics, admit, that the poor of their communion are *completely destitute of all religious and moral instruction*. It should be a principal object with the priesthood to labour to supply so great a desideratum.

To facilitate the acquisition of really useful instruction, and to render the schoolmasters respectable, the Government ought to establish parochial schools for the exclusive education of the Catholics, on the plan of the Scots' parish schools. It is useless to attempt to organize any general plan of education to comprehend all classes of the people. The prejudices by which the Irish are animated, are too strong to admit of such a measure being successfully carried into effect. To give confidence to the Catholics, and to convince them that the plan for educating the poor is not to be made a cover for a concerted system of proselytism, the parochial Catholic schools should be placed exclusively under the direction of the Catholic Clergy. But there could be no objection to the establishment of a Board of Visitors in each county, to consist of an equal number of Protestant and Catholic gentlemen, who should have power to inspect the schools of both sects, and to exclude such books, and such only, as they considered of an immoral tendency. It would be of the greatest advantage were a few of the elementary Principles of Political Economy taught in these schools. Nothing would contribute more to check the alarming increase of a redundant population, and to stem the torrent of pauperism, than to point out and explain to the peasantry the misery and ruin that improvident and premature marriages must infallibly entail on themselves.

There is no country in which larger sums have been expended ostensibly for the purposes of education than Ireland. Seven royal schools were founded by Charles I., and endowed with large estates by Charles II. But the funds have, in most cases, been perverted to very different purposes from the education of

youth. Dr Bell mentions, that he ‘knew one of these schools, ‘from which the master, a beneficed clergyman, *who never went near it*, received 1500*l.* a year, while the usher, a man of ‘learning, who did all the duty, received only 40*l.*’* Neither does it appear that the state of these schools has been improved since. The estates belonging to them are generally let far below their real value, and the rents are principally divided among nominal or honorary masters. When Mr Wakefield was in Ireland, the rental of the estates belonging to the Cavan school amounted to 900*l.* a year, but there was *not a single scholar*. ‘Who,’ asks Mr Wakefield, ‘will talk of *lower orders* after ‘such an exposure as this?’

Besides the *royal* schools, there are thirty-nine *charter* schools. These schools were founded in 1733, for the laudable purpose ‘of instructing the Popish and other poor natives in the English tongue.’ But the religious prejudices of the Ultra-Protestants, to whom the charge of these establishments was committed, have produced a total failure in the objects for which they were avowedly intended. Their real object has been to make proselytes, not scholars. But instead of accomplishing this object, they have made only enemies; and their proceedings have tended, in no slight degree, to exasperate the different sects against each other. They have always been regarded with peculiar aversion by the Catholics. We are told by Mr Wakefield, that the lower class of Catholics seldom pass one of these schools without giving vent to their feelings in curses and execrations. Nor can it be denied that they have had pretty good grounds for their disgust. Mr Wakefield has given the following extract from a Catechism which was very lately, if it be not still, in use in the charter schools.

‘Q. Is the Church of Rome a sound and uncorrupt Church?’

‘A. No. It is extremely corrupt in doctrine and practice.’

‘Q. What do you think of the frequent crossings upon which the Papists lay so great a stress?’

‘A. They are vain and superstitious. The worship of the Crucifixion, or figure of Christ upon the Cross, is idolatrous; and the adoring and praying to the Cross itself is, of all the corruptions of the Popish worship, the most gross and intolerable.’

‘I am persuaded,’ says Mr Wakefield, ‘that it is impossible for any but a member of the Church of Rome to judge of the feelings of a parent of that sect, who knows that his child is brought up to abhor and condemn every rite which he has been taught to venerate.’ (Vol. ii. p. 412.)

The support of these nurseries of bigotry and intolerance

* Condition and Manners of the Irish peasantry, p. 43.

costs the public upwards of 30,000*l.* a year, besides about 10,000*l.* a year derived from private sources. They are supposed to have, on an average, about 2000 scholars, which gives an annual expense of 20*l.* a year for each.

In addition to these establishments, there are twenty diocesan schools with considerable revenues; thirty-three publicly endowed classical schools with a revenue of about 9000*l.* a year; fourteen classical schools endowed by individuals, two of which are possessed of estates yielding an annual revenue of about 1500*l.* a year; four classical schools, on the endowment of Erasmus Smith, with a revenue of 4000*l.* a year; and a vast number of schools on private foundations, some of them with large revenues, for instruction in English, writing, &c. If to these we add the sums expended on the Blue-coat Hospital, and the Hibernian School at Dublin, &c., it will be seen that there are in Ireland ample funds, had they been properly administered, to have provided for the instruction of a large proportion of the people. But most of these funds have been wholly misapplied and perverted; and the late extension of education has been chiefly owing to the laudable efforts of the various benevolent associations for providing for the instruction of the Irish poor. Altogether, there are at present in Ireland no fewer than 8000 schools of all descriptions, which are supposed to be attended by about 400,000 scholars. *

But, great as have been the efforts of these societies, nothing short of the establishment of Catholic parochial schools, on some such plan as we have already suggested, will ever secure a proper system of education for the Irish people. Something of degradation must always attach to the idea of being educated in a school which is wholly, or even partially, supported by charitable contributions. The parents of the children who attend such schools, and even the children themselves, cannot but feel that they are there only because they are paupers, dependent on the bounty of others; and this feeling has a strong tendency to destroy that sense of manly independence, of moral dignity, and of self-respect, for the want of which no education can compensate. We would not have the people of Ireland educated by an eleemosynary system, but by such a system as is established in this country. We would bring education within their reach. We would do this, however, not by beating up for alms in every corner of the kingdom, but by a grand legislative measure, establishing public, and not charity, schools in every parish, where both poor and rich would be placed on a footing of equality, and where the fees would be moderate.

* Mr Grant's Speech, 22d April 1822.

Besides the grants already mentioned, Government gives 8000*l.* or 9000*l.* a year towards the support of the Catholic College at Maynooth. This establishment is of the greatest utility. It has prevented the Catholic youth destined for the Church from seeking their education in foreign countries, and must thereby have prevented their imbibing many prejudices hostile to the public interests. The grant from Government only affords a pittance of about 25*l.* or 30*l.* to each Professor, and an allowance of about as much to each student. The students, who amount to about 250, have to pay 9*l.* 2*s.* of entry-money, and to provide themselves with clothes, books, &c. Considering the vast importance of having the Catholic priesthood well educated, and considering also the great poverty of that body, we certainly think that the grant given by Government to this College ought to be greatly increased. We despise the miserable economy of those who would save a few thousand pounds, by stinting the education of those who are to be the instructors and spiritual guides of so large a proportion of the people. But the grant to Maynooth might be sufficiently increased, without costing the public a single additional sixpence. Now that the folly of the attempts at proselytism has become obvious, there can be no reason whatever for continuing the grant to the charter schools. The suppression of these seminaries would, in fact, be a very great advantage. They never have been, and they never will be, productive of the smallest benefit; and their suppression would disengage a sum of 30,000*l.* a year, which might be applied in aid of the College of Maynooth, and for other purposes.

V. *Revenue Laws*.—But however confident we may feel that such a change in the system of education as we have suggested, would lead to a material and salutary change in the habits of the people, we should rely much more on the consequences that would result from giving them a greater command over the luxuries and conveniences of life. The rate of wages, which must always be mainly regulated by the cost of producing the principal necessities consumed by the labourers, is, in Ireland, determined by the lowest possible standard. An unfortunate train of circumstances has brought the Irish peasantry to an habitual, and almost exclusive dependence on the potatoe for the principal part of their food. They have few or no artificial wants—provided they are able to obtain a sufficient supply of potatoe, they are content to vegetate in rags and wretchedness. But as the potatoe is raised at less expense than any other species of food hitherto cultivated in Europe, and as wages are principally determined by the cost of its production, it is

easy to see that the peasantry must be reduced to a state of extreme and almost irremediable distress whenever that crop happens to be deficient. When wheat and beef constitute the principal part of the food of the labourer, and porter and beer the principal part of his drink; he can, in a period of scarcity, *bear to retrench*. Such a man has room to fall,—he can resort to cheaper articles—to barley, oats, rice, and potatoes. But when he is habitually and constantly fed on the very cheapest species of food, he has plainly nothing to resort to when deprived of it. The labourers, who are placed in such circumstances, are absolutely cut off from every resource. They are already so low, they can fall no lower. They are placed on the very verge of existence. Their wages being regulated by the price of potatoes, will not buy them wheat, or barley, or oats; and whenever, therefore, the supply of potatoes fails, it is next to impossible they can escape falling a sacrifice to famine.

The present state of Ireland furnishes a striking and melancholy proof of the accuracy of this statement. Owing to the failure of last potatoe crop, a very large proportion of the peasantry of Clare, Limerick, and other counties bordering on the Shannon, have been reduced to a state little short of absolute famine. But there was, notwithstanding, a continued *exportation* of oats, and other grain *from Ireland to this country*, up to the very moment when the contributions of Government, and of the public were applied to purchase corn for the peasantry. The price of *potatoes* rose in Limerick, in the course of a few months, from 1½d. to 6d. and 8d. a stone, being a rise of 400 or 500 per cent., while the price of *corn* sustained no material increase; none, at least, to prevent its being sent to the over-loaded markets of England! It is obvious indeed, that, to whatever extremity the peasantry of Ireland might have been reduced, they could not have relieved themselves by purchasing corn. In a period of scarcity, men cannot go from a low to a high level; they must always go from a higher to a lower. But to the Irish this is impossible; they have already reached the lowest point in the descending scale; and dearth is to them attended with all the horrors of famine!

It is absolutely necessary that a great and persevering effort should be made to raise the Irish from this hopeless and wretched condition. And nothing would contribute so much to this, as to inspire them with a taste for the comforts and conveniences of life. But to do this, you must place them within their reach—you must render them attainable with a moderate degree of exertion. Those who are indolent—and this is notoriously the case with the Irish—will never become industrious,

unless industry brings visibly along with it a proportionate increase of enjoyments. Wherever labourers find it is impossible for increased exertion to procure any material addition of comforts and conveniences, they necessarily sink into a state of sluggish and stupid indifference, and content themselves with the coarsest and scantiest fare. But the desire to rise in the world, and to improve our condition, is deeply implanted in the human breast, and can never be wholly eradicated. And whenever labour has been rendered more productive, and a number of new conveniences and enjoyments made attainable by the labourers, indolence has never failed to give way to exertion. A taste for these conveniences and enjoyments gradually diffuses itself, increased exertions are made to obtain them, and ultimately it is thought discreditable to be without them.

Such being the case, it is a fortunate circumstance that it is in the power of Government to adopt such measures as will, by reducing the price of a vast variety of useful and agreeable commodities, afford new motives to stimulate, and new comforts and conveniences to reward, the industry of the peasantry of Ireland. To effect this most desirable object, they have only to repeal those oppressive and absurd taxes, which have deprived the bulk of the people of the few comforts they were already possessed of, and of the possibility of obtaining others, without adding a single shilling to the revenue. We showed in our last Number, that notwithstanding taxes, estimated to produce *three millions*, had been imposed in Ireland since 1807, the revenue of that year amounted to 4,191,950*l.*, while that of 1821 only amounted to 3,844,889*l.*, being a decrease of 347,061*l.*, instead of a rise of three millions ! We also gave a list of thirteen principal articles, including spirits, tea, sugar, tobacco, coffee, wines, &c., the duties on which have been greatly increased, at the same time that the revenue, and, still more, the quantities consumed, have fallen off in an extraordinary degree. There can be no question, indeed, that this unparalleled and ruinous increase of taxation is one of the main causes of the present squalid and abject poverty of the Irish peasantry. The enormous addition which it has made to the price of almost every article of luxury, if we may give that name to teas, sugars, spirits, &c., has rendered them either wholly unattainable by the labourer, or attainable only from the smuggler. A double injury has thus been done to the country. A principal incitement to laborious perseverance and honest industry has been taken away, and an irresistible inducement has been held out to the adventurous and the profligate to embark in the illegal and destructive trade of smuggling. ‘ The iron grasp of

‘poverty has paralysed the arm of the tax-gatherer, and set at nought the vaunted omnipotence of Parliament. You have taxed the people, but not augmented the supplies—you have drawn on capital, not on income—and you have, in consequence, reaped a harvest of discontent and disaffection, instead of a harvest of revenue.’ *

This monstrous system must be abandoned. There are good grounds for thinking that the revenue will gain,—at all events it cannot possibly lose any thing, by the repeal of every tax imposed since 1807; while the fall that would be thereby occasioned in the price of most of those comforts, on which the peasantry set a very high value, would infallibly rouse them to enterprise and activity. The public taste would thus be elevated. The labourers would gradually begin to acquire higher notions of what is necessary for their comfortable and decent subsistence. Their artificial wants would begin to be equally clamorous, and much more numerous than those of mere necessity; and perseverance and animation would, in consequence, be given to all the operations of industry.

Nor is it of less importance, with a view to the peace and tranquillity of the country in general, that the opinions of the labourers, respecting what is necessary for their comfortable and decent subsistence, should be elevated. When a revulsion takes place in any of the great departments of industry, or when the crops fail, the labourer who smokes tobacco, and who drinks beer, porter, and gin, can, by parting with his luxuries, obtain a sufficient supply of necessaries. But a man who is divested of all artificial wants—who is confined to mere necessaries—who is never seen in an alehouse nor a tobacconist’s—has nothing to part with! What then must be the fate of those who are placed so very near the verge of existence,—and what must be the fate of the richer class of citizens, if there be any such amongst them, in a season of scarcity? Do you suppose that it is possible for human beings, placed in such dreadful circumstances, to be quiet, orderly, and peaceable, and to respect the rights of others? Do you suppose that those who have no property will submit to be starved, without previously attempting to seize on the property of others? Whatever may be said to the contrary, famine, and the virtues of patience and resignation, are not, you may depend upon it, on very companionable terms. Much undoubtedly of the crime and bloodshed with which Ireland has been so long disgraced and deluged, must be traced to the oppres-

* Sir John Newport’s Speech, 22d April 1822.

sion and helotism of the people. But it is impossible to deny, that a good deal also has been owing to the recklessness and despair occasioned by their abject and wretched poverty. The rights of property can never be respected by those who are themselves utterly destitute of all property, and of the means of acquiring it. Such persons must rather regard them as bulwarks thrown up to secure the interests of a few favourites of fortune, or perhaps of their oppressors, than as contributing to the public welfare. But if we lighten the pressure of that grinding and unproductive taxation by which the industry of the people has been overloaded and paralysed, we shall certainly enable them to add to their comforts, and to accumulate wealth; and they will thus be brought to acquire a direct and *tangible* interest in the support of those great fundamental principles which they now regard either with indifference or aversion, and which the slightest provocation is sufficient to induce them to attack.

It has been the fate of Ireland to suffer nearly as much injury from the injudicious attempts that have of late been made to encourage and promote her industry, as from those that were formerly made to fetter and restrict it. The history of the Irish protecting and countervailing duties, affords a striking example of the truth of this remark. To facilitate the establishment of manufactures in Ireland, and, as it was also alleged, to prevent those already established from being ruined by the unrestricted competition of the English manufacturers, it was agreed, at the Treaty of Union, that an *ad valorem* duty of 10 *per cent.* should be charged, for a period of twenty years, on English cotton or woollen goods, hardware, &c., when imported into Ireland; and it was at the same time agreed, that an equal duty should be charged on the Irish goods imported into England. This measure has been productive of incalculable injury to both countries, but especially to Ireland. It appears from papers laid before the House of Commons, that the entire value of the cotton wool and twist imported into Ireland in 1819, amounted to only 221,000*l.* Their importation has not increased since; and the whole Irish cotton manufacture is not supposed to employ, at this moment, more than from 5000 to 5000 hands! Those who are unacquainted with the real state of the case would be disposed to conclude that there must, in such circumstances, be an immense importation of British cotton goods into Ireland. In truth, however, Jersey or Guernsey are about as good markets for them. From a return made by the Dublin Customhouse to an order of the House of Commons, it appears, that the value of the English cotton goods imported into Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1821, was as follows.

Calicoes	-	-	-	-	-	L. 8,817	5	0
Muslins	-	-	-	-	-	22,494	17	11
Cottons, other than calicoes and muslins	-					168,550	13	11½

L. 199,862 16 10½

This sum, when added to the value of the cottons manufactured in Ireland, makes so small a total consumption as to be almost incredible when compared with the immense consumption of cottons in this country. We do not presume to say that this trifling consumption is altogether to be ascribed to the influence of the protecting duties; but it is impossible to doubt that they have had a very considerable effect in contracting the demand for cottons. The duty, though nominally only 10 *per cent.*, adds, at least, 20 or 25 *per cent.* to the selling price of English goods. The few capitalists in Ireland, the outlay of money required to pay the duties, and the delays and vexatious regulations of the Customhouse, really secure a monopoly of the business of importing *ad valorem* goods to a few rich merchants, and suppress that widely-extended and most beneficial traffic that would otherwise be carried on by the retail dealers, pedlars, and even labourers, who are daily passing between the two countries; and thus, by raising the price of the goods, and throwing the trade into a few hands, the protecting duties, instead of promoting the cotton manufacture of Ireland, have prevented the introduction of a taste for cottons, and been the most effectual bar to its progress. The injury done to the English manufacturer by this perverse policy, is great; but still it is trifling when compared to that which it has done to the Irish people. Destitute as Ireland is of good coal, improved machinery, and experienced workmen, it was the height of error to suppose that a protecting duty of 10 *per cent.* could enable her to withstand the competition of the English in the production of cottons! The real effect of the duty has not been to promote the Irish cotton manufacture, for that, as we have just seen, can hardly be said to exist at all, but to narrow the market of Ireland to the English manufacturers, by adding 20 or 25 *per cent.* to the price of their goods, and, by this rise of price, to hinder the Irish peasantry from adopting the dress and modes of life of their English neighbours. The imposition of such restrictions on the trade between independent and even hostile nations, could not be defended on any principle of sound policy; but when laid on the trade between different parts of the same empire, they do not admit of the shadow of an apology. To endeavour to protect England or Ireland against the competition of the other, is plainly absurd. We might, on the

same grounds, endeavour to protect Kent against the competition of Sussex ! England has many natural and acquired facilities for carrying on the cotton manufacture ; Ireland has *none*. Why then should we attempt to force a portion of her scanty and insufficient capital into, what must be to her a disadvantageous employment ? And why should we force her inhabitants to rest satisfied with rags and nakedness, and to deny themselves the use of a cheap, commodious, and comfortable article of dress, because it is manufactured in Lancashire, and not in Leinster ? Our statute-book affords many choice specimens of legislative drivelling, and of officious and ruinous interference with the industry of individuals and the public ;* but, we believe, the impolicy and absurdity of the Irish Protecting Duties to be quite unrivalled.

The countervailing duty of 10 per cent. on Irish manufactures imported into England, is equally pernicious. Had Irish manufactures been freely admitted into England since the Union, the lowness of wages in Ireland would, it may be fairly presumed, have been sufficient to induce English capitalists to attempt establishing the coarser kinds of manufactures, and such as are principally carried on by manual labour, there rather than in England. But the countervailing duty of 10 per cent. has fully balanced any advantage that might have been derived from the cheaper labour of Ireland ; and has effectually excluded her manufactures from the great and contiguous market of Britain !

We have already said, that it was stipulated by the act of Union, that the Irish protecting duties, and the countervailing duties on Irish goods imported into England, were to cease in twenty years, or on the 1st January 1821. But, to the surprise and mortification of every one acquainted with the nature and operation of these duties, they have since been continued for *twenty years to come, or to 1841* ! Surely, however, it is impossible that a measure which goes far to annihilate the trade in manufactured goods between the two great divisions of the empire, can be permitted to operate for other twenty years. Parliament has been unwarily entrapped into an approval of measures fatal to the prosperity of Ireland, and prejudicial to Britain ; but it would be a libel on that body to suppose that they will persist in supporting them for a long series of years, after their ruinous tendency has become palpable and obvious.

Besides the repeal of the protecting and countervailing duties, and the reduction of the Custom and Excise duties, it would be of the greatest advantage to Ireland were the reduced Excise duties collected in such a way as would permit the business of

distilling, brewing, malting, tanning, &c. to be conducted on a small scale. Such was the case in Ireland thirty years ago. But the persons who were then intrusted with the management of the Irish Revenue, determined, whether from ignorance or corruption has never been clearly ascertained, to place all works subject to Excise duties in the hands of large capitalists. To effect this object, laws were passed which regulated the manner in which duties should be charged, in such a way as rendered it impossible for any one who had not a large capital to continue in the trade. The smaller class of distillers, brewers, tanners, &c. were, in consequence, driven from their business, and mostly ruined; and many of the remoter districts of the country were thus deprived of a market for their produce, and could not, without great difficulty, obtain supplies of spirits, beer, leather, &c. * A strong temptation was thus created to engage in the trade of illicit distillation—a temptation which the present exorbitant duties, and the system of town-land fines, has rendered altogether irresistible. In 1807, the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the fees, emoluments, &c. of public offices in Ireland, in their Report on the Excise, calculated, that *one-third* part of the spirits consumed in Ireland was illegally distilled! To put a stop to this illegal traffic, and to check the prevalence of those predatory and lawless habits which always mark the character of the smuggler, the simple and obvious plan was, to have reduced the duty on legally distilled spirits, and to have collected them in such a way as would have broken down the monopoly of the large distillers, and enabled smaller capitalists to set up distilleries in the remote and less frequented districts of the country. But ministers resolved to go to work differently. Instead of attempting to put down illicit distillation by rendering it unprofitable, they resolved to suppress it by the strong hand of power—to make the vengeance of the law counteract a crime, all the temptations to indulge in which were left unimpaired! In pursuance of this insensate scheme, they devised a system of unequalled injustice and oppression—a system which involves both the innocent and the guilty in one common ruin. Besides the penalties inflicted on delinquents, including *transportation for seven years*, the novel expedient was resorted to, of imposing a heavy fine upon every parish, town-land, manor-land, or lordship, in which an unlicensed still, or part of a still, should be found! There is no defence against the fine, unless the defender can prove that the articles were not found, or that they were left for the

* The Reverend Mr Clive's Letter to a British Member of Parliament, p. 94.

purpose of subjecting him to the fine. The most perfect good faith is of no avail ; and many instances have occurred of magistrates, who had devoted their whole time and energies to the suppression of illicit distillation, being completely ruined by the fines imposed on their estates !

No one can regret that this infamous scheme has totally failed of its object. Instead of illicit distillation and smuggling being suppressed, they are now become almost universal.* A large proportion of the peasantry have been trained to live in a state of open and habitual contempt of the laws, and to brave their utmost vengeance. The tendency of such a state of things to promote secret combinations, outrages, and even rebellion, is too striking and obvious to require to be pointed out. In most parts of Ireland, no excise officer dare venture to seize a still, if he is not supported by a company of soldiers ; and bloody and ferocious contests are, in consequence, daily taking place between the military and smugglers. ‘ The distillery system of Ireland ‘ seems, to use the words of a most accurate observer, to have ‘ been formed for the perpetuation of smuggling and anarchy. ‘ It has culled the evils both of savage and civilized life, and ‘ rejected all the advantages which they contain. The calamities of civilized warfare are in general inferior to those produced by the Irish distillery laws ; and I doubt whether any ‘ nation of modern Europe, which is not in a state of actual revolution, can furnish instances of *legal cruelty* commensurate ‘ to those which I have represented.’ †

The Earl of Blessington, one of the Irish representative Peers, and generally a supporter of ministers, in his Letter to the Marquis Wellesley, corroborates all that we have here stated respecting the oppressive and injurious operation of the Irish distillery laws. ‘ I have raised,’ says his Lordship, ‘ my ‘ voice again and again in opposition to this system, but hitherto without effect. It is a system as injurious to the morals of ‘ the people, both civil and military, as it is tyrannical and unprofitable.’ (p. 62.)

We have already demonstrated, that the reduction of the Irish Excise duties on spirits, beer, and other articles, so far from occasioning any diminution of revenue, would be among the most effectual means that could be devised for increasing it.

* It was stated in the debates in Parliament in 1819, that 5352 individuals had been committed to prison in the course of the preceding six years for illicit distillation, of whom nearly 4000 were convicted.

† The Reverend Mr Chichester’s Letter to a British Member of Parliament, pp. 92–107.

But supposing we were wrong in this conclusion, ought so detestable a system of oppression and abuse—so fruitful a source of crime, outrage, and rebellion—to be maintained, because it puts a few hundred thousand pounds into the coffers of the Treasury? If Mr Vansittart declines answering this question in the affirmative, why does he not immediately introduce a bill for the reduction of the duties? He may depend upon it, he will never otherwise be able to relieve the country from the great and constantly increasing evils of illicit distillation and smuggling.

VI. *Population*.—The late extraordinary increase of population in Ireland has, by bringing an excessive supply of labour into the market, contributed equally with the increase of taxation to depress the condition of the peasantry, and to prevent their acquiring a taste for the comforts and conveniences of civilized life. Seventy years ago, Ireland was one of the thinnest peopled countries in Europe, and now she is one of the most densely peopled. Sir William Petty, who surveyed a large proportion of the kingdom, and who had the best means of acquiring correct information, estimated the population of Ireland in 1672, at 1,100,000. * It would appear, from a computation of Captain South's, that the population had declined, in 1695, to 1,034,000. By a poll-tax return of 1731, of the accuracy of which, however, considerable doubts are entertained, the population amounted to 2,010,221. According to the returns of the hearth-money collectors, the number of houses in Ireland in

1754, was	395,439	Which, allowing six inhabitants to each house, gives a population of	}	2,372,634
1767, —	424,646			2,544,276
1777, —	448,426			2,690,556
1785, —	474,322			2,845,932
1788, —	650,000			3,900,000
1791, —	701,192			4,206,612†

In 1813, a census was taken in several of the Irish counties; but, for some reason or other, it was not taken in others. In 1821, however, a census was taken in them all; and, according to the official returns, it appears that Ireland contains a population of 6,846,949; viz.

Leinster	-	-	1,785,702
Munster	-	-	2,005,363
Ulster	-	-	2,001,966
Connaught	-	-	1,053,918
Total	-	-	6,846,949

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 17, edit. 1719.

† Newenham on the Population of Ireland, p. 94. Wakefield. vol. ii. p. 684.

Doubts may very reasonably be entertained of the correctness of the estimates of the population here given in the earlier part of last century. But these inaccuracies do not affect the general conclusion respecting its late unprecedented increase. Sir William Petty, Sir William Temple, Primate Boulter, Bishop Berkeley, and Dean Swift, all well informed and accurate observers, who wrote prior to 1740, join in representing Ireland as exceedingly destitute of inhabitants, and as being essentially a *grazing* country. To such an extent, indeed, was the pasturage system carried, that in 1727, a bill was introduced into Parliament, under the auspices of Primate Boulter, and passed into a law, to compel every occupier of 100 acres of land to cultivate at least *five* acres, under a penalty of forty shillings! As might be supposed, this statute had no effect. Cultivation was not extended, nor did the population begin to increase, until the relaxation of the penal laws affecting the Catholics in 1782, and the abolition of the restraints on the commerce of Ireland in 1784. A powerful, but injudiciously contrived effort was then made to stimulate the dormant energies of the peasantry. The Irish legislators thought themselves bound, by holding out factitious encouragements, to make amends for the partial and unjust regulations by which the Parliament of England had oppressed and fettered the industry of their countrymen.* Their intentions were unquestionably liberal and patriotic; but the result has shown, that the best intentions, when not under the control and guidance of sound political science, may be as injurious as the worst. In vain was it urged, that, however advantageous in the mean time, wherever measures intended to promote the industry of any country, exceed the mere removal of such obstacles as prevent the accumulation of capital and the freedom of competition, they are sure to be ultimately prejudicial. All the machinery of the mercantile system was set in motion; and, in imitation of the policy of England, very high bounties were granted on the exportation of corn, and other raw produce. An extraordinary extension of tillage was the immediate consequence of this unnatural enhancement of prices. But the want of capital, and the consequent impossibility of finding tenants capable of taking large farms, obliged the proprietors to divide their estates into comparatively small portions. Large tracts of pasture land were broken up, and let in farms of from ten to twenty, and fifty acres; and thus the stimulus intended to act exclusively on agriculture, has had a much more powerful effect in causing the subdivision of farms, and in increasing the merely agricultural population of the country.

' Large farms, ' says Mr Newenham, ' of from 500 to 1500 and 2000 acres, once so common in Ireland, hold actually no sort of proportion to farms of from 10 to 30 or 40 acres. In the county of Down, Mr Dubordieu says, that farms run from 20 to 40, 50, and, in some instances, as far as 100 acres. Such is the case in most other parts of Ireland. For several years past, the landlords of that country have been much in the habit of letting their lands in small divisions. Besides this, the cottier system, or the giving of a certain quantity of land as an equivalent for wages, prevails throughout most parts of Ireland. In fact, upwards of four-fifths of the Irish people are subsisted directly on the produce of the land which they hold.'—*Inquiry into the Population of Ireland*, p. 270.

Mr Wakefield's great work contains much valuable information respecting the disastrous effects produced by this minute division of landed property, and the consequent rapid increase of population. But the length to which this article has already extended, will not allow us to make any extracts from his work. We cannot, however, resist laying the following quotations from the lately published works of Mr Curwen and Dr Rogan, before our readers. They set the evils of the cottage, or small farming system, and the necessity of counter-acting them, in the most striking point of view.

' The size of farms, ' says Mr Curwen, whose travels in Ireland were published in 1818, ' from 15 to 30 acres, would give an average of about 22 or 23 acres to each. Portions of these are again sublet to cottiers, whose rents are paid by labour done for their tenants, from whom they sometimes receive milk, and some other necessaries. These running accounts are an endless source of dissatisfaction, of disputes, and of contention at the quarter-sessions. In some of the most populous parts of Ireland, there is supposed to be an inhabitant for every acre, while the cultivation of the soil, as now practised, does not afford employment for a third of that population. The rents of the small sublet portions of land become so high to the actual cultivators, as to preclude all profitable returns from their labours. The population of the country is increased far beyond the capital of the husbandry employed in husbandry, and the supernumerary individuals are compelled to subsist on the produce of other's labour, to which they have no power of contributing.'

Dr Rogan's excellent work on the Fever in the North of Ireland, was published in 1819.

' Throughout the extensive counties of Tyrone, Donegall, and Derry, ' says he, ' the population is only limited by the difficulty of procuring food. Owing to the universal adoption of the cottier system, and to the custom of dividing farms among the sons, on the death of the father, the labouring classes are infinitely more numerous than are required for the purposes of industry. Under these circumstances, they are engaged in a constant struggle for the bare necessities of life, and never enjoy its comforts.' p. 8.

In another part of his work, Dr Rogan observes—

‘ Throughout this province (Ulster), the division of land is extremely minute, so much so as in some instances to appear almost incredible. I have been assured by a gentleman who possesses an estate on the northern coast of Donegal, that many of his tenants hold a portion of land, only capable of producing as much oats as furnish one half, or even one fourth of the straw required for fodder to a milch-cow during the winter, and that by this scale his rents are paid. The inhabitants live throughout the year almost entirely on potatoes, which they plant on the bog, and manure with the seaweed thrown on their shores; oatmeal being considered more as a luxury, than as a regular article of diet. The division of land, fitted for cultivation throughout the mountains of the interior, is not upon a much larger scale; so that the food of the inhabitants, even in times of plenty, is of the poorest kind which human beings can subsist upon; and, in seasons of scarcity, no substitute can be procured.’ p. 93.

It is unnecessary to adduce any further evidence of the evils to which Ireland is subject from the too great division of landed property, and the redundancy of population. They are too notorious to be denied, and too serious and alarming to be any longer disregarded. It has been proposed, with the view of checking the present excessive increase of population, to prohibit, by law, the further splitting of farms. But so violent an encroachment on the right of property could not be submitted to. The same desirable object may, however, be attained by less exceptionable means. The high bounties on the exportation of corn, which were the first great cause of the subdivision of farms, have long since ceased to operate. But the abuses in the system of creating freeholds in Ireland, have had a similar, and still more powerful influence.

‘ The qualification of freeholders is the same in Ireland as in England, a clear *forty* shillings interest for life; but as it is customary in Ireland to insert lives in all leases, freeholders are created without the actual possession of property being considered as necessary, and their votes are considered as the right of the landlord.’—*Wakefield*, vol. ii. p. 300.

So long as Catholics were excluded from the exercise of the elective franchise, this liability to abuse was of less consequence. But since 1792, when this privilege was restored to them, the system of creating votes, and of manufacturing freeholders, has been carried to an extent, of which people in England can have no idea.

‘ The passion for acquiring political influence prevails,’ says Mr Wakefield, ‘ throughout the whole country; and it has an overwhelming influence upon the people; to divide, and subdivide, for the purpose of making freeholders, is the great object of every owner of

land; and I consider it one of the most pernicious practices that has ever been introduced into the operations of political machinery. It reduces the elective franchise nearly to universal suffrage, to a population who, by the very instrument by which they are made free, are reduced to the most abject state of personal bondage. I have known freeholders registered among mountain tenantry, whose yearly head rent did not exceed 2s. 6d.; but, living upon this half-crown tenure, were obliged to swear to a derivative interest of 40s. per annum. This right, instead of being an advantage to the freeholder, is an excessive burden, as he is obliged to attend elections at the command of the agent, often with great inconvenience; and is ordered to vote for the object of his landlord's choice, with as little ceremony as the Jamaica planter would direct his slave to the performance of the meanest offices.' Vol. ii. p. 301.

Mr Wakefield has given several striking examples of the effects of this system. Down county, he tells us, contains THIRTY THOUSAND freeholders, who elect the friends of the Marquis of Downshire without a contest.

'To insure this object, the Marquis's estate has been divided, subdivided, and again divided, until it has become a *warren* of freeholders, and the scheme has completely succeeded. The landed property of this nobleman exhibits, perhaps, the best specimen of political *agronomy* to be found in Ireland, and is a proof of the ingenuity of those by whom it was planned.' Vol. ii. p. 304.

Mr Wakefield gives a variety of similar instances.

To put an end to this miserable system, and to rescue the peasantry from the degradation of being made mere offensive weapons, wielded by the rival candidates at elections for the annoyance of each other, without the smallest regard to their feelings or wishes, it appears to us, that the best way would be to confine the elective franchise to persons actually in possession of freehold or copyhold property of the real value of 10*l.* or 20*l.* a year, and to the occupiers of farms paying 50*l.* a year or upwards of rent. By an arrangement of this kind, the proprietors of small estates, and the really independent class of freeholders would attain that salutary and much wanted influence and consideration, which they have never hitherto enjoyed in Ireland; an obvious inducement would be created to consolidate the smaller farms; and it would henceforth be impossible for a few noblemen to regulate the elections exclusively by the controlled suffrages of their serfs. Such a plan might be easily adopted, and it would be productive of the most extensively beneficial effects. But if the qualification of freeholders be not raised, the next best plan would be to do it away entirely, and to communicate the elective franchise to all classes indiscriminately. Universal suffrage would not certainly prevent the

members of the Legislature being chosen by voters driven to the poll, like cattle to a market; but it would take away, or very much weaken, the existing temptation to split farms, or to cover the whole country with potatoe-gardens and mud-cottages.

The trifling expense for which cabins can be erected in Ireland, and the facility of procuring small patches of ground, afford strong temptations to early marriage.

'In England,' says Mr Young, 'where the poor are in many respects in such a superior state, a couple will not marry unless they can get a house, to build which, take the kingdom through, will cost from 25*l.* to 60*l.*; half the life, and all the vigour and youth of a man and woman are passed, before they can save such a sum; and when they have got it, so burdensome are poor to a parish, that it is twenty to one if they get permission to erect their cottage. But in Ireland, the cabin is not an object of a moment's consideration; to possess a cow and a pig is an earlier aim; the cabin begins with a hovel that is created with two days' labour; and the young couple pass not their youth in celibacy for want of a nest to produce their young in.'—*Tour in Ireland, Appendix p. 61, 4to edit.*

To strike at the root of this pernicious system, the most effectual, and we think, all things considered, the most expedient and proper method would be, to prohibit, for twenty or thirty years, the erection of cottages, except in towns and villages, to which from five to ten acres of land were not attached. Such a measure would oppose a powerful obstacle to the excessive increase of the cottier population. And, taken in conjunction with the measure we have suggested respecting freehold qualifications, could hardly fail to have a powerful and beneficial influence on the habits of the people.

It has been proposed to relieve Ireland of a portion of her redundant population, by an extensive plan of emigration. But to be advantageous, emigration must be made subordinate and supplementary to the measures we have proposed for relieving the peasantry from the oppressions to which they are subjected; and for checking their increase. Circumstanced as Ireland now is, the most extensive emigration would be of little or no service. It would merely afford greater facilities to the remaining population to gratify the prevailing habit of early marriage, and would not, therefore, occasion any permanent diminution of the supply of labour. But whenever the situation of the peasantry has been otherwise ameliorated, and a desire to improve their condition, and to obtain a share of the comforts and conveniences of life, been excited, the vacuum caused by emigration will not be filled up, and it will consequently be productive of the greatest advantage.

It has long been the fashion with the Ministerial class of politicians, to represent the disorders, crimes, and poverty of the Irish people as the result of uncontrollable and irremediable causes. We think we have demonstrated the utter fallacy and absurdity of this opinion; and have shown, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the discontent and poverty of the people of Ireland are entirely owing to the vicious political institutions of the country, and the misgovernment and oppression to which they have been subjected. We have also endeavoured to point out the means by which these institutions might be most advantageously and safely reformed, and the people brought to place confidence in the laws, to venerate the constitution, and to emerge from barbarism. It was not to be expected that any single measure could afford a sufficient remedy for the complicated and inveterate disorders produced by centuries of proscription and debasement; and the lengthened discussion into which we have entered, has evinced the necessity of a thorough reform being effected in almost all the institutions of the country. Half measures will not do. We can no longer afford to palter with abuses affecting the rights, feelings, and even existence of *seven millions* of our fellow-subjects. ‘No great nation has ever been ill treated with impunity.’* Ireland is become too powerful to submit to continue a humble suitor—a suppliant *in forma pauperis*—for a redress of grievances. We had better yield with a good grace what we shall not be able much longer to withhold. If Ministers have good sense and magnanimity enough to grant to the people of Ireland, of every sect and denomination, the fullest participation in all the privileges of the Constitution, and to adopt the other measures we have suggested, their affections may yet be conciliated; they will become happy, flourishing, and contented, and Ireland will be rendered the best defence and bulwark of the empire. But if Ministers continue obstinately and perversely to treat *six-sevenths* of the inhabitants as a degraded *caste*, and to cherish and support the various gross and disgraceful abuses of which they are the victims, dissension, terror, and civil war will rage with increased violence and fury; our connexion with Ireland will prove a fruitful source of weakness, and of misery and degradation to ourselves, and will certainly be dissolved,—the instant it cannot be maintained by *force of arms*!

* Mr Grant's Speech on the Irish Insurrection Act, 1819.

ART. IV. *An Address to the Earl of Liverpool, on the degraded state of the Government Press, and its Supporters.* London, 1822. pp. 88.

SEVERAL years have now elapsed since we had occasion to direct the reader's attention to the important subject of the Liberty of the Press. To a period of excessive restraint, almost approaching to persecution, succeeded a season of total indifference on the part of the Government and its Law-officers,—hardly to be accounted for upon any supposition consistent with the belief that their duty was faithfully and resolutely performed. Recent occurrences seem to indicate a disposition to revive the former severity, but in quarters deserving the most vigilant and jealous superintendence. We therefore deem it necessary to revive those discussions for which, till lately, there had seemed but little need; and we shall begin with tracing the conduct of the Government in relation to the press historically, as far back as the clear understanding of the question requires.

After the violence of the times of terror had subsided, and Mr Pitt found it no longer safe to rule by legal persecution, he seems to have laid his account with a somewhat freer vent being given to public opinion. He had stifled the expression of men's sentiments upon the justice and necessity of his war; but he could not so easily force them to regard it as triumphant; and, during his last administration, he was at the head of so crazy a system, both foreign and domestic, that a high tone of any kind would only have exposed himself to ridicule, which was probably still less to his taste, than the pity he excited among his well-wishers. The administration which succeeded him was, from principle, wholly averse to prosecutions for political offences. While those steady and enlightened friends to rational liberty, Sir A. Pigott and Sir S. Romilly, directed the Law department of the Crown, and Lord Erskine held the Great Scal, no advocate of a free press could feel the least apprehension, how strong soever might be the Government with which they were connected. If, indeed, they had been disposed to curb the licentiousness of the newspapers, and to retaliate upon their adversaries, what bounds could have been set to their powers of vengeance? The Opposition, with whom they had to contend, scarcely deserved the name of a party; they hardly ventured to show themselves in divisions in Parliament for fear of betraying their insignificance. When they did hazard a division, it was with the view of wearing out the physical

strength of their opponents, by vexatiously dividing twenty times in a night, as in the memorable instance of their thus combating Mr Fox, then known to be attacked with a mortal sickness. But, even had they been more numerous and powerful,—from them, of all men, no resistance could have been apprehended to any measures directed against the press, as they were far more likely to complain of its freedom, than to protect its rights. Nevertheless, the Ministers persisted in their own wise and liberal policy; and, during the fourteen months that they remained in office, only one *ex officio* information for a libel was filed. The nature of the publication was such as left no choice to the Attorney-General; it was a statement in a newspaper, charging the Admiralty with sending troops to sea in vessels so little seaworthy, that they must go to the bottom; a statement, therefore, obviously calculated, and possibly intended, to excite a mutiny among the troops. We need hardly add, that the falsehood of the tale was as glaring as its malignity was detestable.

Early in the following year, Mr Perceval, and the other remains of the Pitt party, took advantage of the attempts made by their adversaries to carry almost the only important measure in which Mr Pitt and themselves had agreed, and raised against them the cry of No Popery, which, in Mr Perceval, may have been sincere, but in most of the others was a barefaced hypocrisy; so barefaced, indeed, that they have since carried the very measure themselves which they cried out against in 1807, as subversive of the Church Establishment; and some of them are now strenuous advocates for the policy in its fullest extent. The spirit of Mr Perceval was bitter, as his mind was narrow; he judged like a bigot, and he felt like one; his Attorney-General, too, was a man as virulent in his disposition, and as contracted in his views. He filed his informations, therefore, by the score; he had every newspaper, not devoted to the Treasury, under prosecution at once; and though he did not bring many of his cases to trial, he harassed his victims by anxiety and delay; he exhausted them by costs. His caprice was equal to his severity; he would prosecute the man who copied a passage, and let the original publisher go free; or he would prosecute both together, but bring the copyist to trial first, and, being discomfited, let the author go free; or he would first try the copyist, and, though defeated by his acquittal, afterwards try the original publisher in some other county; and he seemed, as by a general rule, to prefer punishing the printer or vender, a tradesman probably ignorant of what he was disseminating, rather than the writer or partisan, who, if there was any guilt, could not possibly be in-

nocent. But, among the instances of his caprice, we certainly cannot reckon as one the manner in which he dealt with the only *ex officio* information left him by his upright and independent predecessor. The atrocious nature of that libel has been stated; a scandalously false charge of an offence almost amounting to murder, and with the tendency, if not the design, of making the soldiery mutiny, was under prosecution, and Sir Vicary Gibbs abandoned the prosecution at once! He who, in all other cases, refused to enter his *nolle prosequi*, and would only listen to contrition when evidenced by a plea of guilty, suddenly let this chosen libeller go free, without any terms;—he who prosecuted, and did his best to commit one editor for copying from another a few lines expressive of the hopes this country might indulge of a happy reign under his present Majesty, then only heir-apparent, and who never, in any instance, would listen to the offer of surrendering an author, unless the publisher first suffered himself to be convicted—let the worst libel that had in his time been published escape all inquiry, upon a simple statement that the writer was abroad, and instantly, and without any terms at all, entered a *nolle prosequi* of his predecessor's information! No caprice will account for this; but there can be no difficulty in explaining it, when we add, that the libel was directed against those who had turned Sir Vicary and his friends out of their places, and that it was published in the newspaper devoted to his party.

The ill success which attended such glaring violence and injustice, appears to have influenced the conduct of those who succeeded Mr Perceval and his Attorney. Upon the death of the former, and the removal of the latter to the Bench, a milder and a fairer system was for some time pursued. But the Law-officers appeared soon to run into the opposite extreme; and in the discussions which took place after the Manchester Outrage, there were produced the most glaring cases of periodical works, in which rebellion, mutiny, and assassination, were openly recommended, in the plainest language, and in the most minute detail, having been suffered, for many months, to pass wholly unnoticed by the Government, while every one else was daily sickened at the audacity and activity of their authors. It was strongly suspected, from circumstances which afterwards came to light, that some of the Government spies were connected with the worst of the publications in question; and certain it is, that a ministry which had, to say the very least, by culpable negligence, allowed so great a scandal to attach upon the press, came forward with a bad grace to profit by their own

wrong, and demand new laws for checking what the old, if faithfully executed, would have sufficed to prevent. The disgust excited by such abuses of the press as they had thus permitted, if not encouraged, enabled them to carry a portion at least of their measures against its legitimate use; and we believe it may very safely be asserted, that, since that period, less occasion has existed than at any former time for complaining of the powers intrusted to Government as insufficient to cope with the licentiousness of public discussion. There seems to have been no peculiar indisposition, on the part of the Ministers and their Law-officers, to exercise those powers. Informations were, from time to time, filed against the publishers of seditious and blasphemous libels; convictions were had, we believe, in every instance; and no complaints were made of prosecutions once begun being dropt, or kept suspended over the heads of obnoxious persons. If the power of proceeding without the intervention of a Grand Jury was exercised somewhat more temperately than in the times of Mr Pitt and Mr Perceval, it must be remembered that the former lived in a season of alarm and violence, when strong measures were in vogue, and powerful men could venture upon them, backed by the voice of a people frightened and enraged; and that the latter, with his Attorney-General, had greatly exceeded the bounds of moderation, and turned men's minds against their persecuting schemes. A repetition of such attempts, in the present day, would only have aggravated the mischief complained of, and involved him who hazarded them in endless difficulties. Nothing but the most perverse blindness to the state of things around them could have made any class of persons complain that the present ministers were slow to follow in the footsteps of Sir Vicary Gibbs—or that he himself would have persisted in his former course, had he continued in office at the present day.

During the truly disgraceful proceedings however, against the late Queen, an alarm appears to have been excited, as is usual, by a few interested persons among a larger number of weak and well meaning people, that the Government were too supine in checking the vehement expression of public feeling, which their own conduct had most justly and universally produced. The utmost indignation had been every where excited, by the shameful spectacle displayed to the country, of a few men in possession of power, determined to plunge the nation into every disastrous risk, rather than hazard the loss of their places, by thwarting personal feelings, which they were known highly to disapprove, and by adhering to a course of policy, admitted on all hands to be not more essential to the tranquillity of the State,

than it was prescribed by every principle of justice. Men who will embark in such a sea of troubles, for the sake of advantage to themselves, must lay their account with being buffeted somewhat rudely; and not complain of the surge that dashes over them, or the wind that visits them roughly, when they have risked the voyage with their eyes open to the storm that raged when they fared forth. The Ministers seem to have felt this themselves; and much illegal violence was undoubtedly submitted to, under such an impression, and in the belief that it was vain to contend with the angry elements whose fury they had courted. The discomfiture of the enterprise had at length appeased the tempest, and left the adventurers crippled, indeed, for ever, but able to keep the sea. The whole of that violence so loudly complained of by others, subsided almost immediately, and the only intemperance now remaining, was that which the bitterness of defeat and disgrace nourished among the adherents of the Government.

Two events now happened, of a very extraordinary nature, and with a singular coincidence in point of time. The agents of Ministers, their warmest supporters both in Church and State, openly established and patronised a system of personal slander, by means of the periodical press, which they made the vehicle of private defamation and obscene ribaldry, in a degree wholly unmatched by the utmost licentiousness of the most impure times; while men of a more reputable description associated themselves for the avowed purpose of prosecuting whatever they might deem libels against the Government,—that is to say, political writings in support of doctrines and measures displeasing to the existing Ministry. With the former of those events we have nothing to do upon the present occasion, further than to remark, that the friends of the '*Constitutional Association*,' generally known by the popular name of the *Bridge-street Gang*, have not only upon no occasion evinced the slightest disposition to put the law in force against the most scandalous violators of it on the side of the Ministers, but that many of its supporters, and especially among the clergy of the Established Church, are known to be, by their patronage at least, the encouragers of the slanderous portion of the Press. Our present object, however, is shortly to call the reader's attention to the nature of this new Society; not that much is now to be dreaded from its effects, but because its proceedings form a curious portion of the history of the Press, and their exposure may tend to check any future attacks upon its freedom.

It appears, that while considerable irritation still existed in the public mind, from the odious and disgusting measure to which we have alluded, a few designing men conceived the

plan of turning this to their own profit, by sounding the alarm, and inducing persons of wealth and consequence to unite in forming a Society for curbing what they were pleased to call the Licentiousness of the Press. Some of the founders were probably actuated by no worse views, than the desire of pushing themselves into notice, and obtaining favour with the Government, which they might afterwards use for their advancement; but others appear plainly to have been actuated with the spirit of ordinary gain, by making a pecuniary profit of the concern. Many well meaning individuals of all ranks, and of both sexes, contributed considerable sums of money, which, it is supposed, have almost all been expended in law proceedings; and after a year and a half's work, they have convicted a friction-cutler at Manchester of selling an Address to the Reformers; one wretched old man of seventy, whom they were fain to allow to plead guilty, upon an engagement never to bring him up for judgment; and a lad or two whom they had detected selling in a shop things, the nature of which they were utterly incapable of understanding.

In considering the tendency of such an Association, the first thing that strikes us is the power of oppression with which it is calculated to arm individuals. A fund to be employed in prosecuting the writers or the publishers of obnoxious works, means neither more nor less than a fund to enable a few hungry attorneys to ruin a number of persons not supported by such resources. Suppose a man is unjustly charged with publishing any given work, admitting it to be libellous; the grand jury must find the bill, if there is only *prima facie* evidence of the publication; and the clearest acquittal before a petty jury leaves the party burthened with his whole costs. A libel may have been purchased in the shop of one at a great distance, confined by illness, or in prison, who never was near the premises from the day the work was printed, and could not possibly have known of its existence. Though certainly the anomalous doctrine of the law of libel recognises a general responsibility for the criminal acts of servants, yet, in such cases, persons have been generally acquitted from the peculiarity of their situation; but, in all of them, a grand jury must at once have found the bills, the defence not being disclosed before the trial; and in all of them, the persons acquitted must therefore have been punished by severe fine in the shape of their costs, increased at the option of the Society, if they chose to remove the proceedings by *certiorari*, without rendering themselves liable to pay the defendants any costs. Again—a single passage may be culled out of a work perfectly innocent, when the whole is taken together; or, a passage which, standing alone, may wear a libellous aspect, but, read

as part of a treatise, could never be made the ground of a conviction. Here, too, any grand jury would probably find the bill as a matter of course; and the acquittal, at the trial, will be just as certain; but not more certain than the heavy expense of the proceedings to the party accused. Nay, an informer has only to purchase any old book with a libellous passage in it, Colonel Titus's famous tract, for instance, or any of the Jacobite works, and we will venture to assert, that any bookseller in the kingdom may be saddled with the expenses of a prosecution; for the grand jury only reads the passage set forth in the indictment, and may very easily find the bill, without asking to see the whole of the book.

But, independently of such cases as we have now put, it never can be a matter of great difficulty to get the grand jury to find a bill. They hear only one side; they are not obliged to be unanimous; and consequently they soon come to a vote, in which a bare majority of twenty-three persons decides; and they are aware that the subject, if they find the bill, must undergo a full investigation before the Court. This remark applies to all prosecutions; but the nature of the offence in question, and the vagueness of the law which takes cognizance of it, renders an indiscriminate zeal in prosecuting it peculiarly objectionable. The political prejudices, too, prevailing in some parts of the country are known to be stronger than in others. Bills may be preferred there which grand juries elsewhere have flung out, provided the circulation of any obnoxious publication has been pretty general, and a conviction secured, which will operate to terrify all persons selling the same works, and to bring them within the power of this junto, or their mercenary agents.

The prospect of conviction in cases of libel generally, is next to be considered. We fear the nature of our libel law is such as to render this, in any given case, highly probable. No man can tell what is, or what is not a libel. The definition given of the offence by Mr Bentham is hardly an exaggeration—'Any thing which any body at any time may be pleased to dislike, for any reason.' All men are agreed in holding, at least they have come to a determination to say so, that free remarks on public measures shall be allowed; but then they add a proviso, that the bounds of fair and temperate discussion shall not be passed. The question, then, always is, how far temperance has been exceeded; for as to fairness, no man ever doubted that perfect fairness is inconsistent with the conduct of any controversy; and, if exacted, would convert every discussion into a mere dry and naked summing up, with far less leaning towards either side than most judges show in their observations. What,

then, is this temperance? Dr Johnson once said, speaking of wine, that he knew what indulgence was, and he knew what abstinence was, but temperance he could not understand. In each case the feelings of the jury, influenced by those of the judge, must ascertain the meaning of the term; and it cannot be denied, that men are apt, both as judges and jurors, when coolly deciding in a court of justice, to take offence at expressions which, as ordinary readers, they never would have blamed. The judge comments upon the vehement words; and the jury, recollecting the oath they are acting under—bewildered by the vagueness of the law—not permitted to seek for all the light which might be derived from investigating the truth or falsehood of the matter before them—not called upon to mete out the punishment, and consequently avoiding all inquiry into the degree in which the bounds of lawful animation may have been transgressed by the writer, naturally enough seek for refuge in the opinion delivered to them, and hand over all further difficulties to the court by whom the sentence is to be pronounced. It has thus become a much more important question, whether any given publication shall be prosecuted or not, than whether it is libellous or not; and we will venture to say, that an indiscriminate, or even a very free use of the powers of prosecution, would speedily produce one of two consequences; either all political discussion would be put down, or all libellers would be acquitted as a matter of course, and the law of libel would cease to exist.

That law has only in practice been made tolerable, and its co-existence with a free press possible, by the restrictions which public opinion has imposed upon the power of the Crown to prosecute by information. Hitherto, the commencement of such proceedings for political offences, has almost always been left to the Attorney-general; and he is individually responsible to Parliament, to the profession, and to the country for his exercise of so delicate a trust. But an Association to prosecute for libel has no individual responsibility at all. The members have the whole powers of the law in their hands, and stand in the situation of the Attorney-general without his responsibility; for we have already shown, that the necessity of having the bills found by a Grand Jury, in practice, can very inadequately check their proceedings. They may be defeated again and again, and still return to the charge, until they exhaust their victim by costs, or harass him to death by anxiety. They have a common fund which bears all the expense; and, appearing before the world as a body of some hundreds, or even thousands, all influence of public opinion upon their conduct is out of the question. In fact, the influence and the purse of the whole subscribers be-

come the engines of oppression, in the hands of a few obscure, and it may be corrupt individuals, who are thus armed to practise extortion, or to gratify private malice, or to indulge their party spleen by the ruin of political adversaries; or, at the very best, to follow their own gain by making themselves busy in tormenting their neighbours.

There are reasons of state, too, which render such a power wholly unfit to be intrusted in any hands but those of the Government. Cases may easily be figured, many indeed have occurred, and some very recently, in which the public good requires unquestionable libels to be passed over, rather than that the subjects of them should be drawn into discussion in courts of justice. A power of stopping any prosecution is, indeed, vested in the Crown; but the exercise of that power in the particular instances, might be productive of the very mischiefs apprehended, and bring the conduct of Government into question. The case of the late Queen, and many attacks upon foreign powers through the press, are instances which must occur to every reader in illustration of this remark.

It may be asked, then, whether we deem the power of filing *ex officio* informations in cases of libel better than the proceeding by indictment before a Grand Jury? We answer, that any argument against the Association is grounded upon no such opinion; and its adoption warrants no inference of the sort. The ordinary mode of prosecuting by preferring a bill, requires some *individual* to come forward and avow himself to the world as the prosecutor. An attorney may, indeed, prepare and prefer the bill, or the grand jury may know no more of it than the name of the witness to prove the publication; but, substantially, the person becomes known, whose zeal for the public weal has thus impelled him to stand forth as an accuser, without having any private interest in the case; and there is very little fear that either the inclination or the funds will, in many cases, be found to repeat the experiment. If, indeed, many persons were to take this office upon themselves, without disclosing more than the names of their law-agents, many of the objections urged against the Association would become applicable to them. To charge the adversaries of *ex officio* informations with inconsistency, because they would rather have a known and responsible prosecutor, *although* armed with the power of proceeding independently of a grand jury, than an unknown, irresponsible body provided with a large fund, and employing a set of agents to drive a trade in litigation, is extremely thoughtless, not to say unfair. No man in his senses ever maintained, that if the power of proceeding *ex officio* were taken away, the

law-officers of the Crown were no longer to be the public prosecutors for State offences. Let them do in cases of libel and sedition, as they have hitherto done in cases of high treason, was the argument constantly used; and it precluded all idea of leaving to individuals the task of deciding what libels should be prosecuted, and what overlooked.

But it is none of the least mischiefs of such a plan, that it enables a crafty government and its law-officers to unite all the advantages of the *ex officio* power, with a perfect freedom from responsibility and control. The Attorney-General may personally dread a contest with the press; the Ministers may dislike the odium of such a warfare, or shrink from the risks to which retaliation would expose them. But let them privately encourage the Association, and withhold their names; they have the means of prosecuting all cases in which they dislike to appear, and they reserve the exercise of the *ex officio* power for those which are safe, if not popular. A system of hostility may thus be pursued against the Press, with the certainty of greatly curbing its power, and the chance of entirely subduing it, while the individuals in place are either wholly screened from public indignation, or sheltered by dividing their responsibility with a whole body of men and women, some of whom are well known to be innocent of all meaning, and others to be rather over zealous than corrupt in their designs.

We have stated some of the evil effects produced by such a combination as the Bridge Street Society upon the liberty of the press, and the rights of a large and important class of the community, the persons engaged in printing and publishing, whom it places at the mercy of a few needy attorneys and mercenary informers. Its tendency to interfere with the pure administration of justice, is equally deserving of attention. The design of the Society obviously was, to establish a correspondence all over the country, and have members and subscribers in every quarter: Their names were ostentatiously published from time to time, both in pamphlets, and in the London and provincial newspapers. An alarm was industriously excited among the friends of good order, and, above all, among persons of strong religious feelings, who were desired to look at the blasphemous tracts so long permitted by the Government to pass unnoticed. The plan was clearly to embody all friends of the establishment in Church and State, by which is always meant the High Church and Tory party; and to unite them in a league against whatever publication attacked the political measures of the existing Administration, or exposed the corruptions of the Government, for it was distinctly avowed at an early period of the scheme,

that no irreligious or immoral works were to be prosecuted, these being left to the superintending care of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Some excellent persons who disapproved wholly of a system of political prosecution, were drawn into the Association, by their disgust at the blasphemy which seemed to be permitted by not having been prosecuted; and no sooner had they given their names and their money, than they found that they had been only enabling the Society's agents to carve out political work for themselves. But in these ways persons of much local influence in various parts of the kingdom were enrolled, and every one in their neighbourhood, and all under their power, were apprized of it. There needs no argument to show how such a proceeding must operate upon the trial of political offences. The jury, who are to decide, know that the real prosecutors are the persons of most weight in their county or parish. The tenant is aware that his landlord is in fact the party who brings the case before him. Can any thing like a fair trial be expected in such circumstances?

Nor is this all. The combination will not be confined to one side. If the Bridge Street Society only prosecute libels against the existing Ministry, another association must soon be formed to prosecute libels against the Opposition; or, without any design of prosecuting, the friends of liberty will unite in self-defence, and for the protection of the poor individuals who are the objects of oppression. We shall thus have two rival Societies, embodying, in every district, the persons of most weight and power. The community will be split into two classes, marshalled by political, it may be, by religious zeal;—and between the fierce passions of the contending sects, the very name of Justice must soon be forgotten, in a country where the law is administered by Juries. The contempt into which the Association very speedily fell, has alone prevented these consequences from ensuing. Should it regain any portion of respect, or should any other establishment be formed upon similar principles, nothing can save us from such a result.

It should not be forgotten that, among its members, the Bridge Street Society reckoned about forty Bishops and Peers of Parliament. But can any thing be more alarming, than that men who know they are the Judges in the last resort of all causes, should become systematically the prosecutors of political offences? It would not be very fitting, in our humble opinion, for a large number of Peers to join in prosecuting a common felony; yet here there is hardly a chance of the question being carried before the House of Lords; and, if it were, the question could only be of error upon the record. But, in

every case of libel, the House of Lords may be called upon to decide the whole question; for the libellous nature of the publication is always a question arising upon the record, and may, in each case, be submitted to that House by writ of error;—a state of things in which one-half the Peers should have disqualified themselves as judges by becoming prosecutors, and the other half by subscribing for the defence, was that for which the Society, and especially those Noble and Right Reverend contributors to whom we have alluded, were preparing this country, hitherto so famed for purity in the administration of criminal justice.

The state of insignificance into which the Bridge Street Body has fallen, partly through the conduct of its agents, and partly from the declared opinion of the public, renders any more particular reference to its proceedings unnecessary. While it continued in activity, there was nothing absurd or reprehensible which it did not seem ready to attempt. Its Committee presumptuously issued a circular letter to every Justice of the Peace in England, containing a lecture upon the Law of Libel, and desiring certain warnings to be made publick in each district, with the view (said these wise superintendants of the whole magistracy) of using this notice in aggravation of punishment, when any offender should be convicted and brought up for judgment! In the same precious document, they boast that they have, under threat of prosecution, obtained from different booksellers engagements to suspend the sale of certain works, and a surrender, *upon oath*, of their stock in that trade: and they point out, by an opprobrious designation, one individual actually under prosecution at the moment by themselves, the circular being sent into the part of the country where he was to be tried, and among the persons who were to serve on his jury! This last feat was made the subject of just and severe reprehension by the Court of King's Bench, when that individual was afterwards brought up for judgment. Perhaps it is to such manifest blunders in the conduct of the speculation that we are to ascribe its failure. When it was undertaken, there certainly was a sufficient portion of party violence among a certain class of politicians to support such a scheme, and to alarm all wellwishers of the Constitution for the consequences. We entertain little apprehension of seeing the attempt very soon renewed; but it seemed good to record the facts, and to state the reasons which should deter honest men and lovers of their country from favouring a design of this description, whatever may be their political opinions; and put the unwary upon their guard against the artifices of those who, through false alarm, would make them a prey.

ART. V. *An Introduction to Entomology, or Elements of the Natural History of Insects. With Plates.* By WILLIAM KIRBY, M. A., &c. &c. and WILLIAM SPENCE, Esq. 2 vols. Svo. Longman, 1818.

WE believe that it requires great enthusiasm to deal accurately with little things; and that it is, consequently, impossible to meet with a reasonable or sober entomologist. We do not mean, therefore, to interfere with the two enormous letters which introduce this work, and certainly do not underrate the value of this branch of Natural History; but we must own, that we are by no means convinced that the study of insects is the very best thing in the world to form the understanding and elevate the mind. That the habit of looking for microscopic differences or analogies among the legs or antennæ of gnats and spiders, will render a person extremely acute in such matters, we have no manner of doubt: but how the quick perception of such differences among resemblances, or the reverse, is to lead to that general intellectual eminence which constitutes an able lawyer, a discerning judge, a great general, a sagacious physician, a painter, an orator, or even an exciseman, we are really at a loss to conjecture. We do not say that such studies will weaken a strong mind, or that a first-rate philosopher may not be a very good entomologist; but we are very sure that such an education as this has prevented many a mind from expanding, and multiplied the class of triflers who, innocently enough, wear out the long disease of life in impaling butterflies, or changing the last heterodox colour in the last feather of a pigeon's wing. It may very well be, that natural history is too much despised in this country: we believe that it is; and we think it fully as laudable a pursuit as running after foxes, or corrupting Cornish boroughs; but Messrs Kirby and Spence seem to have forgotten that ours is a busy country—except these said fox-hunters, we scarcely know one who is not employed—whereas, in Germany and elsewhere, if men did not dissect grubs and invent crabbed names, they must hang themselves from pure *ennui*. However, as we do not here mean to write an essay on education, we shall, without further ceremony, proceed *in mediam rem*.

Many of our readers are probably unaware, that, amid all the forms of destruction that surround them on every side, death sometimes lurks among the dainties of the breakfast table. Honey is occasionally poisonous: that it produces uneasiness to

particular individuals, most persons know; and that this is not the effect of the sweet itself, but of some foreign poisonous ingredient, we have often ascertained. Thus the honey of the Highlands is often injurious to persons who can use that of Narbonne with impunity; and there is no doubt that, in all cases, it derives this bad quality from particular flowers; possibly, in this country, from that of heath. In some cases, the effects are even fatal. The story of the poisoning of the Greek soldiers in the retreat of the Ten Thousand, is known to every schoolboy; and the effects of the honey, which they had eaten near Trebisond, were extremely violent. The probable cause has been ascertained, by combining a remark of Tournefort with some recent observations of Dr Bartram. The former observed, that this country is covered with some species of *Rhododendron*; and, in America, it was found, by the latter, that the honey made in the neighbourhood of these plants was unwholesome. But the *Kalmia latifolia* appeared to have produced the most injurious consequences; as many persons died near Philadelphia from eating honey which the bees had procured chiefly from that plant. We ought to add, that the whole of the analogous American plants are suspicious; and that it is therefore imprudent, in this country, to keep hives where there is access to extensive collections of them. These remarks include all the *Rhododendrons*, *Andromedas*, and *Kalmias*, with a few other shrubs too little in fashion in gardens to require notice.

The injuries caused by various insects to those vegetables which are objects of cultivation, comprise a very important branch of the history of these animals; and it is one, indeed, in which the labours of entomologists have really proved useful. By discovering the mode and times of their breeding, hatching, or laying eggs, observers have been enabled to point out the seasons at which it is most easy to destroy them. But their labours have also been of great use in tracing the animal through its transformations, and thus enabling us to determine the destructive parent of an innocent progeny, or the reverse. It may be worth while, for example, for housewives to know, that it is not the moth but the maggot that eats our blankets; and that, if such articles be exposed to light, during the laying season, they may be neglected all the rest of the year.

Many insects, in the state of larvæ, or maggots, destroy wheat, and that in such quantities as to cause serious losses in agriculture, amounting even to many hundred acres in some cases. They insinuate themselves into the young plants below the surface, and devour the centre of the shoot. The parents of these are various beetles (in the popular sense), of the genera *Cara-*

bus, Harpalus, Melolontha, and others. But, of all these pests, that known by the name of the Hessian fly, in America, is the most formidable, although its systematic name and nature are yet unknown. The ravages of this insect were first noticed in 1776, and it was supposed to have been brought from Germany by the Hessian troops. Beginning in Long-Island, it proceeded inland at the rate of 15 or 20 miles a year, till at last it extended over a space of 200 miles. 'Neither mountains nor rivers stopped them;' they 'crossed the Delaware like a cloud,' and even filled the houses of the inhabitants. Rye, barley, rice,—all other grains, in short, have their appropriate enemies; contending for possession against him who forgets that he himself is the greatest devourer of wheat and barley, rice and maize. But peas and beans, clover, turnips, grass, hops, tea, sugar, vines, apples, pears, and peaches, and what not,—all have their peculiar admirers among the insect tribes.

The account of the ant of Barbadoes, the *Formica saccharivora*, is almost terrific; and we refer to it, because we know the authority to be good. We do not mean by this to insinuate that the word of the respectable authors is not valid. On the contrary, we think their own observations worthy of all confidence. But it is at the same time obvious, that they are somewhat too trusting—may we use the word credulous?—with respect to many of their quotations from others. Perhaps this is an unavoidable effect of entomology, instead of that 'suspension of judgment' which we were promised from this study. But, indeed, if we admit all that Huber, Kirby and Spence, have told us about bees and ants (an article on which will be found in one of our past Numbers), and there seems no reason to withhold our assent, it is not very easy to say what we are not to believe respecting this most extraordinary part of creation. The ant in question appeared, it seems, 'about seventy years ago in such infinite hosts in the island of Granada,' as to put a stop to the cultivation of the sugar-cane. 'A reward of 20,000*l.* was offered to any one who should discover an effectual mode of destroying them. Their numbers were incredible: they descended from the hills like torrents; and the plantations, as well as every path and road for miles, were filled with them.' Rats, mice, reptiles, birds, and even some of the domestic quadrupeds, were killed by them. 'Streams of water opposed only a temporary obstacle to their progress; the foremost rushing blindly on to a certain death, and fresh armies continually following, till a bank was formed of the carcasses of those that were drowned, sufficient to dam up the waters, and allow the main body to pass over in safety below.'

They even rushed into the fires that were lighted to stop them. This pest was at length exterminated by a hurricane.

Of all the descriptions of armies of locusts that we have read, nothing comes near to that of Major Moore, the well-known author of the *Hindoo Pantheon*. When at Poonah, 'he was witness to an immense army' of these animals, 'which ravaged the Mahratta country, and was supposed to have come from Arabia.'—'The column which they composed, extended,' (as Major Moore was informed) 'five hundred miles; and so compact was it, when on the wing, that, like an eclipse, it completely hid the sun, so that no shadow was cast by any object; and some lofty tombs, distant from his residence not two hundred yards, were rendered quite invisible.' Hasselquist tells us, that the Pacha of Tripoli once raised an army of 4000 men, to fight the locusts that had invaded his dominions. Queen Christina, on the same principle, had a train of artillery in her study to war against the fleas. Of such enemies as these, it may fairly be said that their strength is in their weakness. Man, with all his machinery and his strategy, is not a match for these myriads of insignificant-looking creatures that assail him in all quarters; in his liver, his stomach, his skin, his house, his books, his food; his pleasures, and his repose. There is scarcely one of them all that might not drive him out of creation, were there no remedies provided against the consequences of that fertility with which they are so conspicuously gifted. The termes, or white ant of the East and West-Indies, is the most dexterous, at least in the art of demolishing the wood of houses, and other matters of a solid nature. In a few nights they will destroy all the timber-work of a large apartment, leaving nothing but the external coats of the wood, which, in the end, they also demolish. These operations are carried on by a regular system of mining. Kœmpfer, an author worthy of all credit, relates that, during one night, the termites entered from the floor into one of the legs of his table; traversing the board in the same manner by a concealed passage as big as his finger, and returning down through the opposite leg into the floor below. They have even attacked and destroyed ships.

Fortunately for our impotent species, many of our great enemies make war on each other, or find, in their own department of creation, their most natural enemies; and thus, if we find among them foes, we also have allies. It is a case, however, in which it is particularly necessary not to commit the common mistake, of not knowing our friends from our enemies. The idle boy, or blundering gardener, imagines that he has gained a

great victory when he has destroyed a dragon-fly, or a few wasps; when, for each of the former, there are turned loose on him many thousands of plagues which these animals, the tygers of their division, were created to destroy; and when, for every one wasp, his peaches must submit to the depredations of an hundred flies. It is the business of ichneumons to keep caterpillars within bounds; the lady-bird protects our roses from the green aphis; the vinaigrier of France is the Napoleon of Cockchafers; the cicindelæ, worthy of being classed with the dragons of romance, make war on every insect; and, lastly, comes the formica omnivoræ, to swallow them all. Thus we have to chuse very often between spiders and flies; and Betty's broom sometimes proves an enemy instead of a friend.

It has been said, that man is the only animal that makes war on his own species. But the insects, who outdo us in so many things, vie with us in that species of policy too. The mantes have their forelegs somewhat in the shape of a sabre; so that they can cut off their antagonist's head, or cleave him down the middle, as dexterously as ever did Serjeant Shaw. We do not know if Rösel intended to be satirical when he asserted that he could never succeed in rearing the *Mantes religiosa*, as the stronger always devoured the weaker. The Chinese children treat these animals like game-cocks; keeping them in cages for fighting. The scorpions seem peculiarly gifted with this human propensity. Monsieur Maupertuis placed an hundred in one box; and the event was, that they 'all destroyed each other.' Like the rats in the story, we suppose nothing remained but one tail. Spiders fight together till they have no legs left: and some caterpillars are professed cannibals; feeding on each other, as St Jerome tells us our ancestors, the Dalriads of Mr Pinkerton, did in old times.

The care which insects take in depositing their eggs, and the provision which they lay up in many cases for the larvæ, are universally known. It is not common with them, however, to pay much personal attention to the eggs when once laid, nor to have any communication with their young. But the earwig, a much 'traded' and motherly animal, say our authors, sits on its eggs, and if they are forcibly dispersed, will collect them again. The young ones, when 'hatched, creep like a brood of chickens under the belly of their gentle mamma, who very quietly suffers them to push between her feet, and will often, as 'De Goer found, sit on them in this posture for some hours.' A certain field-bug, the *Cimex griscus*, 'conducts her family of thirty or forty young ones as a hen does her chickens. She never leaves them; and as soon as she begins to move, all the

‘ little ones closely follow, and whenever she stops, assemble in a cluster round her.’ A branch of a tree thus peopled having been cut off, ‘ the mother showed every symptom of excessive uneasiness. In other circumstances, such an alarm would have caused her immediate flight; but now she never stirred from her young, but kept beating her wings incessantly with a very rapid motion, evidently for the purpose of protecting them from the apprehended danger.’ Thus also spiders carry out about their nest or egg-bag, which they protect with the greatest care; and even after they are hatched, the young ones are carried about on the mother’s back. The care which bees and ants show for their eggs and their young, are so generally known as to require no notice.

In the article of food, there are some curious differences among the tribes of insects, as much in the manner as in the matter and quantity. Caterpillars will consume more than twice their own weight of leaves in a day. Some larvæ that live on flesh will, in the course of a day, grow to be two hundred times heavier; others again are extremely abstinent. A mite will live three months, or more, although glued down to a piece of glass. Spiders will live a year without food. M. Baker kept a beetle, the *Blaps mortisaga*, three years in the same manner. As to the matter, they seem to eat every thing but metals and stones. Every part of every plant, fruit, leaves, bark, wood, secretions, is the prey of some insect or other. In animals, they live within and without; not easily induced to quit, and eating every thing to which they can gain access—they perforate our blood-vessels, and suck our blood. Myriads feed by destroying each other; and to numerous larvæ and others is delegated the important task of destroying and removing dead animal matter. A very jovial fly, the *Oinopota cellaris*, lives entirely on wine and beer; and the bookworm, ‘ beast of prey,’ literary in his pursuits, together with numerous tinæ and termites, regale on our manuscripts and books, destroying, in South America, all titles, genealogies, laws, records, and cases;—whence probably it is, that we know nothing of the colony of Madoc and the chronology of the Mexicans. In short, nothing will stand but monumental brass, which, unluckily too, time and the rains and heats reduce to dust and verdeggris, as the others do the hortus siccus of the botanist, and the treasures of the entomologist.

The manner of eating is infinitely varied in this tribe, as much in consequence of their great variety of forms and of food, as of the different conditions in which the individual exists at different times. The forms of their jaws are endless, and many

of them possess two pairs, the one intended for securing, and the other for masticating, their food. Those that feed on honey have a tubular proboscis, varying in its form, disposition, length, and other particulars, according to the various objects with which it is to be engaged. The fluids are extracted from the solid parts of plants or animals, by other instruments, consisting of lancets or cutting tools, acting within a tubular or grooved beak. The proboscis of many flies has an apparatus at the extremity for forming a vacuum, thus aiding the ascent of the fluids. Some of these instruments are so sharp as to pierce the hard wing of a beetle. With respect to the sanguivorous species, our authors have forgot to remark, that they not only select the arteries for their operations, but also have the power, by means of some poisonous fluid, or chemical action probably, so to dilute the blood, as to make it flow through orifices which it otherwise could not pass. Equally extraordinary must be the animal compound which forms these perforating engines, which also they have passed unnoticed. Our midge is so minute an animal, that its proboscis cannot be seen without a high magnifying power. Yet it penetrates a tough epidermis and an artery also; and that with an engine that is flexible, is probably muscular, and which, for aught we can conjecture, cannot differ from the toughest animal matter we know, namely, horn or bone; whereas, we cannot cause even the toughest or hardest metals to produce these effects, when of a far greater size; nay, it is with some difficulty that we can reduce even the most tenacious to such dimensions.

We do not find much of novelty in the account of the stratagems used by insects to ensnare their prey; and we shall therefore add one that fell under our observation. The *Cancer phalangium*, L. is provided with very long legs, and is entirely covered with glutinous hairs. By means of its cutting hands, it snips off the leaves of the small fuci in the pools which it inhabits, and, by attaching them to these hairs, becomes undistinguishable from the plant itself. Thus dressed, it lies on its back with its claws extended upwards, making immediate prize of the small shrimps or other insects that fly to the *kalu* plant for shelter. So perfect is the deception, that we only discovered this trick, by finding that a plant which we had placed in our book, with the intention of drying it, turned round and ran away. We had the curiosity afterwards to examine the metamorphosed animals in their own element, when we found that nothing could induce them to show any marks of life but the entrance of a shrimp among their leaves. When stripped of their borrowed plumes, they escaped with great rapidity.

With respect to the construction of their habitations, the bee-tribe, as is well known, is the most remarkable. One species, the *Apis muraria*, builds with stone. The materials are sand, which is first cemented by some viscid fluid which the creature supplies, into the form of small shot, and then transported to the wall which is chosen for the nest. With these, ranges of cells are constructed for the reception of eggs, and of the food of the future larvæ. The cells, when completed, are entirely covered with the same material, so as to conceal the whole; which thus becomes scarcely distinguishable from the stone to which it is fixed. The common wasp makes its nest of perfect paper; and, by some species, trees are excavated into cells as complicated as those of the common bee, entering by apertures scarcely visible. We have seen in Scotland a large larch tree, of which a foot in length of the trunk was thus manufactured, while living, into a beehive. The *apis papaveris* makes a cell in the ground, which she chuses to line with the scarlet petals of the poppy, and that alone. The leaves of trees, ingeniously cut, cemented and adapted, form the materials of cells or houses to many other insects of this family.

Among the habitations of other tribes of insects, few are more remarkable than the several galls, one of which furnishes us with a material for ink. The mere perforation formed by the insect for its egg, is sufficient so to alter the whole vegetable actions, as to generate a deformity which, for each insect, is invariable. Among these, the red hairy excrescence of the rose, formed by a cynips, is well known. From similar causes, some leaves are rolled up into cylinders, others swell so as to form cells, or else they produce tubercles and bladders of various kinds, in which the egg finds a protection, and the larva its food. Some insects excavate galleries in the substance of a leaf, leaving the external skins untouched; and those which eat our fiddles and our floors, finding board and lodging at the same time, are far too well known. The anobia of Fabricius is our chief domestic pest of this tribe. Certain worms in New Holland, larvæ of a *nyctorobius*, shut up the holes which they bore in the trees with pendulous trap-doors, made of leaves interwoven with their own silk; and thus protect themselves from their enemies. The larvæ of two genera, *Tortrix* and *Tinea*, roll up leaves for themselves by means of silk-threads, which are carried from one side to another and shortened, till the effect is produced. Can this larva really reason so well, as to gnaw through some nerve of the leaf, should any one, stronger than the rest, offer a resistance? Something must occasionally be allowed to the imagination of entomologists: the

business of larvæ is simple—little else than to eat. In the winged insect, whose pursuits are far more complicated, and whose superior organization bespeaks the presence of a higher order of mental powers, such things are often as credible as they are unquestionable. Some of the aquatic insects clothe themselves in cases of agglutinated sand and stones; and one uses living shell-fish for the same purpose,—‘a covering as singular,’ say the authors, ‘as if a savage, instead of clothing himself in ‘squirrels’ skins, should sew the animals themselves into a ‘coat.’ But this is an endless subject.

Our authors are very eloquent on the ‘celestial dances’ of gnats: the ‘chironomi alternately rising and falling, appeared, in the full beam, so transparent and glorious, that they scarcely resembled any thing material—they reminded us of angels and glorified spirits drinking life and joy in the effulgence of the ‘Divine favour!’ This, and such like, is very Harveian,—or more. The emigrating associations of insects, or the temporary societies which they form, are often remarkable. Many flies and beetles travel in clouds or columns; often from the land to the sea, as if for the sole purpose of being destroyed. We remember an open column, of a small collopterous insect, about five feet in diameter, which was flying for a whole day in a straight line past John-o-Groat’s House, and with considerable velocity; how much longer, our entomological patience was not sufficient to allow us to discover. In the same manner aphidis migrate in clouds, so as to fall in showers, and cover the ground. Such visitations are commonly called blights—a term of wide meaning. A small dragon-fly was observed some years ago to land from the sea, in Suffolk, in such abundance as to throw a shadow on the water of many acres in extent. The yellow cabbage-butterfly has been observed thus to migrate in clouds, as have many kinds of cimex, cicada, coccus, and others; and, in all these cases, such associations are, like those of swallows, formed among animals that do not live in societies, like the bee and ant, but which thus unite for some unknown purpose.

We shall pass over all that part of the present volumes which relates to the societies of Bees and Ants, as our former remarks on Huber’s works, from which they are principally taken, render any further notice unnecessary. Among the means of defence from their enemies, the talent of imitating inanimate objects, or of confounding themselves with their places of residence, are often remarkable. Like some birds, quadrupeds, and fishes, many insects are of the colour of the ground, in which they dwell. The *Curculio nebulosus* is undistinguish-

able, from the mixed black and white soil which it inhabits, as is the *Brachyrinus nivens* from its native chalk. A vast number resemble the leaves and flowers on which they reside. Some of the genus *Phasma* so much resemble twigs, as well in their colour as in their strange shapes, that even an expert entomologist does not easily observe them. The imitation of dead leaves is very common, as in many of the genera *Mantis* and *Phasma*; as is that of living ones in some locusts, in the *noc-tua ligustris* and others. Some insects, on the other hand, find their defence in their threatening aspect; while a great number possess very serious means of resistance in the variety of their spines, horns, bristles, scales, stings, or poisonous exudations. Caterpillars that have hairs often roll themselves up; so that, becoming an entire ball, like hedgehogs, they are defended all round. The common wood-louse applies his scaly back to the same purpose; and so steady are most of these animals in their resistance, that they will sometimes not give way while they have life. Whether our blistering fly is intended for poison or spice to its enemies, entomologists are not yet agreed. Our authors think that the light of some luminous insects may serve for a defence. We are more inclined to side with the nightingale in the fable.

The vitality of some insects is a very provoking circumstance to us miserable mortals who die when the brains are out—and long before. The females of moths and butterflies will not die upon any provocation, till they have laid their eggs. There are fifty, and fifty more, that will go on living and performing all their usual functions without wings, or legs, or heads, or intestines. They are as comfortable when impaled on a pin, and stuck into a pill-box, as in their native element. At least they make love, and eat each other; and what more is wanted to prove that they are happy? Some mites will live in alcohol (*Acarus vegetans*); so do the coccinellæ. Dr Franklin brought flies from America in a pipe of Madeira, and revived them in London.* Caterpillars may be frozen to the hardness of a stone, and yet revive. We know not why all these creatures should not be immortal. Many resist drowning for a long time; but Dr Reeve found living larvæ in a hot spring in the Valais, the temperature of which was 208; and we have Lord Bute's authority, that, in the boiling springs of Albano, there were not only conservæ living, but 'black beetles, which died on being taken out and plunged into cold water.'

The motions of insects, and the innumerable ways in which they attain their ends, form a wide subject. We have room for but little. The activity of the cheese-maggot in jumping is

well known. This motion is produced by bending itself, and inserting two claws which it possesses at one end, into as many cavities adapted to them at the other. From this position it suddenly disengages itself, by extending the body, and then makes leaps as extraordinary in proportion to its length, as if a man was to jump 160 feet high.

The modes of swimming are numerous in this tribe. Like fishes, some swim by means of their tails, or fins, or both. Some use their wings for that purpose. The stratyomis chamaeleon carries with it below the water a bubble of air, included in some fibres of its tail, which it uses as a float, in the same manner as fishes use their air-bladder. There are species that swim by the recoil of water which they eject; the same contrivance by which the genus Salpa, among the marine worms, moves. Some walk, or fly, or jump, on the surface of water, just as if it was land, as is the case with the water-bug and water-spider; while others again walk on the land below, as if there was no water around them. The organs intended for walking are endless, in variety of structure as of number. Even the caterpillars are provided with them. That of the Bombyx leporina is extremely rapid in its movements, as are some others. Many, on the contrary, are very sluggish. The caterpillar of noctua pedata jumps from one leaf to another. Others travel by means of a web of silk, which they continue to spin as they proceed; and thus they are enabled to hold fast by smooth surfaces. The common fly effects the same purpose by means of a hollow muscle in the foot, which it contracts so as to form a vacuum, just as the limpet adheres to rocks. Among the running insects, the velocity is sometimes so great, that it is scarcely possible to imagine that they are not rather flying than using their legs. Mr Delisle mentions a fly so small as scarcely to be visible, that ran six inches in a second; which, comparing its velocity to the size of its body, is an incredible degree of swiftness. The rapidity of the red mite of strawberries must have been remarked by every one. It appears to glide rather than run, and almost seems in two places at once. Some of the marine insects that infest fishes (monoculi) jump with such force, that, although an inch long, their passage through the air is invisible. This is done by the tail. The common spring-tails (Podura), so familiar on our seashores, use the same engine for their leaps. Fleas leap by means of their hind-legs, as do grasshoppers, and a great number of ideopterous insects,—sagra, haltica, &c. The machilis polypoda has eight pair of springs under the belly, intended solely for this purpose; and some beetles have similar contrivances on the breast, to enable them to rise when they have fallen on their backs.

The flying of certain spiders by means of their webs, is not the least extraordinary mode of motion possessed by insects: Nor, in truth, is it very intelligible, although the fact itself is unquestionable. In ordinary cases, the spiders spin their threads slowly from organs adapted to that end, perforated with numerous holes; so that each thread may consist of many thousand filaments. The flying spiders, on the contrary, can dart out the thread in a straight line, for many inches, in any direction; and then, in some unknown manner, they follow it. In these cases, where the animal and his chariot are wafted away together by the winds, there is no difficulty. Our authors have thrown no additional light on this difficult subject.

On the subject of the sounds emitted by winged insects, our authors have committed some oversights. It is remarked, that the gnat emits no sound till the thirst for blood seizes it. The cause is obvious. In early spring, its flight is feeble; and the vibrations of the wings, which are the true causes of all these sounds, are not sufficiently rapid to produce an audible note. It is too low in the scale to be heard, for so small a weight of vibrating matter. When the flight is rendered more rapid by the stimulus of hunger, or heat, the vibrations become so numerous, as to produce tones high in the scale, and readily heard.

The luminous properties of many insects form a notable part of their economy. The glow-worm and the fire-flies of Italy and the West Indies, are known to every one—at least by reputation. In the glow-worm, there is a receptacle of the luminous matter near the tail. The elater noctilucus carries its light in four places; two in the thorax, and two under the wings. Hence this creature is most brilliant when flying. The light is so bright as to serve, when very near, to read the smallest print. In St Domingo, it is said, they were formerly used by the natives as candles, as they are in many places for nocturnal ornaments. There is a pleasant story here related, which the authors, however, seem to doubt themselves, of Sir R. Dudley and Sir T. Cavendish having been terrified by these lights, which they mistook for those of a detachment of Spaniards, as the land crabs—from the noise of their march—were, on another occasion, mistaken for a body of cavalry. Our authors think that this property is more widely diffused among insects than is commonly imagined; and, among others hitherto unsuspected, he mentions the mole-cricket. On the uses of this provision, they are very brief, and we need not follow them.

But they have entirely overlooked a large class of insects in which, as far as we can trust our own observations, this property is almost universal. We except of course the larger marine

insects with hard shells, such as the crabs, and confine ourselves rather to the minuter and softer species that reside in the sea. The marine insects share this property with the marine worms, and even with the fishes; so that, as far as general considerations are concerned, we need not, and cannot well separate them. In the examination of many hundred species of marine animals of all kinds, we have found no exception to this rule, and may therefore fairly consider it as universal. In some it is diffused over the whole surface; in others, as in the medusæ, beroes, and holothurians among the worms, and the squillæ and cyclopes among the insects, it resides in a single spot. The colour of the light varies in different animals; we have seen it red, yellowish, violet, and pale, resembling moonlight. It is evident, that, in many, it is under the command of the will, as in some of the land-insects. Irritation of any kind, such as the friction of a line or agitation of the water, excites it readily; but if the animals are confined in a limited quantity of water, they soon become tired of showing their powers; and, after one or two sparks, cease to give light until roused again at some distant time.

In the land-insects, a yellowish fluid has been observed to be the seat of the light; but its nature and situation have not been discovered in any of the marine ones; except inasmuch as, in some of the fishes, it is entangled in the mucous secretion of the skin. In this case it is diffusible in water, without immediately losing its properties. When it is excited by friction, it has been supposed to be in consequence of that diffusion. But it cannot thus be produced in a dead animal. It is probable, therefore, that it is a living action; and this is confirmed by the fact, that if a shoal of herrings is alarmed by any noise, the whole instantly becomes luminous.

This is the light then which produces the luminous appearance of the sea,—a phenomenon often splendid, and sometimes terrific, on which so much has been written to so little purpose. Sea-water is never luminous, except when it contains animals of some kind; and, wherever the lights are large and brilliant, it is very easy to ascertain the animals from which it proceeds. But it is often luminous, it is said, when no animals are present. This is a remark founded on carelessness; as it is scarcely possible, particularly near seacoasts, where the luminous appearance chiefly prevails, to find a cubic foot of water that is not crowded with worms and insects, many of them invisible to the naked eye. It is these minute creatures that produce the more general diffused light, and which, in particular, cause that continuous line of it which attends the descent of a fishing line.

The last subject treated by our authors, is the thorny ques-

tion of Instinct. With the metaphysics of spiders and scorpions, we cannot interfere; nor do we mean to decide between the philosophers who consider the actions of insects as the result of a *plastic nature*, or of a species of machinery, or of certain preestablished harmonies between certain geometrical figures impressed on their brains, and the actions which they perform. That cell, says Buffon, which one bee would make round, becomes hexagonal by the mutual collision of seven; and so on. But if we were allowed to judge in so delicate a case, we should be inclined to question whether the insects had not often more sense than the insectologists. But to give the *coup de grace* to these metaphysical disputes at once, we must adopt Mr Steffens's theory, and declare our belief, that the instincts of insects are merely the 'shootings out of inorganic animal masses.' If that will not explain the matter, we know not what will.

We shall content ourselves here with enumerating a few of the most remarkable things done by insects, as there is a vast deal relating to the ordinary business of their lives, which is neither very much varied nor very interesting. The important thing is to show that they do not proceed by a blind impulse, but accommodate themselves to varying circumstances.

The scarabæus vernalis lays its eggs in small balls of dung, which it rolls up for that purpose; but if it meets with a sheep-pasture, it is wise enough to adopt what it finds ready made. The caterpillar of the common yellow butterfly fastens itself to a wall by means of a silk thread, which, to insure its adhesion, is attached to a flat preparatory web laid on the stone. But upon being furnished with a piece of muslin, instead of the latter, it fastened the thread without any previous preparation. Thus, many other insects, if deprived of the substances which they commonly use for their nests, will find substitutes in something else. On a similar principle of accommodation, many of them alter their plans if disconcerted by an accident; varying them in such a manner as to meet the exigencies of the new case. The end of a cylindrical cell, constructed for the head of a caterpillar, having been cut off, and there being no room to replace it properly, the animal changed its place and adapted it to receive the tail; making a new head-piece at the other end. In the beautiful geometrical web of the garden-spider, many guys are required to keep it tense, and to prevent it from being blown away by the wind. These, however, cannot be fixed by any invariable rule, as they depend on the forms and distances of the various supports. Moreover, it is easy to see that they are distributed always according to the necessities of the case. If the position of a branch is altered, or a support taken away, a new guy is carried out to some con-

venient part; and, when it comes to blow, the spider may be seen strengthening his standing rigging, exactly at the places where his building is in want of most support. Dr Darwin remarked that a wasp, which he watched, attempted to carry away a large fly which it had caught; when, after various attempts, in which the wind, by acting on the dead animal's wings, had impeded its flight, it alighted on the ground with its prize, snipped off the wings, and then bore away the carcase with ease. The same has been observed in the case of other insects, compelled, after several trials, to the necessity of biting away one part after another, till they had reduced their prey to a size capable of entering their holes. In bees and ants, the resources of this nature are endless; but some of them were formerly noticed in our remarks on Huber's work; and we have now no space to dwell much longer on this subject.

That insects have the power of communicating their ideas, or intentions and wishes to each other, seems fully ascertained; not only by the very pointed experiments of Huber, but by many other observers. A single ant is known to communicate its discovery of a piece of prey to its fraternity; and, in the same way, both these and other insects, when unable to execute some particular thing alone, are known to go and fetch assistance. According to Huber, the antennæ are the organs of communication, and the intelligence is conveyed by particular modes of contact.

But we must draw our remarks to a close, and take leave of these two dense volumes, which, if we understand aright, are to be followed by two more, containing the classification and nomenclature. With respect to the part that we have gone through, it appears most unnecessarily tedious and incumbered. There is a sort of flourish of trumpets before each new actor appears on the stage, which occupies time and space that might have been much better employed. Why two authors, of deep reading, and fully masters of their subject, should have adopted the style and manner of common school-books and stories for good boys, we cannot see; as we presume they did not write for children. Paley is rather dry and aphorismatic, we admit—and now and then too logical and priggish; but he comes to the point, and tells his story in a few words. It is quite easy for Messrs Kirby and Spence to take the happy medium; and as there is no want of matter, they can surely be under no necessity of seeking relief in words. If a single idea must be spun out into a quarto, we admit the convenience of such proceedings; but the race of insects is a busy one: There are deeds in abundance to record; and we therefore think, with ancient Pistol, that it would be best done with '*pocos palabras.*'

- ART. VI. 1. *La Suisse dans l'Intérêt de l'Europe.* Geneve, 1821.
 2. *Lettre à l'Auteur de La Suisse dans l'Intérêt de l'Europe.* Basle, 1821.
 3. *Réplique, &c.* Geneve, 1822.

THE publications before us have created a great sensation in Switzerland, and even in France, where the first and most important of them has been suppressed by the Censors. It has been attributed to General Jomini, but we believe quite incorrectly—especially since we find that, in a work since published by him, he has praised it exceedingly.

It appears that General Sebastiani, in his place in the Chamber of Deputies, did, in the course of last year, lay it down, as an axiom received by all men versed in military science, that, in the event of a serious war with Germany, France *must, of necessity, take military possession of Switzerland.* ‘Afin de se rendre maîtresse des versans du Rhin et du Danube, et de couvrir ses frontières en menaçant celles de l’ennemi.’

Such a declaration was well calculated to excite both alarm and animadversion among the Swiss; and it has given rise to the discussions now before us, upon the resources, political and military, of the Helvetic States, as compared with the offensive means of France and Austria against them; in which the justice, policy, and propriety in a military point of view, of such a warlike occupation, are all closely and warmly contested. This discussion must be interesting to every nation in Europe, and, we trust, will attract the attention of all statesmen who look beyond the intrigues of the day, and have an honest desire to rest their pretensions to fame upon the solid foundation of general good, and a spirit something more than national.

Poor and steril as Switzerland is, compared with the great States to the east and north of her, she has always held a prominent place in the history of Europe, at least since the days of Cæsar; and, to the soldier, the politician, and the man of science, she must always present an ample field of instruction and pleasure. To the first, indeed, she is invaluable; offering, from her central situation, and her peculiarly strong features, a rare combination for the study of war, both upon the grand scale of territorial and strategical operations, and the not less interesting or difficult part which appertains to tactics and partisan activity.

The indecision of her modern politics has formed a strange contrast with the bravery and independent temper of her peo-

ple. It has been observed by some one, that elevated situations give elevated sentiments; if it were so, the unrivalled grandeur of her scenery should have long ago produced a policy as lofty and as immovable as the mountains which overspread her. But it is not yet, we trust, too late; and it well becomes her patriotic spirits to consider of the best means to be adopted for placing their country in such an independent situation among the nations of Europe, as will enable her to maintain a liberal and suitable policy. The task, we conceive, would not be a hard one. Untainted by the degrading vices which attend upon the luxurious wants of richer countries, the population of Switzerland presents that mixture of knowledge, simplicity, and national enthusiasm, which promises most success to the labours of a generous and high-minded statesman. Every thing that is dignified and noble should characterize the government of this beautiful and stupendous country,—this citadel of Europe, which seems marked by the hand of nature as the place, of all others, where simplicity of manners, and integrity in politics, might be securely lodged, guarded from internal corruption by its poverty, and safe from external violence by its strength.

Surely it is worth the attention of enlightened politicians of all countries, to ascertain the reason why Switzerland, with so much aptness of situation, and with a population at once robust, brave, and intelligent, should never have interposed to check the ambition and violence of her neighbours—never have striven to appease those quarrels which, arising among surrounding nations, have so often deluged themselves and her with blood?—why she is of so much importance in war, and so little respected in peace?—why her soldiers are so much sought after by those who make no scruple of treating the nation itself with contempt? Italy, Germany and France, warring and wasted by turns, have ever found in her a subject of intrigue,—sometimes an interested ally, always a recruiting station, but never a mediator. Has this arisen from her weakness? Certainly not; her natural strength must be great, or she would long ago have formed an integral part of some of the powerful nations which surround her. There must, then, be some error in the form or policy of her government, by which the interests of the nation, and the rights of humanity, have been sacrificed to individual and corporate incapacity or corruption. As French or Austrian force, or French or Austrian gold predominated, so has Switzerland oscillated like a pendulum, until ‘point d’argent, point de Suisse,’ has become proverbial—a stinging expression, which could never have been earned by the homely, honest inhabitants of the mountains, but which

has been justly used to characterize the illiberal and selfish policy of the cantonal and federal governments. The truth is, that the liberty conquered from the House of Hapsburgh has been most unequally distributed. Of right it was the glorious patrimony of all; but in fact it has become the property of some privileged classes, who have unjustly detained it from other portions of the confederation; and the heart-burnings and disputes occasioned by such a state of things, has nearly destroyed the tenure by which it is enjoyed at all. Thus, the government of Berne, aristocratical and overbearing, attempted to domineer over the Pays de Vaud, until the inhabitants of that country appealed, in 1796, to the French against their injustice. These last readily undertook, as inheritors of the rights of the Dukes of Savoy, to arrange the affair; French troops poured in, and bloodshed and wretchedness followed their interference.

The Grisons long refused to grant to the prayers and remonstrances of the inhabitants of the Valteline, the Bormeo and the Chiavenna, a community of political and civil rights; and, when an opportunity offered, the latter willingly placed themselves under the rule of the Cisalpine Republic established by Buonaparte. And thus it again appeared, that the natural course of injustice is to beget hatred, division, weakness, and loss of character. A generous and simple policy is the only one suited to a generous and simple people. Proud of their honesty and poverty, the statesmen of Switzerland should cast far from them the pitifulness of intrigue, and the meanness of avarice. The country of William Tell was not freed by him to become a ball for kings to kick at; nor were his countrymen destined by nature to become the guards of every rich and sullen despot, who trembled at the just hatred of his subjects.

It is with sincere pleasure that we discover, in the publications before us, the dawnings of a better spirit; and it should be the object of all Swiss patriots to spur it into action. Upon the moral character of a nation, depends its permanent greatness; and they should consider what an enormity it is to fight the battles of others, without any interest but that of their pay. To sell the blood of its subjects for sordid gain,—to hire out the men whose strength and courage ought to be the safeguard of their own country,—is a baseness degrading to actual despotism. But in a free nation it is disgusting; and when its object is to assist tyrants in subjugating the enlightened spirit of the age to their Gothic pretensions, it becomes a wickedness too detestable to admit of a moment's argument, and gives but little hope that any permanent system of enlarged policy can be pursued by a people among whom such a practice prevails.

To reform themselves in these particulars, ought to be the first step of the Swiss, if they wish to have the force of public opinion with them in the praiseworthy effort which they seem disposed to make for assuming the high and honourable situation of an independent and liberal people. If surrounding nations, obstinate to remember griefs, will not accept of this reformation as a guarantee of the purity of their determinations, it will be time enough to teach them moderation when the moment of aggression upon their part arrives. Until it does arrive, mildness of language, a conciliatory spirit, and internal preparation, will be far more efficacious than any sophistical arguments to palliate or defend what was really wrong in the conduct of the Swiss Government—(we allude to the passage of the Allies). It would be far more becoming, also, at a time when they wish to impress a general belief in the purity of their future intentions; but the world is no longer to be duped by such flimsy observations as occur in the work before us, about the members of the Holy Alliance and their obsequious kinglets.

In speaking thus warmly and openly, we are well persuaded that we shall give no offence to any enlightened Swiss Patriot. We believe that there are in that country many men as anxious as we can be, that such severe but wholesome truths should be repeated, until they become engraven upon the hearts of their countrymen; and we know there are multitudes who feel that the soil which gave birth to the heroes of Morat and Morgarten may be independent and respected, even though the Tuileries should be guarded by natural-born Frenchmen.

The neutrality of Switzerland has been declared inviolable by the great Powers. Will it be respected?—or is this to be only another specimen of the facility with which great powers promise what they never mean to perform? Such are the questions which occupy the minds of all thinking Swiss, who reflect upon the situation of their country. The answer, however, involves no mystery. What, do the great powers think their interest real or imaginary?—that they will pursue with a warmth and pertinacity unmitigated by any attention to justice or humanity. The proof of this is broad, and visible upon the map of Europe. Nevertheless, it is very probable that Austria, at this moment, sincerely desires that the neutrality of Switzerland may be preserved inviolate. The whole of Italy is in her grasp from Venice to Genoa, from Milan to Girgente in Sicily. She means to keep it; and therefore she can have no desire to see the French find an opening through Switzerland, to attack her at the most important point of her communications with the

Hereditary States. The stricter the neutrality of Switzerland, the more solemnly that neutrality shall be declared, the firmer her possession of Italy becomes. This is her share of the Holy Alliance; and Hanover and Turkey may, for aught we know, be the price at which Russia and Prussia lend their aid to protect the sacred rights of Helvetia.

France then, whose monarch sits upon a tottering throne, is the country to be looked to as most dangerous; and this, accordingly, is the view the author '*de La Suisse dans l'Intérêt de l'Europe*' takes of the subject, directing all the weight of his arguments against France, for which the declaration of General Sebastiani affords him a fair pretext. But the wheel of fortune continues to turn—affairs may change—Europe is any thing but settled—the deluge of the French Revolution has subsided—the warm mud has teemed with life, and produced its monsters; but the fermentation still continues. Good seed has been sown in the new soil; and the world, with reason, expects a rich and grateful harvest. Spain and Portugal have already reaped theirs; but Greece and Italy! are they to be forgotten? Can we talk or think of freedom, and be silent about *them*,—the mother and the daughter? Have they not struggled, and fought, and bled in the glorious cause? and shall we regard them with silent indifference, because the Turkish scimitar flashes in the eyes of the one, and the dull Austrian blight has passed over the fair face of the other? The probability and the propriety of these two countries becoming free and independent, should be taken into any calculation, having for its object a lasting and honourable neutrality for Switzerland; without that, all conclusions upon the subject are likely to be vain and chimerical.

France, again, should be considered under two aspects,—France under the sway of the Bourbons, and France once more free herself, and offering freedom to others. We repeat, that it is by an enlarged and liberal policy alone, that the Swiss Confederation can expect to gain the support of enlightened politicians, and the good opinion of other nations. And here it is that we differ from the author '*de La Suisse*,' &c., who has committed the great error of considering Italy as of right and irrevocably belonging to Austria; whereas we consider her as of right belonging only to her own population. He professes to enter into a didactic critical examination of the policy, justice, and military propriety of General Sebastiani's project; and, after some commonplace observations, relative to the folly of ambition, and to the disagreement between the moral and geographical boundaries of nations, he very simply observes, that the Congress of Vienna should have endeavoured to correct them. '*Autant que*

‘ le respect pour l'indépendance, et pour la justice, pouvait le ‘comporter.’ What follows is such an odd mixture of apology for, and censure upon, the Allies, for not having done so, that we feel a disposition to give it entire.

‘ On a déjà fait observer, que jamais occasion plus favorable ne s'était présentée pour asseoir solidement un système pacifique ; mais c'eut été trop attendre du desintéressement des nations et de la politique transcendante de leurs chefs, que de supposer, dans cette mémorable réunion de 1815, l'oubli des invasions, des spoliations, des injustices, des humiliations, dont tous avoient eu à souffrir et l'adoption de cette politique large et desintéressée, dont les convenances de la famille européenne, réclamaient l'application. Lorsqu'on juge la conduite des personnages influens dans les grandes transactions politiques, on ne doit pas perdre de vue, que les relations naturelles des peuples entre eux, sont hostiles ; que l'art de confondre leurs intérêts est un des plus beaux problèmes de la civilisation, et qu'il n'est peut-être pas donné aux hommes de le résoudre jamais complètement. Les nations ont une individualité qui a ses instincts ; et le premier de tous est, celui de leur propre conservation. L'histoire montre le génie de la nation Française tellement porté aux conquêtes ; dans les guerres de la Revolution, la France avait déployé une force militaire, si écrasante pour tous les états, qu'une occasion de l'affaiblir et de se donner contre elle des garanties futures dut être avidement saisie. Elle dut l'être surtout, parceque chacun avait la conviction que l'enchaînement, presque miraculeux des causes et des chances qui avaient amené des événemens imprevis, ne se realiserait point deux fois, et que le moment étoit unique pour s'assurer, soit une bonne part d'indemnités aux depuis des vaincus, soit des moyens de sécurité pour l'avenir. — Telle étoit la disposition générale des agens diplomatiques réunis à Paris d'abord, puis à Vienne en 1814. Voyons quelles étoient plus particulièrement les vues de chacun. Le gouvernement Anglais est exclusif et personnel plus franchement qu'aucun autre, et il doit l'être. Les intérêts de cette nation puissante peuvent s'isoler, jusqu'à un certain point, de ceux du Continent. Les Anglais n'ont en quelque sorte qu'un pied à terre en Europe. L'univers est le domaine de leur commerce, celui-ci suppose et entretient le gigantesque établissement de leur marine, le commerce fournit aux impôts, au credit et aux besoins croissans : il faut qu'il subsiste et s'étende, on que l'Angleterre tombe. La domination des mers est donc un besoin politique de l'Angleterre, dans le principe, assurément très légitime de sa propre conservation. ’

***** — Mais la France rendue à la paix rentrait dans ses avantages naturels. Sa position centrale en Europe, la vaste étendue de ses côtes, la richesse et la variété de ses productions, l'industrie active et les dispositions aventureuses de ses habitans, tout devait faire présager aux Anglais que lorsque la France aurait repris une assiette tranquille, et son rang, elle pourrait devenir le centre et une

réunion d'efforts vers le but de l'affranchissement des mers. La Hollande déchue en puissance, n'offrait aux Anglais aucun sujet d'inquiétude comme rivale; mais il importait à leur politique, de la soustraire à l'influence Française, et la création du royaume des Pays Bas n'a pas eu d'autre objet. Les postes de Gibraltar et de Malthe suffisaient bien à assurer la domination des Anglais dans la Méditerranée, mais il leur convenait d'avoir en Italie un port sur et commode, lequel put également recevoir au besoin, un corps d'armée, pour seconder leurs alliés dans les plaines de Lombardie et du Piémont, contre les invasions de leurs ennemis naturels, redevenus forts et par conséquent entreprenans. La possession de Gènes était admirable sous ces rapports. On l'occupait; mais la prétention de le garder aurait éprouvé de grands obstacles. On le fit donner au Roi de Sardaigne, ce qui revenait au même pour le fond des choses. Les droits d'un peuple indépendant furent sacrifiés à la politique de l'Angleterre, couverte du prétexte de la paix future de l'Europe. Chacune des puissances avait des lors ses vues particulières, qu'elle se justifiait également sur le principe de sa propre conservation. C'est ainsi que la Russie s'appuyant des derniers événemens, prétendit à la protection exclusive de la Pologne, pour couvrir ses propres frontières, c'est ainsi que la Prusse se fit indemniser aux dépens de la Saxe et des provinces d'outre Rhin, enlevées aux Français. C'est ainsi, enfin, que l'Autriche, dotée du royaume de Venise, qu'elle ajoutait au Milanais, au Tyrol, et à ses autres provinces contigües, estima qu'il était nécessaire à la sûreté de ses possessions d'Italie, de retenir la propriété des trois Vallées qui à la suite des crises de la Révolution et de la guerre avaient imploré sa protection. —(Vide page 5 to 9.)

We wish just to remark here, that the policy attributed to England must have been soon lost sight of,—as, in consequence of our bombardment of Algiers, and the subsequent depression of the Barbary Powers, nearly the whole of the carrying trade in the Mediterranean has been monopolized by the Genoese. After this little *exposé* of the author's political feeling, and the sort of spirit which actuates the great Powers, he enters into the military part of his subject.

We are informed that the Valtelline, the Chiavenna, and the Bormeo, three vallies dependent upon the Grisons, but equal to them in population, disgusted by a refusal, on the part of the latter, to grant them an equality of political rights, threw themselves into the arms of Napoleon, by whom they were incorporated with the Cisalpine republic,—the similarity of customs, manners, climate, language, and religion, favouring this amalgamation with the population of the Milanese. After a period of fifteen years had elapsed, the Grisons, presuming upon the ruin of Buonaparte, reclaimed these vallies; but refusing still to grant to their inhabitants the rights they so justly

demanded, Austria found no difficulty in preserving the rich spoil as a part of her newly acquired territory; the advantages derived from the possession weighing more with her than the evil of supporting rebellious subjects against their legitimate masters,—doubtless because those masters were not crowned. These advantages were not small. The Valtelline, through which flows the Adda, fertile, and containing 80,000 inhabitants, secures, in a space of twenty leagues, a commodious communication between the Tyrol and the Milanese. The Chiavenna is the key of the Grisons, opening, by the pass of the Sphigen, into the higher valley of the Rhine, and enabling the Austrians to forestal the French in the eastern parts of Switzerland, if need be. The other powers assembled in Congress, in despite of the remonstrances of the Grisons, let this pass; being, says the author, absorbed in the affairs of Poland, Gallicia, Belgium and Saxony; in other words, too much occupied in securing their own spoliations to care about what Austria did, provided she interfered not with them. But, says the author, if the negociators had come to Congress with what he calls ideas purely European, and a desire to ensure a permanent state of peace, they would have considered Switzerland as a great natural fortress, destined to prevent Austria and France from coming into contact; and, following up this idea, should have proceeded to ‘*enceindre cette agglomération de républiques, d’une frontière facile à défendre, et régler par d’équitables indemnités, les réclamations auxquelles l’intérêt de la sûreté du pays aurait pu donner lieu. En traçant cette frontière on aurait eu égard à ce que les Suisses ne peuvent jamais avoir contre leur voisins des vues agressives,—on aurait donné à ce pays dont le gouvernement fédératif est essentiellement pacifique, tous les défilés, les cols, les passages, qui peuvent être aisément gardés. En traçant la ligne de démarcation avec les états voisins, on aurait attribué aux Suisses, non seulement les crêtes, mais le glacis qui aide à les défendre; on aurait détruit les routes militaires qui avaient été construites pour mettre l’Italie en France, et qui sont un encouragement permanent à des tentatives réciproquement hostiles; on aurait, en un mot, multiplié les obstacles à entreprendre, et les moyens de résister.*’

The project of destroying the superb roads of the Simplon and Mont Cenis, we regard as shortsighted and barbarous; but we shall have occasion to speak of this more at large in another part of this article; contenting ourselves, for the present, with observing, that the Austrians having no right, in justice or reason, to be in Italy at all, we should have expected from a lover of liberty a recommendation to that power to resign such unjust pretensions, and to quit the country, rather than contemplate for their security the destruction of the finest existing

monuments of the genius and industry of man. Passing, however, from this, our author thus describes the geography of Switzerland, with a view to his account of the campaign of 1799, by the result of which he proposes to prove the impolicy of any attempt upon the part of the French to take military possession of Italy.

‘ La Suisse et la Savoie neutralisées, forment ensemble une figure que se rapproche d’un triangle rectangle, dont l’angle droit serait à Schaffhouse, les deux autres au Mont-du-Chat, et au Munsterthal, frontière du Tyrol. L’hypothénuse de ce triangle est d’environ 90 lieues, le côté moyen de 65, et le petit côté de 40 lieues. La direction de la base est est-nord-est. Cette base confine à la Savoie, au Piémont, et au Milanais, le côté moyen, à la France et à la Souabe, le petit côté à la Souabe et au Tyrol. L’angle sud-ouest forme un saillant sur la France. Le Rhin et le Rhône qui prennent leur source au milieu de la base du triangle, suivent à peu près la direction de son grand côté, savoir, le premier, au NE., puis au nord par les Grisons, le second au SO. par le Vallais. L’un et l’autre courent entre deux des plus hautes chaînes des Alpes. Une chaîne secondaire formée par le Jura en lignes redoublées, s’étend du fort de l’Ecluse jusque près de Schaffhouse, on elle ne s’ouvre que pour donner passage aux eaux de l’Aar, de la Reuss, de la Limath, et de la Thur. Le vaste bassin formé par cette chaîne secondaire, et par la ligne intérieure des montagnes primitives, est coupé de chaînes interrompues, d’épérons détachés, de vallées profondes, de torrens, de rivières et de lacs. Les deux grandes vallées du Rhin et du Rhône, communiquent avec ce bassin par des cols étroits et des passages plus ou moins difficiles, dans quelques uns de ces passages, on a pratiqué des routes pour le commerce. Le grand triangle de la Suisse, interposé au milieu du continent, fait par son angle le plus aigu, une saillie sur la France et sur la Savoie, non neutralisée : l’autre angle aigu de la Suisse, s’avance sur les états de la maison d’Autriche. Le reste est limité par la Savoie, le Piémont, et le Duché de Baden.’

Now, it seems that the French Directory in 1798 determined, for the purpose of forwarding a vast plan of campaign against the Allies, to take military possession of Switzerland, seduced, says the author, ‘ par l’espérance de piller le trésor d’un pays ami, et d’éblouir les Français par un plan gigantesque.’ The pillage of Switzerland could not be any very great temptation; but the opportunity afforded by the unjust pretensions of the oligarchy of Berne to rule the Pays de Vaud, and the general dissensions between the aristocratic and democratic cantons, was too great for the virtue of the French Government, of whose genius and spirit of justice, we cannot give a better example than by quoting a passage, not from our author, who may be rejected as an interested witness, but from the history of General Servan, who had been Minister of War when the Duke of Brunswick

invaded France,—a man of uncommon talents, practical and theoretical, and withal too honest to excuse his countrymen at the expense of truth.

‘ Le gouvernement Français, fidèle à son système de *propagandisme directionnel*, n’était cependant pas encore satisfait. Il voulait renverser entièrement l’antique constitution helvétique, et lui substituer une forme de gouvernement combinée sur les élémens de la constitution Française, ainsi qu’en Italie et en Batavie, car il n’y avait plus qu’une bonne constitution, pour les montagnes de la Suisse comme pour les marais de la Hollande, et les plaines de la Lombardie; pour un peuple pasteur ou agricole comme pour un peuple essentiellement commerçant; pour les climats du midi comme pour ceux du nord. Quels que fussent les régions, la température, le caractère, les mœurs, l’étendue, la position topographique, la population, les habitudes, il n’y avait plus qu’une bonne forme de gouvernement, et la Suisse, dont l’heure était venue, devait se soumettre à accueillir un acte constitutionnel qui réunissait tous les cantons en une seule république.’

The author before us thinks the injustice of this scheme was also the immediate cause of the losses of the French in 1799. In this we cannot agree with him: and we shall endeavour to point out where we think him in error, observing, that in the general impolicy of the act we entirely agree, although we think that his just indignation, or something else, has a little blinded him to the true causes of failure.

Having given the numbers of the opposing armies and their positions, and described the most important points, upon which he says their manœuvres turned, he rapidly sketches the History of the Campaign of 1799; by which it appears that the French, besides an army in Naples under MacDonald, had 157,000 men, distributed as follows—

50,000 men under Schérer, in the strong position of the Adige.

42,000 under Massena, in Switzerland.

40,000 under Jourdan, in Suabia—(the army of the Danube.)

25,000 upon the Rhine under Bernadotte—(army of observation.)

157,000

The Allies, to oppose this force, had 169,000 men, thus placed.

66,000 under the Archduke Charles—(the army of Suabia.)

18,000 in the Voralberg.

18,000 in the Tyrol.

7,000 in the Grisons. *

36,000 upon the Adige.

24,000 at Vartybrough—(the army of Reserve.)

169,000

—In addition to which, the Russian army of 70,000 men was hastily advancing to their support. The plan of campaign was to engage the attention of the Archduke by the advance of Jourdan's army to the Danube, while Massena seized upon the Tyrol, for the purpose of cutting the communication between the Austrian army of the Danube, and that of Italy, and, by menacing the flanks and rear of the last, oblige it to retreat from the strong position of the Adige. Jourdan accordingly advanced to the eastern end of the Lake of Constance, his left feeling towards the Danube; but the almost impregnable post of Feldkirk upon the Rhine, being occupied in force by General Hotze, a Swiss in the service of Austria, a man of remarkable talent, and intimately acquainted with the country, it became impossible to establish a direct communication with Massena, who had by this time seized upon the Grisons, and the head of the valley of the Adige. To remove this obstacle, many desperate attacks were made upon Feldkirk, but without success. Hotze was successful in repelling them all; and Jourdan, pressed by the Archduke, and giving battle at Stockach, was defeated, and retired hastily to his base of operations on the Rhine. In this dilemma, Massena, who dared not move down the valley of the Adige, while uncertain of Jourdan's fate, and having Hotze and Belgarde in his rear, took every measure that the most consummate skill could dictate, to preserve possession of the ground he had gained, expecting the result of Schérer's operations; but Schérer was also beaten; and the Russians having formed a junction with the army of Italy, he was forced back upon and through the Milanese, by which all the French positions in the Grisons were turned, while Belgarde from the Tyrol, and Hotze from Feldkirk, attacked them in front; and to add to their difficulties, the petty cantons rose in arms upon their rear, and cut off some of their posts of communication.

In this dilemma, Massena performed wonders; he had fortified the defile of Luccienstieg, the key of the Grisons from the Voralberg, and Hotze attacked it in vain. Belgarde was defeated by Lecourbe; but a rapid movement by the latter upon Belongona was necessary to save the pass of St Gothard from the Russians, and gave the French a new position, which extended from the valley of the Teccino to the Lake of Constance. Jourdan had before this time quitted his army, and Massena was invested with the chief command. He endeavoured to maintain himself in the Grisons; but the Gallant Hotze, at the head of his enraged countrymen, once more attacked the defile of Luccienstieg, and, in despite of its strength, natural and ar-

tificial, carried it with a headlong charge, and, Massena quitting all his posts, fell back upon his second line of defences; but, being pressed by superior forces, he was driven out of Zurich, and finally concentrated the greatest part of his forces behind the Limath, and prepared for new efforts. An opportunity was soon afforded him. An order from Vienna obliged the Archduke to send a great portion of his left wing to reinforce the army of Italy, a body of 20,000 Russians under Korkasow, being destined to replace them in Switzerland. Massena seized the moment between the departure of the former, and the arrival of the latter; and attacking the posts of the Allies, got possession of St Gothard with the vallies of the Reus, Switz, Glaris, and the Valais; pushed parties on the Usnach and Pfeffikon, north of the Zurich See; and endeavoured to bring on a general battle, which the Archduke refused, although reinforced by the 20,000 Russians under Korkasow. The bombardment of Philipsbourgh upon the Rhine, by General Müller induced him to fly to its assistance with a considerable portion of his army, at the very moment that Suwarrow, with his Russians of the army of Italy, advanced by the passes of St Gothard to take the French line in flank and rear, and to place it between two fires.

The sagacious Massena once more seized the happy moment; defeated Korkasow and Hotze, cut their communications, and pushed them across the Rhine; and then, with incredible activity, marched back in time to support his right wing under Lecourbe, who, pressed by Suwarrow, was upon the point of being overpowered in the Muttenthal near Switz. Suwarrow suffered great loss, and saved himself with difficulty in the Rhinthal; and Korkasow having again advanced, was again defeated by the indefatigable Massena, who remained master of Switzerland, as the beaten armies were not able to unite except behind the Rhine and the Lake of Constance, with the loss of baggage, artillery, and nearly half their original numbers. The brave and skilful Hotze fell at the first attack upon the Allies. His death was an overwhelming calamity, deeply regretted, and impossible to repair.

Now, with this brief abstract of the campaign before us, let us examine the chain of reasoning by which this author endeavours to show, that the ill success of the French was owing entirely to their urgent occupation of Switzerland. We admit willingly, that, as a general axiom, injustice and violence in politics are sure to recoil upon the heads of the perpetrators; but we must be careful not to attribute a particular effect to a general, if we can find an immediate and particular cause sufficient to account for it.

The French armies were, the author says, at that time numerous, enthusiastic and confident, commanded by excellent generals, and directed, under a conjunction of the most favourable circumstances, towards the execution of a gigantic plan of conquest, the details of which were conducted with the most consummate skill. Massena, he says, committed no fault; his Lieutenants rivalled him in resource and intelligence. Jourdan was a good general, Schérer not a bad one; and yet, 'le sang avoit coulé par torrens, la valeur, l'habilité, la fortune, avoient secondé les Français; et cependant ils se retrouvaient en Suisse exactement dans la position d'on ils étaient partis, en ouvrant avec un projet d'offensive audacieuse, une campagne qui leur avoit enlevé l'Italie.'

Now, in the *first* place, it is not true that any very fortunate conjuncture of circumstances favoured the French, unless ignorance and rapacity, upon the part of the Directory, fraud and negligence in their agents, want and misery in the armies, and disorder in every branch of the civil administration, can be so called. Schérer was disliked by the army for his rapine and intrigues; Jourdan was a very respectable man, and a gallant soldier, but a very bad general; Massena was undoubtedly of singular ability, but he had not the chief command at first; and the plan of the campaign was vicious in the outset; while the execution, with the exception of Massena's part, was feeble and unskilful.

By the plan of campaign, two things must be understood,—the general plan of the Directory, in a political point of view, against the Allies; and the military scheme for the execution. Our present arguments apply to it only under the last point of view; but let us first support our assertions. General Servan, in his history of the war, thus describes the state of France, from 1797 to the year that Napoleon assumed the reins of government.

'Depuis le 18 Fructidor, an 5 (4th September 1797), la situation de la France était toujours plus affligeante. Dans l'intérieur, ce n'était que découragement, mécontentement, désespoir, chacun voyait la guerre prête à ce rallumer plus opiniâtre et plus sanglante que jamais, et chacun était convaincu que le directoire pouvait le prévenir. — Les contributions ne semblaient sortir des mains du peuple que pour engraisser une nuée de vampires qui devoraient sa substance, et venaient le braver dans sa misère par le faste le plus insolent. — Le commerce expirait, le numéraire disparaissait, la confiance s'évanouissait, le crédit s'éternait les arts, réparateurs ne étaient nullement encouragés ceux de pur agrément étaient inappréciés. — Mais comment les armées Françaises jusqu'alors victorieuses, avaient elles pu essuyer tout à coup de grands revers et éprouver des défaites presque continuelles? Par quelle raison les

avait on vues malgré la bravoure des soldats et leur patience, repoussées des bords de la Brenta sur ceux de la Bormida, et de ceux du Lech sur ceux du Rhin? Lisez la correspondance des généraux, vous y trouverez à chaque ligne des plaintes sur le trop petit nombre de troupes à leurs ordres, comparées à celles des l'ennemis; sur l'incurie et l'insouciance du Directoire relativement aux armées. Lisez ensuite les instructions du Directoire, et vous ne pourrez vous empêcher d'être révolté de ses plans gigantesques, et de ses ordres réitérés d'attaquer partout et de pousser vivement l'offensive avec des forces infiniment inférieures, disséminées depuis le Bas Rhin jusque dans la Calabre, et des soldats manquant de tout, renfermés en partie dans des villes dont on avait négligé les approvisionnemens et les fortifications. Eh! Que pouvaient contre tous les périls qui obsedaient la France au dedans et au dehors, des hommes ou cupides, on livrés uniquement à leurs plaisirs, et profondément ignorans en administration militaire et politique? Il est impossible de tracer ici le tableau fidèle des déchiremens de notre patrie; puisse une plume éloquente les offrir à la postérité pour éloigner à jamais les causes qui produisirent des effets aussi funestes! 'And he supports this by the following extract from a work, entitled 'La Première Année du Consulat de Buonaparté.'

'Le mérite par-tout persécuté, les hommes honnêtes par-tout chassés des fonctions publiques, les brigands réunis de toutes parts, dans leurs infernales cavernes, des scélérats en puissance, des apologistes de la terreur à la tribune nationale, la spoliation rétablie sous le titre d'emprunt forcé, l'assassinat préparé, et des milliers de victimes designées sous le titre d'otages, le signal du pillage, du meurtre, de l'incendie, toujours au moment de ce faire entendre dans une proclamation de la patrie en danger; mêmes cris, mêmes hurlemens dans les clubs qu'en 1793, mêmes bourreaux, mêmes victimes; plus de liberté, plus de propriétés, plus de sureté pour les citoyens, plus de finance, plus de credit pour l'état! L'Europe presque entiere, l'Amerique même dechainées contre nous, des armées en déroute, l'Italie perdue, le territoire Français presque envahi, tel était, il y a un an, la position de la France!'

What a picture of weakness and distraction, of wickedness and folly in this proud revolutionary government! And was such a complication of disorders in the State a favourable conjuncture of affairs? But the thing truly to be considered is the plan itself, and the mode of its execution.

We have already extracted from the work the positions and force of the armies. The author differs a little in numbers from Servan; but we shall adopt his statement, which coincides with that of Mathieu Dumas.

From Philipsburgh on the Rhine to the head of the Adriatic, upon an irregular line of about 400 miles, the French armies, amounting to 157,000 men, were divided into four corps, each

commanded by generals independent of each other, and of course subject to all the jealousies and dissensions attending coalesced armies. The plan was, to operate a combined movement, for the purpose of penetrating by the Grisons and the Tyrol; and thus, turning the positions of the armies of the Danube and the Adige, open a way to the heart of Austria Proper. Now, to give the chance of success to such a plan, it would be necessary to have superior numbers—to have a perfect understanding between the generals—to be victorious in all preliminary attacks—to be exact in calculations as to time, distance, &c.;—in short, to move armies over an immense tract of difficult ground as one would move chessmen, which is evidently impossible, without such a run of fortune as it would be absurd to expect in human transactions. A single failure or mistake upon any one point of importance, would necessarily draw after it the failure of the whole plan; and the important points were multiplied beyond measure by such an immense extent being given to the combined movements. The inertness of one general—the too great activity of another—the dulness of a third, and a thousand other accidents, were each sufficient to ruin the hopes of the whole campaign, the plan of which we are justified in calling vicious at the outset, and incapable of great results; because no greater fault could be committed in war, than the endeavour to unite several masses moving upon concentric lines, at a strategical point, already in possession of an enemy superior in numbers, and who, from that circumstance, was always enabled to overwhelm the separated armies.

Such, however, was the plan: Let us now attend to its execution.—Jourdan with his army broke up from Basle and Huningen, and advanced in such a direction, that he placed the Lake of Constance between Massena and himself, without a possibility of his being able to open his communication again, except by the post of Feldkirk, situated at the east end of the Lake; but that post, one of the strongest in the world, was defended by 18,000 men, and supported by 66,000 more under the Archduke Charles, who soon put a stop to the activity of Jourdan. In the mean time, Massena pushed on by the opposite side of the Lake, attacked Feldkirk with a part of his army, and, with the other part, seized upon the Grisons, defended by 7000, and penetrated to the Tyrol occupied by 18,000 men. Thus it appears, that 91,000 men, in possession of a strong central position, were attacked by two armies operating upon double exterior lines, separated by a lake, whose united force amounted to only 82,000 men. Could the result be for a moment doubtful?

And is it not rather matter of wonder that the French were not annihilated? It is only necessary to read Napoleon's campaign against Wurmser and Alvingi, to feel that such would have been their fate if *he* had commanded the Austrians. But this was not all; the 18,000 men in the Tyrol who guarded the rear of the army of the Adige, and the 70,000 Russians who were upon the point of reinforcing the latter, have not been reckoned. How apparent then is the absurdity of expecting success under such circumstances?

It is certain, however, that Jourdan might have assembled his forces more in advance than he did, and that he might have even been upon the Liller before the Archduke had quitted the Lech. He would thus have insulated the post of Feldkirk, and, by taking it in reverse, while Massena attacked it in front, might possibly have carried it. We will suppose so; and that Massena and himself, had pushed on with joint forces to complete their success. The Archduke, having his army entire, might easily have rallied the remains of the defeated divisions upon himself, and upon the army of the Tyrol. We will allow near two-thirds of their whole number to cover the loss sustained by them, there still would have been a mass of 96,000 men, united under the command of one general, posted in a strong country, to oppose the French, reduced by the attack upon Feldkirk and the Grisons—say to 76,000—a very moderate computation. What could be done? Should they attempt to pass by the Voralberg upon the line of the Danube, the Russians, 70,000 strong, would have met them in front, while the Archduke cut their communication with Switzerland, and attacked their flank. Suppose they attacked the Archduke in front, the Russians moving along the Danube cut their communications upon that line, confined them to Switzerland, and were ready to assist in crushing them in a general battle. Let us, however, give them another chance; let us suppose that Scherer, with his 56,000 men, was so happy as to defeat the 36,000 Austrians posted upon the Adige; we say, so happy, because that position is almost impregnable to an attack in front; and it could only be turned by Massena, along the valley of that river, the head of which was in his possession. But Massena durst not, as we have seen, move down that valley with an army in the Tyrol. The junction of the beaten army with the Archduke was then secure; and the latter, still preserving a central and commanding position, would have found himself at the head of an imposing mass of about 120,000 men; flanking the army of Scherer, if he attempted to penetrate by

Carinthia; checking the united armies of Massena and Jourdan; and admirably situated to support and communicate with the Russian army; while the latter pushed along the line of the Danube, and turned the left of Jourdan's position, with the choice, as we before stated, of confining him to Switzerland, cut off from his base, or of assisting the Archduke to overwhelm him in a general action. Suppose even that Scherer joined Massena and Jourdan, their three armies would not have amounted to 130,000 men, a force inadequate to insure any rapid and decisive success against the Archduke, while the Russians might have acted as before. Is it necessary to go any further to prove that the plan of campaign was so vicious in the conception, and (thus far) so badly executed as to be incapable of any beneficial result?

Hitherto, then, the French were unsuccessful, from causes quite independent of their occupation of a free country. What was the cause of the favourable turn in their affairs? A court intrigue, says the author, which no man had a right to calculate upon in arranging a plan of campaign; but in this case it was not a court intrigue, but a change of plan, and perhaps not a bad one, upon the author's own showing, at least under the existing circumstances, if instant success in Italy was important. The true answer however is, that the appointment of Massena to the chief command was the cause of the success of the French. We have already seen with what infinite talent that superlative captain conducted himself in this emergency, and have only to recal the concluding part of his manœuvres to find the secret of his success. To induce the Archduke to weaken his line, the wily Frenchman caused Philipsbourg to be bombarded by the army of observation under General Müller. The snare took; and, pouncing like an eagle upon his prey, Massena defeated those in front of him, turned upon the assailants in his rear, broke them, and again returned in time to meet and overcome, a second time, those who had rallied after the first defeat. Now, we say that all this was purely military, and had nothing to do with the policy of occupying Switzerland in the first instance, which might nevertheless have been, and may be, a wise measure, notwithstanding this campaign. While the Allies were concentrated, and the French disseminated, the Allies were successful; when the French were concentrated, and the Allies disseminated, the French were victorious. The armies, when conducted upon false principles, and by ignorant generals, were beaten; and, when manœuvred upon just principles, with sagacity and talent, were victorious.

We have observed, that the plan of campaign embraces two things, which this author seems anxious to confound, but which, we conceive, ought to be kept perfectly distinct. The Directory might have judged justly that Switzerland was the proper territorial line of operations, and yet have chalked out a defective plan for their generals to pursue; or they might have imagined an excellent manœuvring plan, which, being upon a false territorial line, could not have permanent results. The latter part of the first supposition has been proved from the operations of this campaign; but it by no means follows that the former part was either well or ill conceived. The author says it was ill conceived, from the danger to which it exposed France, as being invaded through that very country which she had occupied as the point from whence she could most annoy her enemy.

Under any circumstances, great danger must arise to a country whose main armies are defeated; and therefore, we cannot admit the peculiar force of the argument in this case more than another; and we are disposed to demur to the rebuke contained in the following passage. ‘Il est des esprits qui se refusent à admettre les conclusions d’une logique rigoureuse, et les inductions fondées sur d’incontestables faits, parce qu’ils se défient d’une dialectique qui peut-être trompeuse; ils ont besoin d’une autorité imposante pour fixer leurs incertitudes.’ Bonaparte is this threatened authority. He, it seems, withdrew his troops from Switzerland, and declared her neutrality inviolable, as more suitable for the interests of France; but that was after he had conquered Italy, and secured possession of the Iron Crown. He thought differently, when, upon his arrival from Egypt, he found his ancient conquest in the hands of the Austrians; and indeed this seems to have struck the author so forcibly, that he suddenly breaks off from his course to give a history of this ‘irruption soudaine’ of Napoleon over the Alps, between which and Hannibal’s march he makes a comparison rather out of place.

The fact, in short, is clear, that it is not very dangerous either for France or Austria, that Swiss neutrality should be violated; but when once either of these powers is in quiet possession of Italy, it becomes important to the last degree to that power, that the other should not be able to turn her positions by the mountains of Helvetia; and thus the poor Swiss are scattered, bribed, or invaded from either side, even as the Hunnish spear or Gaulish sword sweeps over the classic plains of Italy.

Quitting this digression, the author makes the application of

his facts to show the absurdity of General Sebastiani's proposition, when viewed as a simple military operation. To invade Austria by Switzerland, when the French were masters of Italy, he says, was proved to be futile by the campaign of 1799. To do so, without being masters of it, he says is madness. Upper Italy must first be conquered; yet it cost five active campaigns, conducted by the ablest generals, and executed by the most enthusiastic troops, before the French could cross the mountains of Savoy and Piedmont, and enter victorious on the plains of the latter, where however, in future, new difficulties must be encountered, as in those plains they will be met by united Austrian, Piedmontese, and *English* armies; for, says he, a war with Germany includes of course Holland and England; and Genoa has been given to the King of Sardinia by the latter, to be held for the convenience of disembarking her armies on such an occasion.

We have not space to analyze the long and laboured exposition which follows, of the manner in which a reverse would bring on a successful invasion of France. The description of the military topography of Piedmont and Savoy, and the French frontier, is able, but is not conclusive; the argument drawn from it proceeds upon a preconceived system of the author's, who seems to imagine, that the moment the great mountains are passed, Lyons is laid open to the invading armies. He forgets that Lyons itself is a grand stratagetical point, easily fortified, and admirably situated to support the movements of the defensive army. We refer our readers, for a proof of this, to the preparations made by Napoleon in 1815, for the defence of that portion of France. The Duke of Berwick's defence of the frontier from the mouth of the Var to Mont Melian, is also at variance with some of his positions. There is however considerable knowledge and talent displayed in this part of the work. It is followed by a vehement argument, to prove, that France should for ever dismiss from her mind the idea of making any impression upon Italy; that all chances are against her, whether in war or politics; that it will be unjust, absurd, and unsuccessful; that the only glimpse of success arises from the roads of the Simplon and Mont Cenis, which however would be only a false hope, as these would, in the end, be disadvantageous to France. Nevertheless, he earnestly inculcates the necessity of destroying them, not in one place only, but in many. This, indeed, seems to be a favourite object with him, and might almost give rise to suspicions that Swiss independence is not so much in his thoughts as Italian dependence. We shall make some remarks upon this Gothic recommendation.

To destroy the road of the Simplon and that of Mont Cenis, could in no way benefit the Swiss. Say that they are of little use in commerce, and that some English travellers alone will feel the loss; what then? Has the attraction of foreigners, and a free social intercourse between nations, no advantages? But is this really all that they are good for? Can it be possible, that a broad and beaten road between France and Italy is of no other use than to please a few English travellers? Are not inventions and commercial enterprises springing up daily in all parts of Europe?—and every source of profit, every communication rendered daily more available for the pleasure and comfort of mankind? Who then can say that those stupendous monuments of human talent are to be useless for ever, even though they may be so now? Shall the noblest works of peace be destroyed, for the chance of evading a distant and uncertain evil, in an uncertain war? But we deny that any evil can arise to the Swiss nation from their preservation. Who is there that does not know how the Simplon is made?—that it runs along the side of tremendous precipices, through long galleries piercing the solid rocks, and over bridges that hang in air, and tremble to the sound of the rushing torrents underneath? How then should an army pass such places if opposed? If they give room for numbers of the assailants, and for their artillery to act, do they not do the same and much more, for the defenders? Is not the advantage entirely in favour of the latter? When the time comes, break down one of those bridges, place artillery at the entrance of one of those galleries, and what becomes of an advancing army? Do the same by a bridge in their rear, and they are lost. Say they force such obstacles, their baggage and materiel cannot pass, with an active mountain corps of warriors hanging upon their flanks and rear. Such a road has infinitely more advantages for the invaded than the invaders. In the natural mountain passes, man is opposed to man; they are equal; where one can move, another can; and the most numerous party will generally succeed. But on these grand routes, all the natural difficulties of mountain warfare are capable of being increased by the artificial resources of regular fortifications; and, thus united, are impossible to overcome. Besides, it forces all the supplies and ammunition to be collected upon one line, and indicates the exact spot where the greatest efforts should be made against the enemy, without enabling them to collect great means of defence in return. Let the road be great or small, the line of baggage and of march must be long; and the mountains on its sides cannot be all occupied. What, then, can be the motive of the author, a Swiss patriot, in thus vehemently urging the

destruction of these roads? To Austria, indeed, they are obnoxious. With the good will of the Swiss, the Piedmontese, the Milanese, the Venetians, the Neapolitans might look forward to a release from the heavy thralldom they endure. But if France is to be cut off from Italy—if Switzerland is to be rendered impassable, and taught to believe that, like a tortoise, the thickness and beauty of her shell is her only value—the miserable Italians may gnaw and bite the chain that holds them. They may howl under the scourge; but they can entertain no reasonable prospect of release from their bonds, or even of a mitigation of their sufferings. But we ask again, of what use is all this to Switzerland? Can it be advantageous to a free nation to help to keep others in slavery? A generous policy is the safest. They hold the keys of Italy; and it cannot be dangerous to open the gates to a delivering army, when fair occasion offers. They can always shut them against an aggressive army; and free and grateful Italy would enable them to keep them closed.

We trust that it will not be supposed, from what we have said, that we admit the propriety or justice of General Sebastiani's proposition, any more than the justness of the hints we met with in this writer upon Austrian moderation. We conceive that there is no problem in mathematics more demonstrable than the important truth, that violence and oppression upon the part of one nation towards another, can never, in the end, be advantageous. All history bears witness to the truth. Should a nation even be so small that it may be absolutely exterminated, it mends not the matter; the memory of their miserable fate is always present to the minds of the more powerful. The weak band together, the stronger assist them. The hatred of mankind, the valour of patriotism, the wisdom, the cunning, nay, even the treachery of all other people, are combined: they watch for an opportunity, and assuredly it will come, when blood and spoliation will be repaid with their like. Conquest!—What advantage is that to the conquerors in such a cause?—will it relieve the burthen of taxation incurred in the conquest?—will it enable them to fight other battles, with soldiers drawn from the conquered nations?—or, if it does, will they be happier themselves?

We may be told of the Romans. If there was ever one people more cursed and miserable than another, it was the Romans. We suffer hunger and nakedness and stripes, was the constant cry of the Plebeians, in reproaching their insolent masters the Patricians. Tumults, seditions, murders, civil wars, proscriptions, were constant and uninterrupted at home;

while mutinies and massacres, to an extent almost incredible abroad, wrote, in bloody characters, the hatred and miseries of the countries subject to their sway. Nay, that very sway was more advanced by the differences arising among their victims—from the remembrance of ancient injuries—than by the vigour of their arms. Yet the Romans civilized as they conquered, and were not more inhuman than their neighbours. They were victorious, it is true, but at the expense of their own comfort; the unhappy people suffered for the ambition of their rulers. The energies of whole nations were roused against them, and carried, even in falling, such desperate blows to their oppressors, as left them reason to wail over their success. How many lessons of this kind do modern times present! How many examples to be found in the history of the last 25 years! We find Prussian troops, under the Duke of Brunswick, invading France in 1792; and, in 1806, the French repaying their insolent proclamation, and retaliating their spoliation fourfold more than justice required; for which they were again punished to the quick in 1814 and 1815!

The confederation of Pilnitz!—To how many woes for the confederates did that fatal league not lead? The partition of Poland!—Could Napoleon have ever invaded Russia without that inhuman proceeding? His base of operations, his principal means, numbers of soldiers, and, finally, safety for the remains of his army, he found in Poland. Let us descend to smaller examples, and more immediately relating to our subject. The pretensions of the aristocracy of Berne to domineer over the Pays de Vaud, excited the anger of the last; and they called in at once the principles and the troops of the French Republic, who soon caused the Bernois to repent of their policy. Had the French stopped there; it might have been well; but, violently and inhumanly, they entered Switzerland; and their soldiers had orders to massacre, says their own historian Servan, ‘des misérables colons relégués dans les parties les plus arides des montagnes, presques étrangers au reste des hommes, pour les contraindre à renoncer aux idées d’indépendances démocratique, à leur culte religieux, unique patrimoine qu’ils tenoient de leur pères.’ What followed?—the hatred of the Swiss, formerly their friends; and, in their distress in 1814 and 1815, vengeance was not forgotten. A free passage was granted to the Allies, and that passage may be again the cause of misery; for, on both sides, the spirit rankles yet. The Grisons governed the rich vallies of the Chiavenna, the Bormeo, and the Valteline. They demanded a community of political rights and privileges; they

were refused—and instantly these vallies became a part of the Cisalpine republic. But time rolled on. Napoleon, who had incorporated them, fell; and the Grisons, untaught by experience, and obstinate in wrong, reclaimed their ancient subjects, without conceding their rights; and the indignant inhabitants of the vallies preferred even the Austrian yoke to theirs.

In the course of the author's observations, he touches upon the question of fortifying the town of Geneva, which he is averse to. It seems, that the idea had caught the minds of the Genevese; and the two last pamphlets, which form the heading of this article, give the *pros* and *cons* for this affair; the letter from Basle opposing, those from Geneva supporting, the proposal. We confess that we are entirely on the side of the citizen of Basle, whose letters are lively, sensible, and pregnant with excellent reasons against it; supporting himself by the opinion of the author of '*La Suisse dans l'intérêt de l'Europe.*' Nothing, in fact, could be more unwise: fortifications are always expensive, both to build and to keep up; and their utility depends entirely upon their situation, and the support which may be derived from them by an operating army of defence. If they cover strong passes, command both sides of a great river, or are so centrally placed amid several strong positions, as to serve for a *depôt* to all; or can impede or assist the junction of several corps, which are obliged to march separately to gain a certain point, they are of infinite use. Now, with respect to the defence of Switzerland, we cannot see how Geneva fulfils any one of these objects; it cannot prevent the entrance of the French into the Pays de Vaud; but, being once taken, it would for ever give them a hold upon that country; it would give them a base of operations—would contain their *depôts*—and, with a flotilla upon the Lake, would supply the armies with provisions at little expense, and with great ease, for the whole length of that piece of water. It is true, that it stands upon the Rhone, blocks up the Simplon, and divides Lyons and Grenoble; but the command of the Rhone at that point is not important; a *tête de pont* at the bridge of St Maurice, at a small expense, would equally block up the Simplon; and all Switzerland would serve as a *depôt*, in the event of an invasion of France. Twenty millions francs is the estimate that has been made of the expense. It would probably amount to double; and this immense sum would be extracted from the pockets of a poor people, to draw destruction upon a flourishing town, and to sacrifice fifteen thousand men in a useless defence, when their services upon another point might be the salvation of the country. The eventual consequences of this plan of fortifica-

tion would be, to give an excellent base of operations to an invading French army—a security to their dépôts—and an influence in the country by no means desirable. Bonaparte was so satisfied of the advantages to be derived from the plan, that he offered to defray the expenses. How delighted would he not have been to find the Swiss generously proposing to do it for him! It is said that it would do good, were it only for the purpose of nourishing old sentiments and opinions relative to the strength of the situation, and encouraging the idea of sacrificing all for the welfare of the State. But such sentiments, unless backed up by real strength, would soon evaporate; and the reaction would be more detrimental to the cause, than any advantage gained in the first instance. Not that we undervalue such feelings; but to put them to trial under such circumstances, is to render them ridiculous. Who can forbear laughing at the description of George the Second's appearance at the battle of Dettingen, as given by the King of Prussia, in his sarcastic manner?

‘ Le Roi d’Angleterre se tint pendant toute la bataille devant son Bataillon Hanovrien, le pied gauche en arrière, l’épée à la main, et le bras étendu à peu près dans l’attitude, où se mettent les maîtres d’es-crime pour pousser le quart.’

Yet it is good to be brave and firm, and to encourage troops in action—although not exactly in that manner. The general ideas of the writer of the letters from Geneva are, however, ingenious and worthy of attention—excellent, if we substitute entrenched camps for fortifications. His notice of the town of Berne, as an important strategical point, marks a sagacious military mind; but the town itself is not well calculated for a fortification, surrounded, as it is, by domineering heights. Entrenched camps cost, in comparison, little or nothing, as the troops work upon them as part of their duty, and they need not be commenced until the moment of action is at hand, if the ground has been previously marked with care and skill. Thus the beauty of the environs, and the comfort and pleasure of the citizens, need not be sacrificed until the moment of actual necessity. It must be remembered too, that, when an army of sufficient strength sits down before a fortified town, that town must fall; and the garrison is lost, if the besiegers do their duty. Not so with an entrenched camp, which, containing only an army, can always defend itself with effect, and may from thence attack the enemy, or make good its retreat to another point; besides which, they are occupied or relinquished without compromising the towns in whose neighbourhood they stand,—very different from regular expensive ramparts, commanded on all sides,

and partly garrisoned by burghers, sure to quarrel with the regulars, when under the horrors of a bombardment.

If the Gurten mountain and the smaller range of hills were thus occupied, Berne would be better defended by 30,000 men than it could be by expensive fortifications; not so much by the strength of the camp as by its central position, from whence a single march might bring the army to the head of Lakes Morat and Neufchatel—to Arberg or to Soleure,—at which places strong entrenched posts might be occupied by advanced parties. From such a point, with a regular tête de pont at Arberg, and by breaking down, or securing with small works, all the bridges on the Aar, a line, extending from Yverdon to Coblenitz, might be successfully defended, as the Swiss army could with ease arrive upon any threatened point, with much less fatigue, and in half the time that the enemy could.

Armed vessels upon the lakes, and watchtowers judiciously placed, so as to command an extensive view of the line of country through which an enemy must move, would greatly facilitate the execution. Suppose the enemy penetrates between Yverdon and Lausanne. In two marches he is met from Berne in front. The flotilla upon the Lake of Neufchatel obliges him to transport his materiel and supplies by land; and his flank and rear would be exposed to the activity of partisan corps, thrown into the mountains of Molesson.

We do not approve of the notion, however grand and patriotic it sounds, of having a central camp or citadel in the rocks, where the whole Swiss population, capable of bearing arms, might make their last stand in defence of the country. Such a proposition sounds well in a speech, and warms the heart of the brave; but reason and experience condemn it in practice. It subjects the nation to destruction by a single blow. It was much in vogue with the ancients, and always failed,—witness the siege of Alesia by Cæsar, and many instances in Alexander's operations against the Bactrians, Sogdians, &c. &c. &c. In fact, it points to the road the enemy ought to take—it gives him a single object; and no courage or devotion will, in such a case, resist valour, numbers, and skill. Numantia, Saguntum, and many other strong places fell, in despite of their heroism. Those gallant and able men who have been most successful in their endeavours to defend free countries against powerful aggressors, have pursued a directly contrary course. To appear to be every where and no where—at one moment commanding large armies—at the next wandering with a few followers; such was the system of Sertorius and Viriatus, two of the greatest and most successful warriors that ever resisted the oppressions of the proud. While an invading army

keeps in mass, attack it with small corps—when it disperses to pursue, unite in large masses, and crush his isolated divisions. In this consists the whole art of defending a difficult country against a powerful invader. It is only by such means that the energy, local knowledge, and numbers of a patriotic population, can balance the resources of discipline and the constant pressure of regular armies.

The Swiss may, however, unite both; there is no reason why the most exact knowledge of war and discipline should not be introduced among the troops of the Confederation; but then it must be done by the nation itself, and not by foreigners. The best bond of discipline is moral conduct elevated by patriotism. Give men a noble object to attain by their exertions, and those exertions will be great, and beneficial to their character in the making. Long service under foreigners weakens a soldier's attachment to his own nation. He comes back disliking the simplicity of his countrymen,—perhaps imbued with a respect for the power and courage of the strangers that borders upon fear—at all events tainted with the vices of a mere soldier's life, uncorrected by any elevated sentiments, and anxious by any means to display his acquirements in war, and to express his contempt for the plodding homely people who may be called upon to assist or to command him. In the moment of danger he will be unruly, if not subject to his own officer, and dangerous if he is. General Ludlow, talking of one, who, in the civil wars, had behaved ill, after much blustering, observes, that he was an old soldier who had served under foreign powers, 'a sort of persons much sought after by us in the beginning of the troubles, but found very hurtful in the end, being more given to boast of what they had done, than ready to do again.'

But it is not sufficient for the Swiss to perfect their military means without improving their political system at the same time. Placed as they are, between two powerful rival nations, they must suffer from both alternately, if, like the Dukes of Savoy, they depend only upon the dexterity with which they can change sides in good time for their own benefit. Such a policy is feeble and uncertain, because it depends upon the talents of an individual; and degrading, because it weakens the obligations of generosity and fidelity in the eyes of the people, who are thus accustomed to praise and admire the deceit and treachery which procures their safety. The author of '*La Suisse dans l'Intérêt de l'Europe*,' imagines her true line of policy to consist in the rigid observance of her neutrality. His doctrine amounts to this—Be a tortoise when insulted, stupid and unresenting; be a porcupine when invaded, and shoot your quills upon all sides. This is

very well as far as relates to the wars which may arise from the jealousy of France and Austria; but we will suppose a different case. We will suppose that Italy, animated by the remembrance of past independence and greatness, convinced by woful experience that disunion is weakness, should rouse herself, 'as an eagle renewing her mighty youth, purging and unscaling her long abused sight,' and strive to take her place as a nation among the mighty. If, under such circumstances, unable of herself to break her galling fetters, she should cry aloud to France for aid; and if France, having established her own liberty upon firmer foundations than before, should be forward to grant assistance; shall Switzerland step in to stop the expected boon? Shall she do so, and yet claim the sympathy of Europe, when the wrath of the tyrant is poured out against herself? Shall she not rather rejoice, that a noble part which it would become her to take at all risks, is evidently consistent with her best interests? She is not powerful enough to resist France or Austria for any length of time, single-handed; and it is almost as dangerous to call in the assistance of one, as to oppose the other. She may be tranquil between them for a while; but when they find it convenient to use her for their purposes, they will do it. 'What a fine field of battle will Sicily be for the Romans and Carthaginians!' cried Pyrrhus. Let the Swiss make the application!

But if Italy was freed and united under one government, by the assistance of France and the generosity of Switzerland, what would be her obvious policy? In continual dread of the power of France and Austria, she would naturally seek to ally herself with Switzerland, to whom she could not be dangerous; and the neutrality of the last, guaranteed and supported by Italy, would be respected by both the former; because fear is the best corrective of ambition.

When we read in Polybius of the rise, progress, and policy of the Achaean republic, we are struck with the lesson it holds out to all small independent states, and the peculiar resemblance between their situation and that of Switzerland. In their history may be seen, as it were in a glass, the very policy which the Swiss ought to pursue. From small beginnings they rose,—by their constancy and just dealings with surrounding nations,—by the benefits of a free and equal constitution, which they offered to all who chose to accept of it,—and by the courage and generosity with which they assisted their weaker neighbours to gain their freedom,—to such a pitch of power and fame, that they united nearly the whole of the Pelopponesus in their confederacy; a confederacy which

could only be overthrown by the insidious policy of the kings of Macedon, who, says this most accurate and philosophical of historians, broke up the confederation by their arts, and dispersed the people into separate and independent towns and villages. Why should not the Swiss Cantons imitate this noble and generous policy of the Achæans? Why should we despair of seeing the Tyrol, for example, joined to the Confederation, securing its own and the general prosperity, under an efficient federative government, which should be able to repress and control the petty tyranny and intrigues of the cantonal oligarchies? We should then indeed have an effectual barrier placed against the ambition and violence of Austria, upon that side of the world at least. The glittering bait would shine no longer for them; and, in a tranquil state of freedom, the genius of Italy might once more delight an admiring world.

We may be told that these are dreams! Perhaps they are; but they are the dreams of many an enlightened, as well as many an ardent spirit—and stranger things have come to pass. We could dream with pleasure a little more upon such a subject. We could 'dream that Greece might still be free;' and, being so, that a belt of Mountain Republics, worthy of their ancient glory, might extend from Basle to Byzantium, from the Rhine to the Hellespont,—supported by England, the power most interested in their welfare, and most able to assist them in the maintenance of their freedom. Strong, they would be to defend themselves, with such support; weak to offend others; stemming Russian pride, Austrian avarice, and French ambition; established too, without the violation of any right, without confounding the manners, or shocking the opinions of any people; but leaving each to their own natural boundaries, moral and geographical; to their own habits, religion, and customs; and united only by one common interest, beneficial to all, and injurious to none,—the interest of their common freedom.

ART. VII. *Napoleon in Exile, or a Voice from St Helena. The Opinions and Reflections of Napoleon on the most Important Events of his Life and Government, in his own Words.* By BARRY E. O'MEARA, Esq., his late Surgeon. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1822.

IT is manifest, that a work professing to give minute details of the private life, and especially the unreserved conversation, of the most remarkable personage who has appeared

in modern times, must possess the very highest claims to attention, provided we can be well assured of the author's veracity and correctness. This consideration leads us, in the first instance, to examine Mr O'Meara's title to credit in both particulars.

His appointment to attend Buonaparte, as the reader is aware from our former article upon St Helena, was not at all of his own seeking. He was surgeon on board the *Bellerophon* when Buonaparte surrendered; and having, from the accidental illness of his own medical officer during the voyage to Torbay, had occasion to attend some of the suite, and to converse with the Emperor himself in the course of his duty, he was asked to go out as his surgeon. The Captain advised him to comply, provided the Admiral, Lord Keith, concurred; and his Lordship, upon being consulted, warmly recommended it; adding, 'that he was convinced the Government would feel obliged by Mr O'Meara's compliance, as they were very anxious that Napoleon should be accompanied by a surgeon of his own choice.' Captain Maitland, with whom he had served, wrote a letter, giving the strongest testimony to his character, which, as he now appears in the capacity of a witness, becomes the more material. 'During the fifteen years,' (says he), 'that I have commanded some one of his Majesty's ships, I have never had the pleasure of sailing with an officer in his situation who so fully answered my expectations.' After giving instances of his merits, and particularly of his 'tenderness and attention to the men, which had called forth his warmest approbation and their grateful affection,' he adds, that, 'were it probable he should soon obtain another appointment, he knows of no man in the service he would wish to have as surgeon so soon as Mr O'Meara.'

From having served in the Mediterranean, Mr O'Meara spoke Italian with ease; and this circumstance facilitated his intercourse with Buonaparte; but he does not seem to lay any claim to a greater intimacy with him than any one constantly near his person, and with whom he was able to converse, might have enjoyed; for the Emperor's habits were those of perfect familiarity towards all who surrounded him in private; and he loved to talk upon any subject that was broached. Placed in such circumstances, Mr O'Meara very naturally kept a journal of what passed between himself and his illustrious patient; and the work before us consists of this Journal, with only a few verbal corrections; and the omission of certain remarks, and some facts which, for the present, he deems it unsafe to publish. It adds considerably to our confidence in the authenticity of the

book, that a copy, upon silver paper, having been taken by the press machine at the time it was written, the author sent it home to a gentleman of the name of Holmes, a respectable agent in London. He received it from time to time, as opportunities of transmitting it occurred; he has certified this fact under his hand; and specimens of the silver paper copy are deposited with the publishers of the book, to show at least that what it contains was written at the time it bears date, and upon the spot.

Another circumstance of essential importance in estimating the credit due to Mr O'Meara's relations, is their coincidence with accounts from other quarters of conversations held with Buonaparte. Several of the anecdotes, given by persons who saw him at Elba, tally exactly with those recorded in the work before us,—although we are not aware of the former ever having been published. Under this head, we may mention a remark respecting ourselves, which could not have been invented by Mr O'Meara. He relates that the Emperor, speaking of the Edinburgh Review, and particularly of a sketch which we gave of him in our Number for January 1817, said, 'Most of it is true; and it is difficult for me to imagine from whence they had their information on some parts of my early life, which were very little known to any except my own family.' (Vol. ii. p. 206). And again, (p. 225), 'he was at a loss to conceive from whence the Edinburgh Review had obtained so much accurate information respecting him. "That circumstance (said he) of the *déjeuner de trois amis*, I never told to any person. It is true that I was the author, and that it produced great effect in France; but I do not recollect ever having disclosed it to any one." Now the fact is, that we *did* derive the principal part of the information alluded to from some of his nearest relations.

The next particular to which we shall advert, is the testimony of Buonaparte himself. Although he did not see the manuscript, he yet was well aware that Mr O'Meara kept a Journal; and he felt such confidence in his accuracy and truth, that he gave him, at parting, a short letter to the following effect. 'I desire my relations and friends to believe whatever Mr O'Meara shall tell them touching my situation and sentiments. If he sees my good Louise, I beg her to permit him to kiss her hands.' One of the frontispieces of this book contains a fac-simile of part of this letter, to satisfy any one who is acquainted with the handwriting. Our author also refers confidently to the whole Longwood household, and more particularly to the executors, Counts Bertrand and Montholon,

and to Count Las Cases, 'as to the facilities he had, and the familiarity with which he was honoured,' by the Emperor. He further appeals to 'those third persons whose interviews with Napoleon are occasionally introduced, and to some of the official ministers of his Majesty's government,' who cannot, he says, deny that many of the political conversations were communicated to him at no great interval of time after their occurrence. These communications were made when the suggestions conveyed by them were deemed of publick benefit; and he appears to think, that the preventive system with respect to smugglers was adopted in consequence of one of the conversations with Napoleon which he detailed.

Of the manner in which the Journal was kept, we shall give his account in his own words. Some of the observations or arguments on particular subjects were committed to paper from Napoleon's own dictation; but of the bulk of the work he thus speaks. 'My plan was as follows. I spoke as little, and listened as attentively as I could, seldom interposing, except for the purpose of leading to those facts on which I wished for information. To my memory, though naturally retentive, I did not entirely trust. Immediately on retiring from Napoleon's presence, I hurried to my chamber, and carefully committed to paper the topics of conversation, with, so far as I could, the exact words used. Where I had the least doubt as to my accuracy, I marked it in my Journal, and by a subsequent recurrence to the topic, when future opportunities offered, I satisfied myself. This, although I have avoided them as much as possible, may account for some occasional repetitions; but I have thought it better to appear sometimes tedious, than ever to run the risk of a mistatement. My long residence at Longwood rendered those opportunities frequent; and the facility of communication which Napoleon allowed, made the introduction of almost any subject easy.'

Perhaps the strongest evidence of all is derived from the tenor of the anecdotes themselves. There are internal marks of authenticity, which can deceive no one who has at all given his attention to the manner of Bonaparte; and we trust we may be permitted to add, without offence, to the manner of his biographer. For we do not believe that Mr O'Meara *could* have written the things which are here set down. Indeed, the sayings of the Emperor are manifestly the growth of a soil peculiarly rich and fertile in a singular produce. He is a very great original; and there is something in the tenor of all he says that may well defy imitation. Nothing, to be sure, gives the work before us a greater interest or higher relish, than this

circumstance. He whose habits it describes, and whose sayings it records, might have been the greatest man of his age, and yet have conversed like ordinary captains, and lawgivers, and monarchs. But this extraordinary person, who combined all those characters in one, added to them the habits of a most lively, humorous, and even droll talker; and his conversation, very unlike that of a mere wit, was ever filled with substance, always occupied about something important, to which the merriment or the point were only incidental. His style is singularly eloquent; quite original and peculiar to himself; yet it is only subservient to his serious business. You see plainly, while he is only talking, that he is not a mere man of words; and his manner of conversing reminds you always of his actions.

It may be expected, that we should preface our account of this work by some general remarks upon the extraordinary person whose conversation it appears thus faithfully to record. But we feel little inclination to detain the reader, by commentaries, from those sketches which must give a far more lively and accurate idea of the original,—his own sayings, and, in many cases, his anecdotes of himself. Upon the moral questions which his conduct is calculated to raise, or rather upon the degree of praise or blame to be bestowed on certain parts of it, some difference of opinion may exist. Men may also be divided in their opinions of the degree in which admiration is due to his marvellous talents. Of his fame, there can be but one judgment. It has filled the world far more than that of any man who ever lived; and his existence has produced larger effects, for a season, upon the destinies of mankind, than can be ascribed to that of any great man among all his predecessors. We have seen legislators of deep wisdom and vast authority in former times; conquerors have, in every age, spread terror and havock over the earth; usurpers have raised themselves by merit from obscurity to supreme power; nay, men have been found, though far more rare, cast in so happy a mould as to combine the varied excellencies of civil and of warlike life: But it has been the singular lot of Bonaparte, not only to unite in his own person, and at an early period of his life, and in an advanced stage of society, the conqueror, the lawgiver, the usurper. He triumphed over civilized enemies; legislated in a refined age; and seized upon the sceptre of an enlightened and powerful people, among enlightened and powerful neighbours. To have rendered his glory complete, or rather to have exalted its kind as well as prodigiously heightened its splendour—to have combined all hearts in grateful affection, instead of resting satisfied with the more vulgar feats of making

all tremble at the sound of his name, there was presented to him an opportunity such as mortal never yet enjoyed; and that opportunity he foolishly cast away. Had he followed the advice of Carnôt, to whose inflexible integrity he so often bears testimony, while he undervalues his talents—had he given his country a free government at home, and placed France at the head of the independent party over all Europe, he would have reigned over the whole world at this hour with an influence as beneficent in its effects as universal in its extent, and been known in after ages as the best and the greatest of men. Unhappily for himself, and for mankind still more, he chose the more ordinary path of fame; he became the enemy of liberty and of peace; and reduced the consistent friends of human improvement, who had anxiously looked in him for a powerful adversary of all antiquated wrongs, to the necessity of wishing for his downfall as the end of wide-spreading wars, and of alarms fatal to the cause of freedom, and fruitful in protection to abuse. The treatment which this illustrious person received after that downfall, and the manner in which his wonderful career was closed, are topics of a very different nature; and we hardly dare trust ourselves with remarks on the stain, we fear, they have brought upon the character of England.

Before proceeding to the work of Mr O'Meara, it may be fit to observe, that our entire reliance upon his accuracy is quite consistent with a considerable distrust of the statements he received from the Emperor. In the irritation of his confinement, there can be no doubt that he must often have felt and spoken harshly both of the persons whom he deemed more immediately the causes of his sufferings, and of others respecting whom his judgments would naturally be tinged by the temper of the moment. Some of his decisions, too, may have been hasty, from the habits of a quick mind much occupied, and often, of necessity, hurried. He is also likely to have forgotten many particulars, and to have fancied somewhat, when his indignation was roused. His accounts of matters nearly relating to himself, are no doubt coloured with some partiality; but really there is so much frankness and candour in most of the passages, that a very favourable estimate, in general, may be formed of him as a judge of his past life; and we doubt if, in any material particulars, he has misrepresented facts to his own advantage. The anecdotes which he gives of himself being, of course, the most important part of the book, it is very fortunate that the tone of fairness and impartiality which pervades them, inspires a considerable degree of confidence. We are sure that a far more favourable impression will be pre-

duced by this, than could have been created by a laboured and argumentative apology. The reader most prepossessed against him can hardly help believing the greater part of what he tells, because it almost always seems to come naturally and unaffectedly, and betrays very little disposition to make the most of things in his own behalf.

We shall begin our extracts from this work with the following sketch of the outward appearance of things in the scene where most of the conversations are laid; because it brings us, as it were, into the midst of the groupe.

Napoleon sent Marchand for me at about nine o'clock. Was introduced by the back-door into his bed-room, a description of which I shall endeavour to give as minutely and as correctly as possible. It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows, without pullies, looking towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window-curtains of white long cloth, a small fire place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right, hung also a miniature picture of the Empress Josephine, and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the consular watch, engraved with the cipher B, hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St Helena artillery. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers; and an old bookcase, with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about the room. Before the back-door, there was a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fire-place, an old-fashioned sofa, covered with white long cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning gown, white hose trowsers and stockings all in one. A chequered red madras upon his head, and his shirt-collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay, in confusion upon the carpet, a heap of those which he had already perused; and at the foot of the sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the

Empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases, with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France, nothing was present, except a superb wash-hand stand, containing a silver basin, and water-jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner.' I. 40-42.

We are next desirous of despatching, as shortly as possible, a subject which occupies a large proportion of the work—we mean the complaints against Sir Hudson Lowe; not that we by any means regard the matter of these as untrue or unimportant; on the contrary, we think there can be no manner of doubt that the unfortunate Exiles had the most just cause of complaint; and it is equally manifest that the treatment they met with, in all respects petty and teasing, and full of annoyances wholly unnecessary for their security, even if we allow that there was no graver charge, will long fix a stigma upon the character of this country. But we also think, that as Bonaparte was in a situation in which he naturally would hate his keepers, and be discontented with all he experienced, a more than ordinary allowance is to be made in listening to his invectives and complaints; that it would be highly unjust towards the opposite parties to believe every thing here set down, without seeing their defence or explanation; that therefore it would be wrong, at present, to give greater circulation to the more violent of the attacks upon them, in which Bonaparte indulges; but, above all, we think the subject of far less importance, and prefer recording his opinions upon subjects of more permanent interest than his squabbles with the insolence of office in St Helena, and upon persons of greater account than Messrs Lowe, Reade, and Gorrequer. These considerations will induce us only to give a short specimen of the contentions which always prevailed between Longwood and Plantation House, from the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe to the end of Mr O'Meara's residence on the island.

The Emperor seems, from the first, to have taken a singular aversion to the Governor; but it must be added, that he was the bearer of an order from Lord Bathurst (couched in a kind of French which, we believe, never was heard of from the days of Charlemagne downwards), requiring the household at Longwood to sign a sort of acknowledgment, which, in substance, seemed to them a consent to remain for life on the island, and in form an abandonment of their master's title; that this naturally gave rise to misunderstanding; that Sir H. Lowe's arrival was marked by the beginning of a new system of rigour and annoyance, such as giving notice to all shopkeepers no longer to trust any

of the French in their dealings, on pain of punishment at the discretion of the Governor, nor to hold any communication with them, on pain of banishment,—a hint conveyed somewhat more gently, but perhaps as effectually, to the British officers also; planting sentinels to prevent visitors from approaching without leave; keeping strict watch over all who had any intercourse with the French exiles; and requiring all who held it to report, at head-quarters, what passed in conversation. Mr O'Meara, it must be further stated, describes the Governor as losing his temper first; filled with constant suspicions of designs to escape; haunted with the idea, not an unnatural one perhaps, of his responsibility, but bearing himself under the weight of it without either mildness or dignity; and always forgetting, that sallies of passion in the illustrious person whom so strange a caprice of fortune had submitted to *his* control, could be no sort of excuse for any such angry feelings on the part of him who had all the power in his own hands. Indeed, the sight is alternately humiliating and exasperating which these details present; and we hasten to get over it, for the sake of arriving at the more important portion of the book.

“ ‘This governor, during the few days that I was melancholy, and had a mental affliction in consequence of the treatment I receive, which prevented me from going out, in order that I might not *ennuyer* others with my afflictions, wanted to send his physician to me, under the pretext of inquiring after my health. I desired Bertrand to tell him, that I had not sufficient confidence in his physician to take any thing from his hands. That if I were really ill, I would send for you, in whom I have confidence, but that a physician was of no use in such cases, and that I only wanted to be left alone. I understand that he proposed an officer should enter my chamber to see me, if I did not stir out. Any person,” continued he with much emotion, “who endeavours to force his way into my apartment, shall be a corpse the moment he enters it. If he ever eats bread or meat again, I am not Napoleon. This I am determined on; I know that I shall be killed afterwards, as what can one do against a *camp*? I have faced death too many times to fear it. Besides, I am convinced that this governor has been sent out by Lord ——. I told him a few days ago, that if he wanted to put an end to me, he would have a very good opportunity by sending somebody to force his way into my chamber. That I would immediately make a corpse of the first that entered, and then I should be of course despatched, and he might write home to his Government that “*Bonaparte*” was killed in a *drawl*. I also told him to leave me alone, and not to torment me with his hateful presence. I have seen Prussians, Tartars, Cossacs, Calmucks, &c. but never before in my life have I beheld so ill favoured, and so forbidding a countenance. *Il porte le diable empreint sur son visage.*”

"I endeavoured to convince him that the English ministry would never be capable of what he supposed, and that such was not the character of the nation. "I had reason to complain of the admiral," said he; "but, though he treated me roughly, he never behaved in such a manner as this *Prussian*. A few days ago, he in a manner insisted upon seeing me, when I was undressed, and a prey to melancholy, in my chamber. The admiral never asked to see me a second time, when it was intimated to him that I was unwell or undressed; as he well knew, that though I did not go out, I was still to be found."

"During the short interview that this governor had with me in my bed-chamber," continued he, "one of the first things which he proposed was, to send you away, and to take his own surgeon in your place. This he repeated twice; and so earnest was he to gain his object, that although I gave him a most decided refusal, when he was going out he turned about and again proposed it. I never saw such a horrid countenance. He sat on a chair opposite to my sofa, and on the little table between us there was a cup of coffee. His physiognomy made such an unfavourable impression upon me; that I thought his looks had poisoned it, and I ordered Marchand to throw it out of the window; I could not have swallowed it for the world."

"Count Las Cases, who entered Napoleon's room a few minutes after the departure of the governor, told me, that the Emperor had said to him,—"*Mon Dieu! c'est une figure bien sinistre, j'ose à peine le dire, mais c'est à ne pas prendre une tasse de café, s'il était demeuré un instant seul auprès.*"

"It appears," added he, "that this governor was with Blücher, and is the writer of some official letters to your Government, descriptive of part of the operations of 1814. I pointed them out to him the last time I saw him, and asked him, *Est-ce vous, Monsieur?* He replied, "Yes." I told him that they were *pleines de faussetés et de sottises*. He shrugged up his shoulders, appeared confused, and replied, "*J'ai cru voir cela.*" If," continued he, "those letters were the only accounts he sent, he betrayed his country." I. 43-49.

Much most needless annoyance is given to Bonaparte, and great irritation of the most superfluous kind produced on all hands, by matters of etiquette. He will not be called General, for instance; they will allow no one to call him Emperor. He will only be seen or communicated with by means of his household officers; they are alarmed lest that should seem an acknowledgment of royalty, and insist on addressing him direct like a common person. His arguments, no doubt, are irresistible on this head; and nothing can be at once more inconsistent and more childish than the course pursued by our Government.

It is somewhat curious to observe how naturally certain people fall into the same line with our St Helena Government on

questions of etiquette. The Lady of the Governor-general of India wishing to *see the sight* of the Island, did not condescend to call on the French Ladies at Longwood, but made Sir H. Lowe ask the Emperor to come and be shown to her Ladyship. He observed, that had she been sick or fatigued he would willingly have gone; but the Residence being out of his limits, he must have gone in charge of a guard, as a prisoner; while she, being free, could easily have come to Longwood to visit the Ladies; and even had she deigned to call for the purpose of seeing himself, he said, 'the first Sovereigns in the world have not been ashamed to pay me a visit.'

The following passages, it must be admitted, exhibit traits neither of very great suavity of temper, nor of much dignity of deportment; and do not altogether indicate the sort of man destined well to fulfil the delicate office of keeper to fallen Majesty. Having made Mr O'Meara repeat to him some parts of a conversation of Bonaparte respecting him, greatly to his disadvantage, he thus gave vent to his feelings.

"Sir Hudson Lowe then walked about for a short time, biting his nails, and asked me if Madame Bertrand had repeated to strangers any of the conversation which had passed between General Bonaparte and himself? I replied, that I was not aware that Madame Bertrand was yet acquainted with it. "She had better not," said he, "lest it may render her and her husband's situation much more unpleasant than at present." He then repeated some of Napoleon's expressions in a very angry manner, and said, "Did General Bonaparte tell you, sir, that I told him his language was impolite and indecent, and that I would not listen any longer to it?" I said, "No." "Then it showed," observed the governor, "great littleness on the part of General Bonaparte not to tell you the whole. He had better reflect on his situation, for it is in my power to render him much more uncomfortable than he is. If he continues his abuse, I shall make him feel his situation. He is a prisoner of war, and I have a right to treat him according to his conduct. *I'll build him up.*" He walked about for a few minutes repeating again some of the observations, which he characterized as ungentleman-like, &c. until he had worked himself into a passion, and said, "Tell General Bonaparte that he had better take care what he does, as, if he continues his present conduct, I shall be obliged to take measures to increase the restrictions already in force." After observing that he had been the cause of the loss of the lives of millions of men, and might be again, if he got loose, he concluded by saying, "I consider Ali Pacha to be a much more respectable scoundrel than Bonaparte."

"Napoleon then made some observations upon the bad quality of the wine furnished to Longwood, and remarked, that when he was a *sous-lieutenant* of artillery, he had a better table, and drank better wine than at present.

"I saw Sir Hudson Lowe afterwards, who asked me if General Bonaparte had made any observations relative to General Meade's not having accepted the offer made to him? I replied, that he had said he was convinced that he (Sir Hudson), had prevented him from accepting of it, and had desired me to tell him that such was his opinion. No sooner had I pronounced this, than his excellency's countenance changed, and he exclaimed in a violent tone of voice, "He is a d——d lying rascal, a d——d black-hearted villain! I wished General Meade to accept it, and told him to do so." He then walked about for a few minutes in an agitated manner, repeating, "that none but a black-hearted villain would have entertained such an idea;" then mounted his horse, and rode away. He had not proceeded more than about a hundred paces, when he wheeled round, rode back to where I was standing, and said in a very angry manner, "Tell General Bonaparte that the assertion that I prevented General Meade from going to see him, è una bugia infame, e che è un bugiardone che l' ha detto. Tell him my exact words."

"I then repeated to Sir Hudson Lowe the observations made by Napoleon, on the illegality of his attempting to subject the persons of his suit to more restrictions than what were imposed on himself; as well as what he had said about General Gourgaud. Sir Hudson replied, "that as governor he had power to grant a favour, and take it away when he pleased; that if he conceded one to General Bonaparte, it did not follow that he was obliged to grant the same to the rest; that they had liberty to go away whenever they pleased, if they did not like their treatment," &c. He also desired me to repeat, that the prohibition to speak was an act of civility, or a friendly sort of warning. I remarked, that I did not think Napoleon would avail himself of the *indulgence*, unless the same were granted to all. His excellency replied, "that he could not think of allowing General Bonaparte's officers to run about the country, telling lies of him (Sir Hudson) as Las Cases and Montholon had done, by having shown letters to divers persons. That General Bonaparte would be much better, if he had not such liars as Montholon, and such a blubbering, whining son of a b——h as Bertrand about him."

"I saw Sir Hudson Lowe on the hill above Hut's Gate, to whom I communicated Napoleon's reply. His excellency repeated, that the prohibition to speak, which had been so much complained of, was not an order, but rather a request, and an instance of civility on his (Sir Hudson's) part, in order to prevent the necessity which would otherwise exist, of the interference of a British officer. "Did you tell him that?" said Sir Hudson Lowe. I answered that I had. "Well, what reply did he make?" I gave his reply, which did not appear to please the governor. I subsequently acquainted him that water was so scarce at Longwood, as to make it sometimes impossible to procure a sufficiency for a bath for Napoleon's use, and that it was generally a matter of great difficulty to obtain the necessary quantity. Sir Hudson Lowe replied, "that he did not know what

business General. Buonaparte had to *stew himself in hot water* for so many hours, and so often, at a time when the 53d regiment could scarcely procure enough of water to cook their victuals." L. 98-365.

Leaving now these disgusting scenes, and reminding the reader, that Sir Hudson Lowe ultimately compelled Mr O'Meara to leave Napoleon's service, by insisting upon him performing the office of a spy upon his illustrious patient, to which debasement he could not submit, we now proceed to the more important parts of these volumes.

In the foremost rank, of course, stand Napoleon's opinions respecting the distinguished men with whom he had come in contact or in conflict during his extraordinary career. We are disposed to think that he judges them candidly, and with little personal prejudice,—at least that jealousy or conflicting interests do not warp his judgment respecting enemies or rivals; and we form this opinion, notwithstanding the apparent exception furnished by his undervaluing Moreau, respecting whom his opinion is repeatedly given in terms of considerable disrespect.

"Moreau," said he, "was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. With a hundred thousand men, Moreau would divide his army in different positions, covering roads, and would not do more than if he had only thirty thousand. He did not know how to profit either by the number of his troops, or by their positions. Very calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to command in the heat of an action than to make dispositions prior to it. He was often seen smoking his pipe in battle. Moreau was not naturally a man of a bad heart; *un bon vivant, mais il n'avait pas beaucoup de caractère*. He was led away by his wife and another intriguing Creole. His having joined Pichegru and Georges in the conspiracy, and subsequently having closed his life fighting against his country, will ever disgrace his memory. As a general, Moreau was infinitely inferior to Desaix, or to Kleber, or even to Soult. Of all the generals I ever had under me, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents; especially Desaix, as Kleber only loved glory, as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures; whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised every thing else. Desaix was wholly wrapt up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasures were valueless, nor did he give them a moment's thought. He was a little black-looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort or convenience. When in Egypt, I made him a present of a complete field-equipage several times, but he always lost it. Wrapt up in a cloak, Desaix threw himself under a gun, and slept as contentedly as if he were in a palace. For him luxury had no charms. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs *the just sultan*. He was

intended by nature for a great general. Kleber and Desaix were a loss irreparable to France. Had Kleber lived, your army in Egypt would have perished. Had that imbecile Menou attacked you on your landing with twenty thousand men, as he might have done, instead of the division Lanusse, your army would have been only a meal for them. Your army was seventeen or eighteen thousand strong, and without cavalry."

"Lasnes, when I first took him by the hand, was an *ignorantaccio*. His education had been much neglected. However, he improved greatly; and to judge from the astonishing progress he made, he would have been a general of the first class. He had great experience in war. He had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and in three hundred combats of different kinds. He was a man of uncommon bravery; cool in the midst of fire; and possessed of a clear, penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Violent and hasty in his expressions, sometimes even in my presence, he was ardently attached to me. In the midst of his anger, he would not suffer any person to join him in his remarks. On that account, when he was in a choleric mood, it was dangerous to speak to him, as he used to come to me in his rage, and say that such and such persons were not to be trusted. As a general, he was greatly superior to Moreau or to Soult." I. pp. 237-39.

"Afterwards he conversed for some time about Moreau, and said that he was by no means a man of that superior talent which the English supposed; that he was a good general of division, but not adapted for the command of a great army. "Moreau was brave," said he, "indolent, and a *bon vivant*. He did nothing at his *quartier général* but lol on a sofa, or walk about with a pipe in his mouth. He scarcely ever read a book. His disposition was naturally good, but he was influenced by his wife and mother-in-law, who were two intriguers. I recommended Moreau to marry her at the desire of Josephine, who loved her because she was a Creole. Moreau had fallen greatly in public estimation, on account of his conduct towards Pichegru." II. pp. 35-6.

Now, although we have not been accustomed to see Moreau rated so low as a general, yet it is to be observed, that jealousy could not have biassed Napoleon in forming his estimate, for the talents of Moreau never came in competition with his own as a statesman; and in the army, as well as among his adversaries in civil affairs, it was Desaix that was always set in opposition to him, by persons desirous of giving things an invidious turn; in so much, that the liberal or republican party erected a statue to that brave and able soldier during the consulship, and inscribed the pedestal with their names, as an act of enrolment, or at least a protest against Buonaparte's usurpation. Yet we

see that he places Desaix quite at the head of all the French warriors. The following sketches are equally interesting.

"Massena," said he "was a man of superior talent. He generally, however, made bad dispositions previous to a battle; and it was not until the dead began to fall about him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, then Massena was himself; gave his orders and made his dispositions with the greatest *sang froid* and judgment. This is *la vera nobiltà di sangue*. It was truly said of Massena, that he never began to act with judgment until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un voleur*. He went halves along with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him often, that if he would discontinue his speculations, I would make him a present of eight hundred thousand, or a million of francs; but he had acquired such a habit, that he could not keep his hands from money. On this account he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was precious; and had not his bright parts been soiled with the vice of avarice, he would have been a great man."

"Pichegru," continued Napoleon, "was *répétiteur* at Brienne, and instructed me in mathematics, when I was about ten years old. He possessed considerable knowledge in that science. As a general, Pichegru was a man of no ordinary talent, far superior to Moreau, although he had never done any thing extraordinarily great, as the success of the campaigns in Holland was in a great measure owing to the battle of Fleurus. Pichegru, after he had united himself to the Bourbons, sacrificed the lives of upwards of twenty thousand of his soldiers, by throwing them purposely into the enemy's hands, whom he had informed before hand of his intentions. He had a dispute once with Kleber, at a time when, instead of marching his army upon Mayence, as he ought to have done, he marched the greatest part of them to another point, where Kleber observed that it would only be necessary to send the *ambulances* with a few men to make a shew. At that time it was thought to be imbecility, but afterwards it was discovered to be treachery. One of Pichegru's projects was for Louis to come and join the army under his command, and to cause himself to be proclaimed King. In order to ensure success, he signified to Louis that it was necessary for him to bring a large sum of money; as he said that *Vive le Roi* lay at the bottom of the *gosier*, and that it would require a great quantity of wine to bring it out of the mouth. If Louis had come," continued he, "he would have been shot." I. pp. 239-241.

"I asked him some questions about the share that Moreau had in Georges' conspiracy. 'Moreau,' said he 'confessed to his advocate that he had seen and conversed with Georges and Pichegru, and that on his trial he intended to avow it. His counsel, however, dissuad-

ed him from doing so, and observed, that if he confessed having seen Georges, nothing could save him from condemnation to death. Moreau, in an interview he had with the other two conspirators, insisted that the first step to be taken was to kill me; that when I was disposed of, he should have great power and influence with the army; but that as long as I lived, he could do nothing. When he was arrested, the paper of accusation against him was given to him, in which his crime was stated to be, the having conspired against the life of the First Consul and the security of the republic, in complicity with Pichegru and Georges. On reading the names of those two, he dropt the paper and fainted." I. pp. 273, 274.

It is a most singular circumstance, if true, that Napoleon may almost be said to have killed this celebrated man with his own hand.

"In the battle before Dresden," said Napoleon, "I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manœuvres for this purpose were executing, the centre remained motionless. At the distance of about from this to the outer gate (about 500 yards), I observed a group of persons collected together on horseback. Concluding that they were endeavouring to observe my manœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called to a captain of artillery, who commanded a field battery of eighteen or twenty pieces: "*Jettez une douzaine de boulets à la fois dans ce groupe là; peut-être il y en a quelques petits généraux.*" (Throw a dozen of bullets at once into that group; perhaps there are some little generals in it.) It was done instantly. One of the balls struck Moreau, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. Many more, I believe, who were near him, were killed and wounded. A moment before Alexander had been speaking to him: Moreau's legs were amputated not far from the spot. One of his feet, with the boot upon it, which the surgeon had thrown upon the ground, was brought by a peasant to the king of Saxony, with information that some officer of great distinction had been struck by a cannon shot. The king, conceiving that the name of the person might perhaps be discovered by the boot, sent it to me. It was examined at my head-quarters, but all that could be ascertained was, that the boot was neither of English nor of French manufacture. The next day we were informed that it was the leg of Moreau. It is not a little extraordinary," continued Napoleon, "that in an action a short time afterwards, I ordered the same artillery officer, with the same guns, and under nearly similar circumstances, to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which General St Priest, another Frenchman, a traitor and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian army, was killed along with many others. Nothing," continued the emperor, "is more destructive than a discharge of a dozen or more guns at once amongst a group of persons. From one or two they may escape; but from a number discharged at a time, it is almost

impossible. After Esling, when I had caused my army to go over to the isle of Lobau, there was for some weeks, by common and tacit consent on both sides between the soldiers, not by any agreement between the generals, a cessation of firing, which indeed had produced no benefit, and only killed a few unfortunate sentinels. I rode out every day in different directions. No person was molested on either side. One day, however, riding along with Oudinot, I stopped for a moment upon the edge of the island, which was about eighty toises distant from the opposite bank, where the enemy was. They perceived us, and knowing me by the little hat and grey coat, they pointed a three-pounder at us. The ball passed between Oudinot and me, and was very close to both of us. We put spurs to our horses, and speedily got out of sight. Under the actual circumstances, the attack was little better than murder, but if they had fired a dozen guns at once, they must have killed us." I. pp. 274-276.

Perhaps there may be some persons in this country whose feelings respecting Ney's death will be awakened, (if they have ever been lulled asleep), by the following disinterested and apparently impartial testimony.

'I asked if he had thought Marshal Soult to have been in his interest? Napoleon answered, "Certainly, I considered so. But Soult did not betray Louis, as has been supposed, nor was he privy to my return and landing in France. For some days, Soult thought that I was mad, and that I must certainly be lost. Notwithstanding this, appearances were so much against Soult, and without intending it, his acts turned out to be so favourable to my projects, that were I on his jury, and ignorant of what I know, I should condemn him for having betrayed Louis. But he really was not privy to it, though Ney, in his defence, stated that I told him so. As to the proclamation which Ney said that I had sent to him, it is not true. I sent him nothing but orders. I would have stopped the proclamation, had it been in my power, as it was unworthy of me. Ney was deficient in education, or he would not have published it, or indeed have acted as he did. For when he promised the king to bring me back in an iron cage, he was sincere, and really meant what he said, and continued so until two days before he actually joined me. He ought to have acted like Oudinot, who asked his troops if they might be depended upon, to which they unanimously replied, "We will not fight against the Emperor, nor for the Bourbons." He could not prevent the troops from joining me, nor indeed the peasants; but he went too far.

' "Mouton Duvernet," said he, "suffered unjustly; at least considering all circumstances, he did not deserve it more than another. He hung upon the flanks of my little army for two days, and his intentions were for the King. But every one joined me. The enthusiasm was astonishing. I might have entered Paris with four hundred thousand men, if I had liked. What is still more surprising,

and I believe unparalleled in history, is, that it was effected without any conspiracy. There was no plot, no understanding with any of the generals in France. Not one of them knew my intentions. In my proclamations consisted the whole of my conspiracy. With them I effected every thing. With them I led the nation. Not even Massena knew of my intention. When he was informed of my having landed with a few hundred men, he disbelieved it, and pronounced it impossible, thinking that if I had entertained such a project, I should have made him acquainted with it. The Bourbons want to make it appear that a conspiracy existed in the army, which is the reason they have shot Mouton Duvernet, Ney, and others; because my having effected what I did, not by the aid of a conspiracy, or by force, as not a musquet was fired, but by the general wish of the nation, reflects such disgrace upon them." I. pp. 386-388.

Of all the persons whom he describes, or attacks, Talleyrand seems the most to have possession of his hatred; but instead of referring the reader to various passages of the work, for proofs of these sentiments, we shall here give a short sketch of three great Sovereigns by the hand of the same master.

' Had a long conversation with the Emperor in his bath. Asked his opinion of the Emperor Alexander, "*C'est un homme extrêmement faux. Un Grec du bas empire,*" replied Napoleon. "He is the only one of the three who has any talent. He is plausible, a great dissimulator, very ambitious, and a man who studies to make himself popular. It is his foible to believe himself skilled in the art of war; and he likes nothing so well as to be complimented upon it, though every thing that originated with himself relative to military operations, was ill-judged and absurd. At Tilsit, Alexander and the King of Prussia used frequently to occupy themselves in contriving dresses for dragoons; debating upon what button the crosses of the orders ought to be hung, and such other fooleries. They fancied themselves on an equality with the best generals in Europe, because they knew how many rows of buttons there were upon a dragoon's jacket. I could scarcely keep from laughing sometimes, when I heard them discussing these *coglionerie* with as much gravity and earnestness as if they were planning an impending action between two hundred thousand men. However, I encouraged them in their arguments, as I saw it was their weak point. We rode out every day together. The King of Prussia was *un bête, et nous a tellement ennuyé*, that Alexander and myself frequently galloped away in order to get rid of him."

The following is more of a whole length of one of the illustrious and legitimate groupe.

"When," continued Napoleon, "I was at Tilsit, with the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, I was the most ignorant of the three in military affairs. These two sovereigns, especially the King of Prussia, were completely *au fait*, as to the number of buttons

there ought to be in front of a jacket, how many behind, and the manner in which the skirts ought to be cut. Not a tailor in the army knew better than King Frederic, how many measures of cloth it took to make a jacket. In fact," continued he laughing, "I was nobody in comparison with them. They continually tormented me with questions about matters belonging to tailors, of which I was entirely ignorant, though, in order not to affront them, I answered just as gravely as if the fate of an army depended upon the cut of a jacket. When I went to see the King of Prussia, instead of a library, I found he had a large room, like an arsenal, furnished with shelves and pegs, in which were placed fifty or sixty jackets of various modes. Every day he changed his fashion, and put on a different one. He was a tall, dry looking fellow, and would give a good idea of Don Quixote. He attached more importance to the cut of a dragoon or a hussar uniform, than was necessary for the salvation of a kingdom. At Jena, his army performed the finest and most showy manœuvres possible,—but I soon put a stop to their *coglionerie*, and taught them, that to fight, and to execute dazzling manœuvres and wear splendid uniforms, were different affairs. If," added he, "the French army had been commanded by a tailor, the King of Prussia would certainly have gained the day, from his superior knowledge in that art; but as victories depend more upon the skill of the general commanding the troops, than upon that of the tailor who makes their jackets, he consequently failed." II. pp. 48, 49.

It does not appear to us, that any want of candour and generosity towards Lord Wellington, is displayed by Buonaparte in these pages. In one place, he says, that the best general is he who has committed the fewest faults, and that Wellington is chargeable with as few as any other. Upon the battle of Waterloo, undoubtedly, he delivers a strong censure; and we believe there is no one who can seriously deny, that in Buonaparte's critical situation, with all Europe leagued and armed against him, and France, lately conquered, taken unprepared for the new contest, and extremely divided in opinion regarding him, the movements which reduced the chances of his success to any thing like equality, must have been consummately skilful on his part, and singularly inadequate to the exigency of the occasion and to their great advantages, on the part of the Allies. That the English General was surprised, too, in the particular battle, never was denied; but Napoleon accuses him also, of having taken a position from which he had no possible retreat in case of defeat. The following passage is extremely curious, as containing his remarks upon this subject, and upon his own discomfiture.

"The plan of the battle," said he, "will not, in the eyes of the historian, reflect any credit on Lord Wellington as a general. In the

first place, he ought not to have given battle with the armies divided. They ought to have been united and encamped before the 15th. In the next, the choice of ground was bad; because, if he had been beaten he could not have retreated, as there was only one road leading to the forest in his rear. He also committed a fault which might have proved the destruction of all his army, without its ever having commenced the campaign, or being drawn out in battle; he allowed himself to be surprised. On the 15th I was at Charleroi, and had beaten the Prussians without his knowing any thing about it. I had gained forty-eight hours of manœuvres upon him, which was a great object; and if some of my generals had shown that vigour and genius which they had displayed in other times, I should have taken his army in cantonments without ever fighting a battle. But they were discouraged, and fancied that they saw an army of a hundred thousand men everywhere opposed to them. I had not time enough myself, to attend to the *minutiae* of the army. I reckoned upon surprising and cutting them up in detail. I knew of Bulow's arrival at eleven o'clock; but I did not regard it. I had still eighty chances out of a hundred in my favour. Notwithstanding the great superiority of force against me, I was convinced that I should obtain the victory. I had about seventy thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were cavalry. I had also two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; but my troops were so good, that I esteemed them sufficient to beat a hundred and twenty thousand. Now, Lord Wellington had under his command about ninety thousand, and two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; and Bulow had thirty thousand, making a hundred and twenty thousand. Of all those troops, however, I only reckoned the English as being able to cope with my own. The others I thought little of. I believe that of English there were from thirty-five to forty thousand. These I esteemed to be as brave and as good as my own troops; the English army was well known latterly on the Continent; and besides, your nation possesses courage and energy. As to the Prussians, Belgians, and others, half the number of my troops were sufficient to beat them. I only left thirty-four thousand men to take care of the Prussians. The chief causes of the loss of that battle were, first of all, Grouchy's great tardiness, and neglect in executing his orders; next, the *grenadiers à cheval* and the cavalry under General Guyot, which I had in reserve, and which were never to leave me, engaged, without orders, and without my knowledge; so that after the last charge, when the troops were beaten, and the English cavalry advanced, I had not a single corps of cavalry in reserve to resist them; instead of one which I esteemed to be equal to double their own number. In consequence of this, the English attack succeeded, and all was lost. There was no means of rallying. The youngest general would not have committed the fault of leaving an army entirely without reserve, which, however, occurred here; whether in consequence of treason or not, I cannot say. These were the two principal causes of the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

"If Lord Wellington had entrenched himself," continued he, "I would not have attacked him. As a general, his plan did not show talent. He certainly displayed great courage and obstinacy; but a little must be taken away even from that, when you consider that he had no means of retreat, and that, had he made the attempt, not a man of his army would have escaped. First, to the firmness and bravery of his troops, for the English fought with the greatest obstinacy and courage, he is principally indebted for the victory, and not to his own conduct as a general; and next, to the arrival of Blücher, to whom the victory is more to be attributed than to Wellington, and more credit due as a general; because he, though beaten the day before, assembled his troops, and brought them into action in the evening. I believe, however," continued Napoleon, "that Wellington is a man of great firmness. The glory of such a victory is a great thing; but, in the eye of the historian, his military reputation will gain nothing by it." I. pp. 463-466.

In another place, in answer to Mr O'Meara's remark, that Lord Wellington never intended to quit the field alive had he been defeated; Napoleon observes, 'he *could* not have done so.' His good opinion, however, of our commander is confined entirely to his military talents; he joins in the universal opinion, that in all other respects there are few more ordinary personages.

"The mind of a general ought to resemble and be as clear as the field-glass of a telescope, *et jamais se faire des tableaux*. Of all the generals who preceded him, and perhaps all those who have followed, Turenne was the greatest. *Maréchal Saxe*, a mere general, *pas d'esprit*; *Luxembourg*, *beaucoup*; *le grand Frédéric*, *beaucoup*, and a quick and ready perception of every thing. Your Marlborough, besides being a great general, *avait aussi beaucoup, d'esprit*. Judging from Wellington's actions, from his despatches, and above all from his conduct towards Ney, I should pronounce him to be *un homme de peu d'esprit, sans générosité, et sans grandeur d'âme*. Such I know to be the opinion of Benjamin Constant and of Madame de Staël, who said, that except as a general, he had not two ideas. As a general, however, to find his equal amongst your own nation, you must go back to the time of Marlborough, but as any thing else, I think that history will pronounce him to be *un homme borné*." II. p. 229.

The reader may next desire to see the Emperor's judgments upon his own conduct. The great disaster of all, in the Russian campaign, he ascribes entirely to the premature cold, which began in 1812 full twenty days earlier than it had been known to do for fifty years; and to the burning of Moscow. Of the cold he says, that in one night he lost by it 30,000 horses, and was forced to abandon his artillery of 500 pieces, with ammunition and provisions. 'The soldiers lost their spirits, fell into confusion, and lost their senses. The most trifling thing a-

‘lamed them. Four or five men were sufficient to frighten a whole battalion. Instead of keeping together, they wandered about in search of fire. Parties, when sent out on duty in advance, abandoned their posts, and went to seek the means of warming themselves in the houses. They separated in all directions, became helpless, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep, a little blood came from their nostrils, and, sleeping, they died. In this manner thousands perished. The Poles saved some of their horses and artillery; but the French, and the soldiers of the other nations I had with me, were no longer the same men. In particular, the cavalry suffered. Out of forty thousand, I do not think that three thousand were saved.’ Of the conflagration, he gives by far the most striking and picturesque account that has yet been presented. After showing how securely he could have passed the winter in Moscow, provisioned as it was for a year, and with a favourable disposition in the inhabitants, arising from his known good treatment of the other capitals which he had vanquished, he proceeds to describe the unexpected catastrophe.

‘Two days after our arrival, a fire was discovered, which at first was not supposed to be alarming, but to have been caused by the soldiers kindling their fires too near the houses, which were chiefly of wood. I was angry at this, and issued very strict orders on the subject to the commandants of regiments and others. The next day it had advanced, but still not so as to give serious alarm. However, afraid that it might gain upon us, I went out on horseback, and gave every direction to extinguish it. The next morning a violent wind arose, and the fire spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundred miscreants, hired for that purpose, dispersed themselves in different parts of the town, and with matches which they concealed under their cloaks, set fire to as many houses to windward as they could, which was easily done, in consequence of the combustible materials of which they were built. This, together with the violence of the wind, rendered every effort to extinguish the fire ineffectual. I myself narrowly escaped with life. In order to show an example, I ventured into the midst of the flames, and had my hair and eyebrows singed, and my clothes burnt off my back; but it was in vain, as they had destroyed most of the pumps, of which there were above a thousand; out of all these, I believe that we could only find one that was serviceable. Besides, the wretches that had been hired by Rostopchin, ran about in every quarter, disseminating fire with their matches; in which they were but too much assisted by the wind. This terrible conflagration ruined every thing. I was prepared for every thing but this. It was unforeseen; for who would have thought that a nation would have set its capital on fire? The inhabitants themselves, however, did all they could to extinguish it, and

several of them perished in their endeavours. They also brought before us numbers of the incendiaries with their matches, as amidst such a *popolazzo* we never could have discovered them ourselves. I caused about two hundred of these wretches to be shot. Had it not been for this fatal fire, I had every thing my army wanted; excellent winter quarters; stores of all kinds were in plenty; and the next year would have decided it. Alexander would have made peace, or I would have been in Petersburg. "I asked if he thought that he could entirely subdue Russia. "No," replied Napoleon, "but I would have caused Russia to make such a peace as suited the interests of France. I was five days too late in quitting Moscow. Several of the generals," continued he, "were burnt out of their beds. I myself remained in the Kremlin until surrounded with flames. The fire advanced, seized the Chinese and India warehouses, and several stores of oil and spirits, which burst forth in flames and overwhelmed every thing. I then retired to a country house of the Emperor Alexander's, distant about a league from Moscow; and you may figure to yourself the intensity of the fire, when I tell you, that you could scarcely bear your hands upon the walls or the windows on the side next to Moscow, in consequence of their heated state. It was the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, and the most terrific sight the world ever beheld!! *Allons, Docteur.*" pp. 194—196.

His own opinion respecting the St Domingo expedition, is marked by his wonted frankness. He describes it as 'one of the greatest follies he ever was guilty of;' ascribes it to the original error of not acknowledging the independence of the Black republic, and sending French officers to its assistance, before the peace of Amiens; and maintains, that this policy would not only have prevented the possibility of complying with the perpetual and most urgent demands of the Colonial party, who had '*la rage*' to regain St Domingo, but would have ruined the English West Indies, beginning with Jamaica. When, however, Mr O'Meara mentioned the stories of his having put Toussaint to death privately in prison, Napoleon observed, that the charge 'did not deserve an answer'—adding, that, though some suspicion might have rested upon him of a motive to such a crime, had the event happened in St Domingo, yet, as he was safely landed in Europe, there could have been no object in it. As a specimen of the silly calumnies invented respecting him, and of the unworthy means taken to give them consistency and currency, we may instance the anecdote of that wise and vigorous statesman, and prime favourite of legitimate minds, M. de Blacas. When Napoleon returned from Elba,

he found, among the papers which that great man 'left behind when he ran away from the Tuilleries,' a letter written by one of his sister Pauline's chamber-maids, and apparently composed in a fit of spleen. 'There was a description, it seems, of the Princess's habits, of her dress, her wardrobe, and of every thing that she liked; of how fond I was of contributing to her happiness; and that I had superintended the furnishing of her *boudoir* myself; what an extraordinary man I was; that one night I had burnt my finger dreadfully, and had merely poured a bottle of ink over it without appearing to regard the pain, and many little *bêtises*, true enough perhaps. This letter M. Blacas had got interpolated with horrid stories; in fact, insinuating that I slept with my sister; and in the margin, in the handwriting of the interpolator, was written, "to be printed."

It must be allowed that those 'lights of the world and demigods of fame,' the ministers whom Providence, for wise purposes, has visited this country withal, are not treated by the Emperor with any very great respect in the course of his conversations. Many serious charges are brought against those exalted beings, some of them, indeed, such as we cannot venture to copy over, or even to abridge. Much abhorrence and indignation is expressed at their pitiful treatment of their fallen enemy; but the prevailing tone of the remarks is yet more painful, perhaps, to the mighty potentates in question; for it is that of very decided contempt, both towards their persons and government. Almost every portion of this book abounds in exposures of their imbecility, by one who, it must be remembered, of necessity knew whether they had been duped and misled or not. We can only afford room for a specimen or two.

'By your present mode of proceeding, you forfeit all those advantages. Your most powerful arm is given up, and you send an army to the Continent where you are inferior to Bavaria in that species of force. You put me in mind of Francis the First, who had a formidable and beautiful artillery at the battle of Pavia. But he placed his cavalry before it, and thus masked the battery which, could it have fired, would have insured him the victory. He was beaten, lost every thing, and made prisoner. So it is with you. You forsake your ships, which may be compared to Francis's batteries, and throw forty thousand men on the Continent, which Prussia, or any other power who chooses to prohibit your manufactures, will fall upon and cut to pieces, if you menace or make reprisals.

"So silly a treaty as that made by your ministers for their own country," continued the Emperor, "was never known before. You give up every thing, and gain nothing. All the other powers gained

acquisitions of country and millions of souls, but you give up colonies. For example, you give up the isle of Bourbon to the French. A more impolitic act you could not have committed. You ought to endeavour to make the French forget the way to India, and all Indian policy, instead of placing them half way there. Why did you give up Java? Why Surinam, or Martinique, or the other French colonies? To avoid doing so, you had nothing more to say than that you would retain them for the five years the allied powers were to remain in France. Why not demand Hamburgh for Hanover? Then you would have an *entrepôt* for your manufactures. In treaties, an ambassador ought to take advantage of every thing for the benefit of his own country."

"All your miseries, I maintain to be owing to the imbecility and ignorance of Lord Castlereagh, and his inattention to the real prosperity of his own country. Had Lords Grenville or Wellesley been ambassadors, I am convinced that the interests of England would have been consulted. What would those Englishmen, who lived one hundred years ago, say, if they could rise from their graves, be informed of your glorious successes, cast their eyes upon England, witness her distress, and be informed, that in the treaty of peace not a single article for the benefit of England had been stipulated! that, on the contrary, you had given up conquests and commercial rights necessary to your existence? When Austria gained ten millions of inhabitants, Russia eight, Prussia ten, Holland, Bavaria, Sardinia, and every other power, obtained an increase of territory, why not England, who was the main organ of all the success? Instead of establishing a number of independent maritime states, such as Hamburgh, Stralsund, Dantzic, Genoa, to serve as *entrepôts*, for your manufactures, with conditions, either secret or otherwise, favourable to your commerce, you have basely given up Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and united Belgium to Holland. You have rendered yourselves hated by the Italians and Belgians, and have done irreparable injury to your trade. For, although it is a great point for you, that Belgium should be separated from France, it is a serious disadvantage to you that she should be united to Holland. Holland has no manufactories, and consequently would have become a *dépôt* for yours, from whence a prodigious influx would be kept up in the Continent. Now, however, that Belgium has been made a part of Holland, this last will naturally prefer taking the manufactures of her subjects to those of a stranger, and all Belgium may be called a manufacturing town. Independent of this, in case of any future war with France, Holland must join the latter through fear of losing the provinces of Belgium. People always consider the danger that is most imminent." II. pp. 72—79.

The Lord Castlereagh is, we lament to say, never once commemorated with the respect due to his exalted rank. Napoleon, forgetting the difference in their station and extraction, really seems to speak of him as he would of any ordinary per-

son. But it would be painful to extract many instances. We shall confine ourselves to two anecdotes which he relates, and one of which at least is new to us; though the other is so precisely in the strain said to be adopted by the noble Lord when he goes 'to Congress,' and tallies so exactly with what has been generally reported as to the style of his Italian and Germanic conferences, that neither distrust nor surprise is excited by it. The first story relates to Napoleon's surrender. He says that Lord Castlereagh offered him an asylum in England, before he went to Elba, saying, he should be 'very well treated there, and much better off than in Elba.'

"The real fact," said Napoleon, "is, that he first proposed it. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh said to Caulaincourt, "Why does Napoleon think of going to Elba? Let him come to England. He will be received in London with the greatest pleasure, and will experience the best possible treatment. He must not, however, ask permission to come, because that would take up too much time; but let him give himself up to us, without making any conditions, and he will be received with the greatest joy, and be much better than at Elba." This," added he, "had much influence with me afterwards." I. p. 498.

The other passage is as follows—

"At Chatillon with the ambassadors of the Allied powers, after some successes of mine, and when I had in a manner invested the town, he (Lord C.) was greatly alarmed lest I might seize and make him a prisoner; as, not being accredited as an ambassador, nor invested with any diplomatic character to France, I might have taken him as an enemy. He went to Caulaincourt, to whom he mentioned that he "laboured under considerable apprehensions that I should cause violent hands to be laid upon him," as he acknowledged I had a right to do. It was impossible for him to get away without falling in with my troops. Caulaincourt replied, that as far as his own opinion went, he would say that I would not meddle with him, but that he could not answer for what I might do. Immediately after, Caulaincourt wrote to me what Castlereagh had said, and his own answer. I signified to him in reply, that he was to tell Lord Castlereagh to make his mind easy and stay where he was; that I would consider him as an ambassador. At Chatillon," continued he, "when speaking about the Liberty enjoyed in England, Castlereagh observed, in a contemptuous manner, that it was not the thing most to be esteemed in your country, that it was an *usage* which they were obliged to put up with; but had become an abuse, and would not answer for other countries." II. pp. 158-9.

His contempt of our wretched policy towards the Catholics deserves some notice from those genuine alarmists who used equally to stand in awe of Napoleon and the Pope.

"I cannot conceive," continued he, "why your ministers have not emancipated them. At the time that all nations are emerging

from illiberality and intolerance, you retain your disgraceful laws, which are only worthy of two or three centuries back. When the Catholic question was first seriously agitated, I would have given fifty millions to be assured that it would not be granted; for it would have entirely ruined my projects upon Ireland; as the Catholics, if you emancipated them, would become as loyal subjects as the Protestants. I would," continued he, "impose a tax of fifty per cent. upon absentees, and perhaps diminish the interest upon the debt."

I made some observations upon the intolerance which had been manifested on some occasions by the Catholics.

"The inability to rise above a certain rank, and to be members of Parliament, and other persecutions once removed from your Catholic brethren," replied he, "you will find that they will be no longer intolerant or fanatical. Fanaticism is always the child of persecution. That intolerance which you complain of, is also the result of your oppressive laws. Remove them once, and put them on a similar footing with the Protestants, and in a few years you will find the spirit of intolerance disappear. Do as I did in France with the Protestants." 1. 355, 356.

Napoleon repeatedly asserts, and apparently with an entire reliance upon the statement receiving implicit assent, that he raised himself to supreme power without ever having been guilty of a crime. By this, he must of course mean to deny only the having had recourse to extremities beyond those which all conquerors and usurpers are of necessity driven to. Nor can any man of ordinary candour deny, that he is chargeable with far fewer delinquencies than any of his predecessors in the whole course of history. The passages of his life which are principally relied upon in contradiction to this opinion, are the massacre of the Turks and poisoning of the sick in Egypt, and the seizure and execution of the Duc d'Enghien. It is fit, therefore, that we should see what account he gives himself of those celebrated transactions. Miot's history of the Egyptian expedition gave Mr O'Meara an opportunity of broaching the subject of the two former.

He observed, "Miot was a *polisson* whom, together with his brother, I raised from the dirt. He says that I threatened him for writing the book, which is a falsehood. I said to his brother once that he might as well not have published untruths. He was a man who had always fear before his eyes. What does he say about the poisoning affair and the shooting at Jaffa?" I replied, that as to the poisoning, Miot declared, he could say no more than that such had been the current report; but that he positively asserted that he (Napoleon) had caused between three and four thousand Turks to be shot, some days after the capture of Jaffa. Napoleon answered, "It is not true that there were so many. I ordered about a thousand or twelve hundred to be shot, which was done. The reason was, that

amongst the garrison of Jaffa, a number of Turkish troops were discovered, whom I had taken a short time before at El-Arish, and sent to Bagdat upon their parole not to serve again, or to be found in arms against me for a year. I had caused them to be escorted twelve leagues on their way to Bagdat by a division of my army. But those Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, threw themselves into Jaffa, defended it to the last, and cost me a number of brave men to take it, whose lives would have been spared, if the others had not reinforced the garrison of Jaffa. Moreover, before I attacked the town, I sent them a flag of truce. Immediately afterwards we saw the head of the bearer elevated on a pole over the wall. Now, if I had spared them again, and sent them away upon their parole, they would directly have gone to St Jean d'Acre, where they would have played over again the same scene that they had done at Jaffa. In justice to the lives of my soldiers, as every general ought to consider himself as their father, and them as his children, I could not allow this. To leave as a guard a portion of my army, already small, and reduced in number, in consequence of the breach of faith of those wretches, was impossible. Indeed, to have acted otherwise than as I did, would probably have caused the destruction of my whole army. I, therefore, availing myself of the rights of war, which authorize the putting to death prisoners taken under such circumstances, independent of the right given to me by having taken the city by assault, and that of retaliation on the Turks, ordered that the prisoners taken at El-Arish, who, in defiance of their capitulation, had been found bearing arms against me, should be selected out and shot. The rest, amounting to a considerable number, were spared. I would," continued he, "do the same thing again to-morrow; and so would Wellington, or any general commanding an army under similar circumstances." I. pp. 328-330.

The fact is here fairly confessed; nor do we apprehend that any great difference of opinion will be formed upon the complexity of it. Such measures of rigour are, we fear, inseparable from the operations of war; and accordingly, it never was upon this transaction that the principal stress was laid. The poisoning he entirely denies; but with a frank avowal of his sentiments, that such an action would have been justifiable in mercy to the sufferers, under the circumstances of the case.

"Previous to leaving Jaffa," continued Napoleon, "and after the greatest number of the sick and wounded had been embarked, it was reported to me, that there were some men in the hospital so dangerously ill as not to be able to be moved. I ordered immediately the chiefs of the medical staff to consult together upon what was best to be done, and to give me their opinion on the subject. Accordingly they met, and found that there were seven or eight men so dangerously ill, that they conceived it impossible for them to recover; and also, that they could not exist twenty-four or thirty-six

hours longer; that moreover, being afflicted with the plague, they would spread that complaint amongst all those who approached them. Some of them, who were sensible, perceiving that they were about to be abandoned, demanded, with earnest entreaties, to be put to death. Larrey was of opinion that recovery was impossible, and that those poor fellows could not exist many hours; but as they might live long enough to be alive when the Turks entered, and experience the dreadful torments which they were accustomed to inflict upon their prisoners, he thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires, and accelerate their end by a few hours. Desgenettes did not approve of this, and replied, that his profession was to cure the sick, and not to despatch them. Larrey came to me immediately afterwards, informed me of the circumstances, and of what Desgenettes had said; adding, that perhaps Desgenettes was right. "But," continued Larrey, "those men cannot live for more than a few hours, twenty-four, or thirty-six at most; and, if you will leave a rear-guard of cavalry to stay and protect them from advanced parties, it will be sufficient." Accordingly, I ordered four or five hundred cavalry to remain behind, and not to quit the place until all were dead. They did remain, and informed me that all had expired before they had left the town; but I have heard since, that Sydney Smith found one or two alive when he entered it. This is the truth of the business. Wilson himself, I dare say, knows now that he was mistaken. Sydney Smith never asserted it. I have no doubt that this story of the poisoning originated in something said by Desgenettes, who was a *bavard*, which was afterwards misconceived or incorrectly repeated. Desgenettes," continued he, "was a good man; and, notwithstanding that he had given rise to this story, I was not offended, and had him near my person in different campaigns afterwards. Not that I think it would have been a crime, had opium been given to them; on the contrary, I think it would have been a virtue. To leave a few *misérables* who could not recover, in order that they might be massacred by the Turks with the most dreadful tortures, as was their custom, would, I think, have been cruelty. A general ought to act with his soldiers as he would wish should be done to himself. Now, would not any man, under similar circumstances, who had his senses, have preferred dying easily a few hours sooner, rather than expire under the tortures of those barbarians? You have been amongst the Turks, and know what they are. I ask you now to place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and that you were asked which you would prefer, to be left to suffer the tortures of those miscreants, or to have opium administered to you?" I replied, "most undoubtedly I would prefer the latter." "Certainly, so would any man," answered Napoleon. "If my own son (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done; and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense enough, and strength enough to demand it. But, however, affairs were not

so pressing as to prevent me from leaving a party to take care of them, which was done. If I had thought such a measure as that of giving opium necessary, I would have called a council of war, have stated the necessity of it, and have published it in the order of the day. It should have been no secret. Do you think that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers (as doing a necessary action secretly would give it the appearance of a crime), or of such barbarities as driving my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without a parallel? No, no; I never should have done so a second time. Some would have shot me in passing. Even some of the wounded, who had sufficient strength left to pull a trigger, would have despatched me."

"I never," continued Napoleon, "committed a crime in all my political career. At my last hour, I can assert that. Had I done so, I should not have been here now. I should have despatched the Bourbons. It only rested with me to give my consent, and they would have ceased to live." I. 330-334.

Upon the charge as to the deaths of Captain Wright and Pichegru, it appears to us that his defence is clear. Those crimes, he says, were wholly unnecessary. From the destruction of the former he was to gain no conceivable advantage; and against the latter he had proofs so clear, that his condemnation would have been a matter of course. We cannot help considering it as a strong confirmation of his innocence upon these charges, that, since his fall, no evidence has been brought to light, nor even a single circumstance related, tending, in the most remote degree, to countenance the imputation. No one pretends that he secretly put to death either of the unfortunate individuals with his own hand; and surely it is beyond all probability, that, after twenty years, nothing should have transpired respecting the perpetrators of such foul designs; the more especially as, during eight years of that period, any information of this description would have been most acceptable to the ruling powers. Respecting the Duc d'Enghien, we have the following passage.

"I now asked if it were true that Talleyrand had retained a letter written by the Duc d'Enghien to him until two days after the Duke's execution? Napoleon's reply was, "It is true; the Duke had written a letter, offering his services, and asking a command in the army from me, which that *scelerato*, Talleyrand, did not make known until two days after his execution." I observed that Talleyrand, by his culpable concealment of the letter, was virtually guilty of the death of the Duke. "Talleyrand," replied Napoleon, "is a *briccone*, capable of any crime. I," continued he, "caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested, in consequence of the Bourbons having landed assassins in France to murder me. I was resolved to let them see that

the blood of one of their princes should pay for their attempts; and he was accordingly tried for having borne arms against the republic, found guilty, and shot, according to the existing laws against such a crime." I. 335, 336.

The following is a more general defence of himself.

"While walking about the room, "What sort of a man did you take me to be, before you became my surgeon?" said he. "What did you think of my character, and what I was capable of? (Give me your real opinion frankly." I replied, "I thought you to be a man whose stupendous talents were only to be equalled by your measureless ambition; and although I did not give credit to one-tenth part of the libels which I had read against you, still I believed that you would not hesitate to commit a crime when you found it to be necessary, or thought it might be useful to you." "This is just the answer that I expected," replied Napoleon, "and is perhaps the opinion of Lord Holland, and even of numbers of the French. I have risen to too great a pitch of human glory and elevation, not to have excited the envy and jealousy of mankind. They will say, "It is true, that he has raised himself to the highest pinnacle of glory; *mais pour y arriver, il commit beaucoup de crimes*, (but to attain it, he has committed many crimes.") Now the fact is, that I not only never committed any crimes, but I never even thought of doing so. *J'ai toujours marché avec l'opinion de grandes masses et les événements*, (I have always gone with the opinion of great masses, and with events.) I have always made *peu de cas* of the opinion of individuals; of that of the public a great deal. Of what use, then, would crime have been to me? I am too much a fatalist, and have always despised mankind too much, to have had recourse to crime to frustrate their attempts. *J'ai marché toujours avec l'opinion de cinq ou six millions d'hommes*, (I have always marched with the opinion of five or six millions of men); of what use, then, would crime have been to me?"

"In spite of all the libels," continued he, "I have no fear whatever about my fame. Posterity will do me justice. The truth will be known; and the good which I have done, with the faults which I have committed, will be compared. I am not uneasy for the result. Had I succeeded, I should have died with the reputation of the greatest man that ever existed. As it is, although I have failed, I shall be considered as an extraordinary man: my elevation was unparalleled, *because* unaccompanied by crime. I have fought fifty pitched battles, almost all of which I have gained. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. From nothing, I raised myself to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet. My ambition was great, I admit; but it was of a cold nature (*d'une nature froide*), and caused *par les événements* (by events), and the opinion of great bodies. I have always been of opinion, that the sovereignty lay in the people. In fact, the imperial government was a kind of

republic. Called to the head of it by the voice of the nation, my maxim was *la carrière ouverte aux talens* (the career open to talents), without distinction of birth or fortune; and this system of equality is the reason that your oligarchy hate me so much."

"If ever policy," continued he, "authorized a man to commit a crime and murder others, it authorized me to put to death Ferdinand, and the other Bourbons of his family when in France. Were I a man accustomed to commit crimes, would I not have effected one which it would have been so beneficial to me to put in execution? Ferdinand and his family once out of the way, the Spaniards would have had nothing to fight for, and would have submitted. No; had I been inclined to commit crimes, I should not be here. Would a French Bourbon be in existence now, had I consented to their murder? Not only did I refuse to consent, but I positively prohibited that any attempt of the kind should be made."

"It is not," added Napoleon, "by what the Quarterly Review, or Pichon says, or by what I could write myself, that posterity will judge of me; it is by the voice of so many millions of inhabitants who have been under my government."

"Those," continued he, "who consented to the union of Poland with Russia, will be the execration of posterity, while my name will be pronounced with respect, when the fine southern countries of Europe are a prey to the barbarians of the north. Perhaps my greatest fault was, not having deprived the King of Prussia of his throne, which I might easily have done. After Friedland, I ought to have taken Silesia and * * * from Prussia, and given them to Saxony, as the king and the Prussians were too much humiliated, not to revenge themselves the first opportunity. Had I done this, given them a free constitution, and delivered the peasants from the feudal slavery, they would have been content." I. 403-407.

Napoleon's views of English policy, like those so prevalent upon the Continent, ascribe much more importance to our Indian dominions than really belongs to them as elements in our commercial greatness. India seems always uppermost in his mind, when he speaks of aiming any blow at our prosperity. Perhaps we may admit, that its importance has of late greatly increased; and certainly it will become more essential, in proportion as our trade is excluded in other quarters of the world. The following passage contains an account of his ideas both as to India and Turkey, which cannot fail to interest the reader at the present moment. It is subjoined to a narrative of the Emperor Paul's death, which we dare not extract.

"I asked him if he thought that Paul had been mad? "Latterly," said Napoleon, "I believe that he was. At first, he was strongly prejudiced against the Revolution, and every person concerned in it; but afterwards I had rendered him reasonable, and had changed his opinions altogether. If Paul had lived, you would have lost

India before now. An agreement was made between Paul and myself to invade it. I furnished the plan. I was to have sent thirty thousand good troops. He was to send a similar number of the best Russian soldiers, and forty thousand Cossacks. I was to subscribe ten millions, in order to purchase camels and the other requisites to cross the Desert. The King of Prussia was to have been applied to by both of us to grant a passage for my troops through his dominions, which would have been immediately granted. I had at the same time made a demand to the King of Persia for a passage through his country, which also would have been granted, though the negotiations were not entirely concluded, but would have succeeded, as the Persians were desirous of profiting by it themselves. My troops were to have gone to Warsaw, to be joined by the Russians and Cossacks, and to have marched from thence to the Caspian Sea, where they would have either embarked, or have proceeded by land, according to circumstances. I was beforehand with you, in sending an ambassador on to Persia to make interest there. Since that time, your Ministers have been *imbéciles* enough to allow the Russians to get four provinces, which increase their territories beyond the mountains. The first year of war that you will have with the Russians, they will take India from you."

"I asked, then, if it were true that Alexander had intended to have seized upon Turkey? Napoleon answered, "All his thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions together about it; at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would enlighten the world to drive those brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But when I reflected upon the consequences, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, in consequence of the numbers of Greeks in the Turkish dominions, who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equilibrium of power in Europe. I reflected that France would gain Egypt, Syria, and the islands, which would have been nothing in comparison with what Russia would have obtained. I considered that the barbarians of the north were already too powerful, and probably in the course of time would overwhelm all Europe, as I now think they will. Austria already trembles, Russia and Prussia united, Austria falls, and England cannot prevent it. France under the present family is nothing, and the Austrians are *so-lâches*, that they will be easily overpowered. *Una nazione a colpo di bastone*. They will offer little resistance to the Russians, who are brave and patient. Russia is the more formidable, because she can never disarm. In Russia, once a soldier, always a soldier; barbarians, who, one may say, have no country, and to whom every country is better than the one which gave them birth. When the Cossacks entered France, it was indifferent to them what women they violated, old or young were alike to them, as any were preferable to those they had left behind.

Moreover, the Russians are poor, and it is necessary for them to conquer. When I am dead and gone, my memory will be esteemed, and I shall be revered in consequence of having foreseen, and endeavoured to put a stop to, that which will yet take place. It will be revered when the barbarians of the north will possess Europe, which would not have happened, had it not been for you, *signori Inglesi*." I. 380—383.

The last extract which we shall give refers to his opinion of the Bourbons and the old regime, which is the most contemptuous possible; and to his view of his own position, as contrasted with them, and of his claims to support, than which nothing can be more correct.

"They want," said he, "to introduce the old system of nobility into the army. Instead of allowing the sons of peasants and labourers to be eligible to be made generals, as they were in my time, they want to confine it entirely to the old nobility, to *émigrés* like that old blockhead Montchenu. When you have seen Montchenu, you have seen all the old nobility of France before the Revolution. Such were all the race,—and such they have returned, ignorant, vain, and arrogant as they left it. *Ils n'ont rien appris, ils n'ont rien oublié*. They were the cause of the revolution, and of so much bloodshed; and now, after twenty-five years of exile and disgrace, they return loaded with the same vices and crimes for which they were expatriated, to produce another revolution. I know the French. Believe me, that after six or ten years, the whole race will be massacred, and thrown into the Seine. They are a curse to the nation. It is of such as them that the Bourbons want to make generals. I made most of mine, *de la boue*. Wherever I found talent and courage, I rewarded it. My principle was, *la carrière ouverte aux talents*, without asking whether there were any quarters of nobility to show. It is true, that I sometimes promoted a few of the old nobility, from a principle of policy and justice; but I never reposed great confidence in them. The mass of the people," continued he, "now see the revival of the feudal times; they see that soon it will be impossible for their progeny to rise in the army. Every true Frenchman reflects with anguish, that a family, for so many years odious to France, has been forced upon them over a bridge of foreign bayonets. What I am going to recount will give you some idea of the imbecility of the family. When the Count d'Artois came to Lyons, although he threw himself on his knees before the troops, in order to induce them to advance against me, he never put on the cordon of the Legion of Honour, though he knew that the sight of it would be most likely to excite the minds of the soldiers in his favour, as it was the order so many of them bore on their breasts, and required nothing but bravery to obtain it. But no; he decked himself out with the order of the Holy Ghost, to be eligible for which, you must prove one hundred and fifty years of nobility,—an order formed purposely to ex-

clude merit, and one which excited indignation in the breasts of the old soldiers. "We will not," said they, "fight for orders like that, nor for *émigrés* like those;" he had ten or eleven of these *imbéciles* as aids-de-camp. Instead of showing to the troops some of those generals who had so often led them to glory, he brought with him a set of *misérables*, who served no other purpose than to recal to the minds of the veterans their former sufferings under the noblesse and the priests.

"To give you an instance of the general feeling in France towards the Bourbons, I will relate to you an anecdote. On my return from Italy, while my carriage was ascending the steep hill of Terare, I got out and walked up, without any attendants, as was often my custom. My wife and my suite were at a little distance behind me. I saw an old woman, lame, and hobbling about with the help of a crutch, endeavouring to ascend the mountain. I had a great coat on, and was not recognised. I went up to her and said, Well, *ma bonne*, where are you going with a haste which so little belongs to your years? What is the matter? "*Ma foi*," replied the old dame, "they tell me the Emperor is here, and I want to see him before I die." Bah, bah," said I, "what do you want to see him for? What have you gained by him? He is a tyrant as well as the others. You have only changed one tyrant for another, Louis for Napoleon." "*Mais, Monsieur*, that may be; but, after all, he is the king of the people, and the Bourbons were the kings of the nobles. We have chosen *him*, and if we are to have a tyrant, let him be one chosen by ourselves." "There," said he, "you have the sentiments of the French nation expressed by an old woman."

And truly such are the sentiments of young men, as well as old women, everywhere; but, God be thanked, there now is a considerable modification in the feeling; and, through Napoleon, much of the change has been operated. The people all over Europe still say, 'If we must have tyrants, we will chuse them for ourselves;' but they say too, 'We will no longer have any tyrants at all;' and they are beginning to cry out these words in a voice that makes the legitimate patrons of antiquated abuses tremble, and all their thrones to quake. Napoleon was *their* enemy, and, in so far, he was the people's friend. Many and grave faults he had. Warrior he was, and despot, and a military despot to boot; but he did vast service to the world, as a compensation for much misery which his ambition created. The misery will be forgotten, while the benefits will be lastingly felt; and if the people want any additional proofs of the good he has done their cause, let them look at the inextinguishable hatred with which *their* implacable enemies still continue to pursue *his* name.

We cannot close our account of this work, without recurring to the subject with which they commenced—the treatment of the

illustrious captive. That the honour of the country has received a stain from the whole transaction—a stain which never can be altogether wiped away—is a melancholy truth already sufficiently felt, and daily more openly admitted. But it would be unfair, perhaps, to charge upon the Government at home, every part of the shameful and unmeaning indignities to which the Emperor was exposed; and we trust, that the insult offered to his memory, and only within the last few weeks made known to the public, was wholly without the sanction of the Ministers, although it is somewhat singular that a similar occurrence marked the obsequies of the late Queen. Count Montholon has stated, in an authentic form, that the executors having desired a tablet, with an inscription, to be placed upon the coffin, Sir H. Lowe would by no means allow it. Now, what does the reader imagine this offensive inscription may have been? These words—and no more. ‘*Napoleon—Né à Ajaccio le 15 Aout 1769—Mort à Ste Helene le 5 Mai 1821.*’ The governor would not even permit the initials of his name to be written upon the coffin,—as if he could thus bury in oblivion a name which fills the world, and by which the age we live in will be known to after times. When this disgraceful anecdote was mentioned in Parliament, Sir Robert Wilson read in his place a most important document, now first presented to the publick, to illustrate the paltry meanness and gross inconsistency of the legitimate powers, in so peremptorily denying his title of Emperor. It is an article of a treaty actually signed at Chatillon on the 17th February 1814, by the Ministers of the Allies, Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart, and Stewart, for England; Count Kasumouski, for Russia; Baron Humboldt for Prussia, and Count Stadion, for Austria; in which peace and friendship for ever is agreed upon in the name of the Holy Trinity, *between the said powers and ‘his Majesty the Emperor of the French, his heirs and successors.’* Every one knows that events prevented the ratification of this treaty; but it is worthy of especial remark, that none of the parties dreamt of an article expressly acknowledging Napoleon’s imperial title; it is taken for granted, exactly as the titles of the other emperors and kings are assumed to be unquestioned. After this, it is quite sickening to find the same persons, when more successful, and ‘clothed in a little brief authority,’ equally peremptory in taking it for granted that Napoleon had no title whatever; treating him as if they had not all, excepting one, bowed the knee to him, nay, bent their necks beneath his feet; and speaking of the ‘person called Buonaparte’—and ‘the General,’—and ‘General Buonaparte,’—as if any thing of superiority over him was gained by this silly affectation, or

any thing proved by it but their own bitterness. Lord Castlereagh really used to speak of him with a sort of mild indifference and contempt, as if he were naming some invalided officer, whose superannuation pension had accidentally come into question. When he first fashioned his mouth to call him General Buonaparte, we dare to say he thought he was taking the most accurate distinction in the world, between a title denied and one which all must admit; forgetting that he had no earthly title to the rank of general, which he had not equally to the station of emperor; both being conferred by the existing authorities, and strengthened by the fact of possession, and both being alike lost, if either was, by the possession ceasing. But habit soon made the name familiar with our great Statesman; and he appeared latterly to pronounce it with a conscious superiority of station, power, and importance in the world, which was sufficiently amusing to the spectator who looks no further than the present times, but indescribably laughable to any one who reflects, that the day will, ere long, come, when Lord Castlereagh's name will only be rescued from the oblivion to which all the other smooth-spoken inmates of Downing-street and Whitehall are hastening, by his accidental connexion, with the latter events of Buonaparte's life.

That the publication of this very interesting work will expose its author to infinite vexation, to all the attacks of calumny, and even to some oppression from men in power, there can be little doubt. He seems prepared for the issue; and, after reminding his readers that he makes himself in no way answerable for the truth of the facts, any more than the correctness of the opinions delivered by Napoleon, but is only the faithful narrator of what he saw and heard, he adds, that he shall at all times be ready to meet the fullest examination of whatever charges he has himself made, 'before any tribunal where the truth can be investigated.' In protecting himself from a responsibility that does not belong to him as an historian, he at the same time avows, 'that he neither avoids nor evades inquiry, but is willing to take his share in any investigation in which *the truth can be told*, and to abide the event.' Of the reluctance with which our Government will answer any such appeal, we have, indeed, a singular foretaste in their extreme anxiety to conceal every thing relating to St Helena. Soon after Mr Warden's book appeared, Mr O'Meara received, through the Admiral on the station, an official letter from Mr Barrow, Under Secretary at the Admiralty, dated 13th September 1817, and in these words—

' Admiralty Office, 13th September, 1817.

' Sir,—My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having
' had under their consideration a work which has been pub-
' lished by Mr Warden, late surgeon of his Majesty's ship
' Northumberland, their Lordships have commanded me to
' signify their directions to you to acquaint all the officers em-
' ployed under your orders, that they are to understand, that if
' they should presume to publish any information which they
' may have obtained by being officially employed at St Helena,
' they will suffer their Lordships' heavy displeasure. I am, Sir,
' your most obedient, humble servant,
' *To Rear Admiral Plampin, St Helena.* *' JOHN BARROW.'*

Of the motive which dictated this very *credible* proceeding, we believe little doubt will be entertained in any quarter. Mr O'Meara seems to think that literary views may have entered into it, and that there may have been a view towards priority of information—a suspicion somewhat sanctioned by the known connexion of this department with a certain portion of the press, (a truly reputable circumstance compared with those other connexions which, in spite of every denial *in terms*, no man appears to question in effect). * But, admitting that the order was given, partly with the design of enhancing the value of certain works published, or patronized by some of those clerks in office, its tendency, and manifestly a part also of its object, was to obtain the exclusive possession of *all* the channels of communication; and thus *select*, if not colour, as they chose, the information to be given. It is, however, needless to dispute about trifles; both purposes are equally unworthy of a respectable and dignified administration; and the publick has good cause to rejoice that both have been frustrated by Mr O'Meara.

In concluding these remarks, we may again remind the reader, that our opinion upon the subject of the Emperor's detention has always been favourable to that measure as one of hard necessity—a duty imposed upon this country for the sake of the peace of Europe; but one in the reluctant performance of which every tender regard to the comforts and feelings of fallen greatness ought to have been sedulously evinced, and every thing most scrupulously avoided which might throw the faintest shade of suspicion over our ultimate views respecting the illustrious pri-

* We may perhaps one day endeavour to elucidate some dark passages in the history of the present Ministers, and state the circumstantial evidence (if it be not still stronger) which fixes some of their agents with a share in these scenes.

soner, whose liberation, at the earliest moment consistent with the public safety, seemed an act of strict justice, both to our character and to him. It is lamentable now to think how widely the ministers and their ill-chosen agents have departed from this principle; but even they who never regarded the matter in this light, must allow, that nothing can be so disgusting as the unmanly abuse continued against Napoleon by some, and commenced by others, after his fall. Few of our public men, and not many of our writers, are free from this charge; even our most distinguished living poets are liable to it; and, strange to tell, the first of them in celebrity, and the least enslaved to vulgar prejudices—we mean Lord Byron—offers no exception to the remark. Another great name stands honourably distinguished on this as on every occasion in which an honest declaration of opinion, and a fearless testimony to important though unpalatable truths, may be required; it is unnecessary to refer more particularly to Mr Rogers, whose well-merited fame as a poet, and kindness of disposition in all matters of real moment, is even surpassed, in our estimation, by the soundness, the liberality, and, above all, the uncompromising firmness of his sentiments upon every subject connected with the best interests of mankind.

Mr O'Meara's book is, with peculiar propriety, dedicated to Lady Holland, whose kindness towards Napoleon in his day of need, so unlike the frivolity and fickleness of her sex and station, reflect upon her the most lasting honour. He was deeply sensible of it; and, beside mentioning her in his will, the only person not connected with him whom he thus distinguished, he accompanied the valuable cameo which he there bequeathed, with a few words simply, but most correctly, expressive of his gratitude.

Note.—There is a passage in the second volume of this work, pages 66–7, respecting Mad. de Staël, which represents her conduct in a light so new to all who either knew her personally, or even observed attentively the known history of her life, that we felt convinced there must be some misrepresentation, and therefore applied to the excellent family of that justly celebrated person. Napoleon, it is there said, related to our author, that she sent her son, the present Baron de Stäel, after his return from Elba, to solicit from him the payment of the debt due from the French Government, and to offer her services, provided the request was granted; that Joseph Buonaparte solicited the audience, which he refused, but that Joseph carried the Baron to him notwithstanding; that the interview, which was short, consisted in Napoleon hearing the request, and politely declining; that Mad. de Stäel wrote to Fouché, renewing it, and promising, if he com-

plied, to be 'black and white for him;' that Fouché communicated this, and the Emperor still declined, although the minister strongly advised him to comply, urging the use her support might be of at such a crisis.

Now, Mons. de Stäel's account of this matter is very remarkable; because it at once completely exculpates his illustrious parent, and adds to the credit of Mr O'Meara's journal, without, in our opinion, materially injuring that of Buonaparte, either for veracity or accurate recollection. Whoever reads the passage which we have abridged, will perceive, that Buonaparte does not say that Mons. de Stäel made the proposal at the audience, but only that he opened the 'business' generally, and that it is most likely the Emperor understood from Fouché or Joseph what they supposed, and possibly expected, would be the return she would make; and the alleged contents of the letter rest confessedly on Fouché's representation. Now, Mons. de Stäel, whose letter lies before us, states, that 'at the period of Napoleon's return from Elba, his mother had first obtained, after a long negotiation with all the successive governments of the Revolution, the recognition of the claims for the money advanced by M. Necker to the public, in circumstances which rendered it a debt peculiarly entitled to preference; that the claim was liquidated (*liquidé*), the amount being calculated and admitted, and nothing remaining to be done beyond the mere form of inscription in the *Grand Livre*; that Mad. de Stäel, having constantly refused to return to Paris during the *cent jours*, sent her son to close the proceedings respecting her claim; and that he was advised by the finance minister, as the only means of expediting it, to obtain an audience, which he attempted through Joseph, and procured with great difficulty from the Emperor, and in which, after a few minutes' conversation, he gave him a polite refusal.' But Mons. de Stäel not only flatly denies that any such offer was made or thought of by his mother, as Buonaparte speaks of, but he distinctly asserts, that 'the Emperor, upon his return from Elba, quickly perceived the necessity of courting public opinion, and resolved to pursue a very different course, with respect to his mother, from that which he had held during his first reign; that he caused Fouché, Joseph and Lucien to write letters, which are now at Coppet, for the express purpose of inducing her to return to Paris, where she was promised justice as soon as she should, by so doing, testify an intention of attaching herself to the existing government; that Lucien, at an interview with the Duc de Broglie, in Mons. de Stäel's presence, pressed him to enter the new Chamber of Peers; but that all these offers, frequently repeated, were as regularly and peremptorily refused; and that, therefore, the statement of Buonaparte, with respect to any offer or promise from Mad. de Stäel, or any one authorized by her, is positively directly contrary to the fact.'

Nothing, indeed, can more triumphantly clear her and her family from the charge than this statement; yet we think it by no means follows that the Emperor fancied or invented it. Fouché,

and probably Joseph and Lucien, were anxious for a reconciliation ; they evidently, by Napoleon's own account, endeavoured to bring it about, without doubt, in the hope of her powerful support being gained to the new government : and nothing can be more likely than that one or other of them, probably Fouché, should state to Napoleon their reasons for entertaining such expectations.

ART. VIII. *The Fortunes of Nigel.* By the Author of *Waverley*, *Kenilworth*, &c. In 3 vols. 12mo. pp. 950. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. 1822.

IT was a happy thought in us to review this author's works in groups, rather than in single pieces ; for we should never otherwise have been able to keep up both with him and with our other business. Even as it is, we find we have let him run so far ahead, that we have now rather more of him on hand than we can well get through at a sitting ; and are in danger of forgetting the early part of the long series of stories to which we are thus obliged to look back, or of finding it forgotten by the public—or at least of having the vast assemblage of events and characters that now lie before us, something jumbled and confounded, both in our own recollections, and that of our admiring readers.

Our last particular notice, we think, was of *Ivanhoe*, in the end of 1819 ; and in the two years that have since elapsed, we have had the *Monastery*, the *Abbot*, *Kenilworth*, the *Pirates*, and *Nigel*,—one, two, three, four, five—large original works from the same fertile and inexhaustible pen. It is a strange manufacture ! and, though depending entirely on invention and original fancy, really seems to proceed with all the steadiness and regularity of a thing that was kept in operation by industry and application alone. Our whole fraternity, for example, with all the works of all other writers to supply them with materials, are not half so sure of bringing out their two volumes in the year, as this one author, with nothing but his own genius to depend on, is of bringing out his six or seven. There is no instance of any such experiment being so long continued with success ; and, according to all appearances, it is just as far from a termination now as it was at the beginning. If it were only for the singularity of the thing, it would be worth while to chronicle the actual course and progress of this extraordinary adventure.

Of the two first works we have mentioned, the *Monastery* and the *Abbot*, we have the least to say ; and we believe the public have the least curiosity to know our opinion. They are cer-

tainly the least meritorious of the whole series, either subsequent or preceding; and while they are decidedly worse than the other works of the same author, we are not sure that we can say, as we have done of some of his other failures, that they are better than those of any other recent writer of fiction. So conspicuous, indeed, was their inferiority, that we at one time apprehended that we should have been called upon to interfere before our time, and to admonish the author of the hazard to which he was exposing his fame. But as he has since redeemed that slip, we shall now pass it over lightly, and merely notice one or two things that still live in our remembrance.

We do not think the *White Lady*, and the other supernatural agency, the worst blemish of 'the *Monastery*.' On the contrary, the first apparition of the spirit by her lonely fountain (though borrowed from Lord Byron's *Witch of the Alps* in *Manfred*), as well as the effect of the interview on the mind of the young aspirant to whom she reveals herself, have always appeared to us to be very beautifully imagined: But we must confess, that their descent into an alabaster cavern, and the seizure of a stolen Bible from an altar blazing with cold flames, is a fiction of a more ignoble stock, and looks very like an unlucky combination of a French fairy tale and a dull German romance. The Euphuist too, Sir Piercie Shafton, is a mere nuisance throughout;—nor can we remember any incident in an unsuccessful farce more utterly absurd and pitiable than the remembrance of tailorship that is supposed to be conjured up in the mind of this chivalrous person, by the presentment of the fairy's bodkin to his eyes. There is something ineffably poor at once, and extravagant, in the idea of a solid silver implement being taken from the hair of a spiritual and shadowy being, for the sage purpose of making an earthly coxcomb angry to no end;—while our delight at this happy imagination is not a little heightened by reflecting, that it is all the time utterly unintelligible, how the mere exhibition of a lady's bodkin should remind any man of a tailor in his pedigree—or be thought to import such a disclosure to the spectators.

But, notwithstanding these gross faults, and the general flatness of the monkish parts—including that of the Sub-prior, which is a failure in spite of considerable labour—it would be absurd to rank this with common novels, or even to exclude it from the file of the author's characteristic productions. It has both humour and fancy and pathos enough to maintain its title to such a distinction. The aspiring temper of Halbert Glendinning, the rustic establishment at Glendearg, the picture of Christie of Clinthill, and, above all, the scenes at the castle of Avenel, are all touched with the hand of the master. Ju-

lian's dialogue, or soliloquy rather, to his hawk, in presence of his paramour, with its accompaniments and sequel, is as powerful as any thing the author has produced; and the tragic and historical scenes that lead to the conclusion, are also, for the most part, excellent. It is a work, in short, which pleases more upon a second reading than a first—as we not only pass over the Euphuist and other dull passages, but, being aware of its defects, no longer feel the disappointment and provocation, which are apt, on their first excitement, to make us unjust to its real merits.

In point of real merit, 'The Abbot' is not better, we think, than the Monastery—but it is fuller of historical painting, and, in the higher scenes, has perhaps a deeper and more exalted interest. The Popish zealots, whether in the shape of prophetic crones or heroic monks, are very tiresome personages. Catherine Seyton is a wilful deterioration of Diana Vernon; and is far too pert and confident; while her paramour Roland Græme is, for a good part of the work, little better than a blackguard boy, who should have had his head broken twice a day, and been put nightly in the stocks for his impertinence. Some of the scenes at Lochleven are of a different pitch;—though the formal and measured sarcasms which the Queen and Lady Douglas interchange with such solemn verbosity have a very heavy and unnatural effect. These faults, however, are amply redeemed by the beauties with which they are mingled. There are some grand passages of enthusiasm and devoted courage in Catherine Seyton. The escape from Lochleven is given with great effect and spirit—and the whole mustering and march to Langside, as well as the battle itself, are full of life and colouring. The noble bearing and sad and devoted love of George Douglas—the brawl on the streets of Edinburgh, and the scenes at Holyrood, both serious and comic, as well as many of the minor characters, such as the Ex-abbot of St Mary's metamorphosed into the humble gardener of Lochleven, are all in the genuine manner of the author, and could not have proceeded from any other hand. On the whole, however, the work is unsatisfactory, and too deficient in design and unity. We do not know why it should have been called 'The Abbot,' as that personage has scarcely any thing to do with it. As an historical sketch, it has neither beginning nor end;—nor does the time which it embraces possess any peculiar interest:—and for a history of Roland Græme, which is the only denomination that can give it coherence, the narrative is not only far too slight and insignificant in itself, but is too much broken in upon by higher persons and weightier affairs, to retain any of the interest which it might otherwise have possessed.

‘Kenilworth,’ however, is a flight of another wing—and rises almost, if not altogether, to the level of *Ivanhoe*. Displaying, perhaps, as much power in assembling together and distributing in striking groupes the copious historical materials of that romantic age, as the other does in ekeing out their scantiness by the riches of the author’s imagination. Elizabeth herself, surrounded as she is with lively and imposing recollections, was a difficult personage to bring prominently forward in a work of fiction; but the task, we think, is not only fearlessly, but admirably performed; and the character brought out, not merely with the most unsparing fulness, but with the most brilliant and seducing effect. Leicester is less happy; and we have certainly a great deal too much both of the blackguardism of Michael Lambourne, the atrocious villany of Varney and Foster, and the magical dealings of Alasco and Wayland Smith. Indeed, almost all the lower agents in the performance have a sort of demoniacal character; and the deep and disgusting guilt by which most of the main incidents are developed, make a splendid passage of English history read like the *Newgate Calendar*, and give a certain horror to the story, which is neither agreeable to historical truth, nor attractive in a work of imagination. The great charm and glory of the piece, however, consists in the magnificence and vivacity of the descriptions with which it abounds; and which set before our eyes, with a freshness and force of colouring which can scarcely ever be gained except by actual observation, all the pomp and stateliness, the glitter and solemnity, of that heroic reign. The moving picture of Elizabeth’s night entry to Kenilworth, is given with such spirit, richness, and copiousness of detail, that we seem actually transported to the middle of the scene. We feel the press, and hear the music and the din—and descry, amidst the fading lights of a summer eve, the majestical paces and waving banners that surround the march of the heroic Queen; while the mixture of ludicrous incidents, and the ennui that steals on the lengthened parade and fatiguing preparation, give a sense of truth and reality to the sketch, that seems to belong rather to recent recollection than mere ideal conception. We believe, in short, that we have at this moment as lively and distinct an impression of the whole scene, as we shall have in a few weeks, of a similar Joyous Entry, for which preparations are now making in this our loyal metropolis, and of which we hope, before that time, to be spectators. The account of Leicester’s princely hospitality, and of the royal diversitements that ensued,—the feastings and huntings, the flatteries and dissemblings, the pride, the jealousy, the ambition, the revenge,—are all portrayed with the same animating pencil—

and leave every thing behind—but some rival works of the same unrivalled artist. The most surprising picce of mere description, however, that we have ever seen, is that of Amy's magnificent apartments at Cumnor Place, and of the dress and beauty of the lovely creature for whom they were adorned. We had no idea before that upholstery could be made so engaging; and though we are aware that it is the living Beauty that gives its enchantment to the scene, and breathes over the whole an air of voluptuousness, innocence, and pity, it is impossible not to feel, that the vivid and clear presentment of the visible objects by which she is surrounded, and the antique splendour in which she is enshrined, not only strengthen our impressions of the reality, but actually fascinate and delight us in themselves,—just as the draperies and still life in a grand historical picture divide our admiration with the pathetic effect of the story told by the principal figures. The catastrophe of the unfortunate Amy is too sickening and full of pity to be endured; and we shrink from the recollection of it, as we would from that of a recent calamity of our own. The part of Tressilian is unfortunate on the whole, though it contains touches of interest and beauty. The sketch of young Raleigh is splendid, and in excellent keeping, with every thing beside it. More, we think, might have been made of the desolate age and broken-hearted anguish of Sir Hugh Robsart; but there are one or two little traits of his paternal love and affection that are inimitably sweet and pathetic, and which might have lost their effect, perhaps, if the scene had been extended. We do not care much about the goblin dwarf, nor the host, nor the mercer,—nor any of the other characters. They are all too fantastical and affected. They seem copied rather from the quaintness of old plays, than the reality of past and present nature; and serve better to show what manner of personages were to be met with in the Masks and Pageants of the age, than what were actually to be found in the living population of the land.

'The Pirates' is a bold attempt to make out a long and eventful story, from a very narrow circle of society, and a scene so circumscribed as scarcely to admit of any great scope or variety of action; and its failure, in so far as it may be thought to have failed, should, in fairness, be ascribed chiefly to this scantiness and defect of the materials. The author, accordingly, has been obliged to borrow pretty largely from other regions. The character and story of Mertoun (which is at once commonplace and extravagant),—that of the Pirate himself,—and that of Halcro the poet, have no connexion with the localities of Shetland, or the peculiarities of an insular life. Mr Fellowles,

though he gives occasion to some strong contrasts, is in the same situation. The great blemish, however, of the work, is the inconsistency in Cleveland's character, or rather the way in which he disappoints us, by turning out so much better than we had expected—and yet substantially so ill. So great, indeed, is this disappointment, and so strong the grounds of it, that we cannot help suspecting that the author himself must have altered his design in the course of the work; and, finding himself at a loss to make either a demon or a hero of the personage whom he had introduced with a view to one or other of these characters, betook himself to the expedient of leaving him in that neutral or mixed state, which, after all, suits the least with his conduct and situation, or with the effects which he is supposed to produce. All that we see of him is a daring, underbred, forward, heartless fellow—very unlikely, we should suppose, to captivate the affections of the high-minded, romantic Minna, or even to supplant an old friend in the favour of the honest Udaller. The charm of the book is the picture of his family. Nothing can be more beautiful than the description of the two sisters, and the gentle and innocent affection that continues to unite them, even after love has come to divide their interests and wishes. The visit paid them by Norna, and the tale she tells them at midnight, leads to a fine display of the perfect purity of their young hearts, and the native gentleness and dignity of their character. There is perhaps still more genius in the development and full exhibition of their father's character, who is first introduced to us as little else than a jovial, thoughtless, hospitable housekeeper, but gradually discloses the most captivating traits, not only of kindness and courage, but of substantial generosity and delicacy of feeling, without ever departing, for an instant, from the frank homeliness of his habitual demeanour. Norna is a new incarnation of Meg Merrilies, and palpably the same in the spirit. Less degraded in her habits and associates, and less pathetic in her denunciations, she reconciles fewer contradictions, and is, on the whole, inferior perhaps to her prototype; but is far above the rank of a mere imitated or borrowed character. The Udaller's visit to her dwelling on the Fitful-head is admirably managed, and highly characteristic of both parties. Of the humorous characters, Yellowlegs is the best. Few things, indeed, are better than the description of his equestrian progression to the feast of the Udaller. Claud Halcro is too fantastical, and peculiarly out of place, we should think, in such a region. A man, who talks in quotations from common plays, and proses eternally about glorious John Dryden, luckily is not often to be met anywhere, but least of all in the

Orkney Islands. Bunce is liable to the same objection,—though there are parts of his character, as well as that of Fletcher and the rest of the crew, given with infinite spirit and effect. The denouement of the story is strained and improbable, and the conclusion rather unsatisfactory: But the work, on the whole, opens up a new world to our curiosity, and affords another proof of the extraordinary pliability, as well as vigour, of the author's genius.

We come now to the work which has afforded us a pretext for this long retrospection, and which we have approached, as becometh a royal presence, through this long vista of preparatory splendour. Considering that it has been now three months in the hands of the public—and must be about as well known to most of our readers as the older works to which we have just alluded—we do not very well see why we should not deal with it as summarily as we have done with them; and, sparing our dutiful readers the fatigue of toiling through a detail with which they are already familiar, content ourselves with marking our opinion of it in the same general and comprehensive manner that we have ventured to adopt as to those earlier productions. This accordingly is the course which, in the main, we propose to follow; though, for the sake of our distant readers, as well as to give more force and direct application to our general remarks, we must somewhat enlarge the scale of our critical notice.

This work, though dealing abundantly in invention, is, in substance, like *Old Mortality* and *Kenilworth*, of an historical character, and may be correctly represented as an attempt to describe and illustrate, by examples, the manners of the court, and, generally speaking, of the age of James I. of England. And this, on the whole, is the most favourable aspect under which it can be considered; for, while it certainly presents us with a very brilliant, and, we believe, a very faithful sketch of the manners and habits of the time, we cannot say that it either embodies them in a very interesting story, or supplies us with any rich variety of particular characters. Except King James himself, and *Richie Moniplies*, there is but little individuality in the personages represented. We should perhaps add *Master George Heriot*; except that he is too staid and prudent a person to engage very much of our interest. The story is of a very simple structure, and may soon be told.

Lord Glenvarloch, a young Scottish nobleman, whose fortunes had been ruined by his father's profusion, and chiefly by large loans to the Crown, comes to London about the middle of James's reign, to try what part of this debt might be re-

covered from the justice of his now opulent sovereign. From want of patronage and experience, he is unsuccessful in his first application; and is about to withdraw in despair, when his serving man, Richard Moniplies, falling accidentally in the way of George Heriot, the favourite jeweller and occasional banker of the King, that benevolent person (to whom, it may not be known to our Southern readers, Edinburgh is indebted for the most flourishing and best conducted of her founded schools or charities), is pleased to take an interest in his affairs, and not only represents his case in a favourable way to the Sovereign, but is the means of introducing him to another nobleman, with whose son, Lord Dalgarno, he speedily forms a rather inauspicious intimacy. By this youth he is initiated into all the gaieties of the town, of which, as well of the manners and bearing of the men of fashion of the time, a very lively picture is drawn. Among other things, he is encouraged to try his fortune at play; but, being poor and prudent, he plays but for small sums, and, rather unhandsomely we must own, makes it a practice to come away after a moderate winning. On this account, he is slighted by Lord Dalgarno and his more adventurous associates; and, having learned that they talked contemptuously of him, and that Lord D. had prejudiced the King and the Prince against him, he challenges him for his perfidy in the Park, and actually draws on him in the precincts of the Royal abode. This was, in those days, a very serious offence; and, to avoid its immediate consequences, he is advised to take refuge in Whitefriars, then known by the cant name of *Alsatia*, and understood to possess the privileges of a sanctuary against ordinary arrests. *A propos* of this retirement, we have a very striking and animated picture of the bullies and bankrupts, and swindlers and petty felons by whom this city of refuge was chiefly inhabited—and among whom the young Lord has the good luck to witness a murder committed on the person of his miserly host. He then bethinks himself of repairing to Greenwich where the court was, throwing himself upon the clemency of the King, and insisting on being confronted with his accusers; but happening unfortunately to meet with his Majesty in a retired part of the Park to which he had pursued the stag, ahead of all his attendants, his sudden appearance so startles and alarms that pacific monarch, that he accuses him of a treasonable design on his life, and has him committed to the Tower, under that weighty accusation. In the mean time, however, a certain Margaret Ramsay, a daughter of the celebrated watchmaker of that name, who had privately fallen in love with him at the table of George Heriot her godfather, and had, ever since, kept watch over his proceedings, and aid-

ed him in his difficulties by various stratagems and suggestions, had repaired to Greenwich in male attire, with the romantic design of interesting and undeceiving the King with regard to him. By a lucky accident, she does obtain an opportunity of making her statement to James; who, in order to put her veracity to the test, sends her, disguised as she was, to Glenvarloch's prison in the Tower, and also looses upon him in the same place, first his faithful Heriot, and afterwards a sarcastic courtier, while he himself plays the eavesdropper to their conversation from an adjoining apartment constructed for that purpose. The result of this Dionysian experiment is, to satisfy the sagacious monarch both of the innocence of his young countryman, and the malignity of his accusers, who are speedily brought to shame by his acquittal and admittance to favour.

There is an underplot of a more extravagant and less happy structure, about a sad and mysterious lady who inhabits an inaccessible apartment in Heriot's house, and turns out to be the deserted wife of Lord Dalgarno, and a near relation of Lord Glenvarloch. The former is compelled to acknowledge her by the King, very much against his will; though he is considerably comforted when he finds, that, by this alliance, he acquires right to an ancient mortgage over the lands of the latter, which nothing but immediate payment of a large sum can prevent him from foreclosing. This is accomplished by the new raised credit and consequential agency of Richie Moniplies, though not without a scene of pettyfogging difficulties. The conclusion is something tragical and sudden. Lord Dalgarno, travelling to Scotland with the redemption-money in a portmanteau, challenges Glenvarloch to meet and fight him, one stage from town; and, while he is waiting on the common, is himself shot dead by one of the Alsatian bullies, who had heard of the precious cargo with which he was making the journey. His antagonist comes up soon enough to revenge him; and, soon after, is married to Miss Ramsay, for whom the King finds a suitable pedigree, and at whose marriage-dinner he condescends to preside; while Richard Moniplies marries the heroic daughter of the Alsatian miser, and is knighted in a very characteristic manner by the good-natured monarch.

The best things in the book, as we have already intimated, are the pictures of King James * and of Richard Moniplies—

* We cannot refer, in any way, to the reign or character of this Sovereign, without thinking of the admirable account of him and his court which Miss Aikin has lately given to the world, in a work very nearly as entertaining as a novel, and far more instructive than most

and we must treat our readers, we think, to a specimen of the former. No one can be better than that in which the author first introduces him. It is on occasion of George Heriot going to offer him a piece of plate, and a supplication for Lord Glenvarloch.

‘The scene of confusion amid which he found the King seated, was no bad picture of the state and quality of James’s own mind. There was much that was rich and costly in cabinet pictures and valuable ornaments; but they were slovenly arranged, covered with dust, and lost half their value, or at least their effect, from the manner in which they were presented to the eye. The table was loaded with huge folios, amongst which lay light books of jest and ribaldry; and amongst notes of unmercifully long orations, and essays on king-craft, were mingled miserable roundels and ballads by the royal Prentice, as he styled himself, in the art of poetry, and schemes for the general pacification of Europe, with a list of the names of the King’s hounds, and remedies against canine madness.—The King’s dress was of green velvet, quilted so full as to be dagger-proof, which gave him the appearance of clumsy and ungainly protuberance; while its being buttoned awry communicated to his figure an air of distortion. Over his green doublet he wore a sad-coloured nightgown, out of the pocket of which peeped his hunting-horn. His high-crowned grey hat lay on the floor, covered with dust, but encircled by a carcanet of large balas rubies; and he wore a blue velvet nightcap, in the front of which was placed the plume of a heron, which had been struck down by a favourite hawk in some critical moment of the flight; in remembrance of which the King wore this highly honoured feather.—But such inconsistencies in dress and appointments were mere outward types of those which existed in the royal character, rendering it a subject of doubt amongst his contemporaries, and bequeathing it as a problem to future historians. He was deeply learned, without possessing useful knowledge; sagacious in many individual cases, without having real wisdom; fond of his power, and desirous to maintain and augment it, yet willing to resign the direction of that and of himself, to the most unworthy favourites; a big and bold assertor of his rights in words, yet one who

histories. It is not only full of interest and curiosity, but is written throughout with the temperance, impartiality, and dispassionate judgment of a true historian, and in a style always lucid and succinct, and frequently both animated and elegant. We regret that it did not fall into our hands till the public opinion had been so decidedly pronounced on it as to make it unnecessary, if not presumptuous, in us to interpose our own. We can only say, that we are now fully inclined to trust her with the continuation of the work she has begun; and earnestly exhort her to proceed to the reigns of the two Charleses, and the Protector who steps between them—in all respects the most difficult and important part of our national story.

tamely saw them trampled on in deeds; a lover of negotiations, in which he was always outwitted; and a fearer of war, where conquest might have been easy. He was fond of his dignity, while he was perpetually degrading it by undue familiarity; capable of much public labour, yet often neglecting it for the meanest amusement; a wit, though a pedant; and a scholar, though fond of the conversation of the ignorant and uneducated. Even his timidity of temper was not uniform, and there were moments of his life, and those critical, in which he showed the spirit of his ancestors. He was laborious in trifles, and a trifter where serious labour was required; devout in his sentiments, and yet too often profane in his language; just and beneficent by nature, he yet gave way to the iniquities and oppression of others. He was penurious respecting money which he had to give from his own hand, yet inconsiderately and unboundedly profuse of that which he did not see. In a word, those good qualities which displayed themselves in particular cases and occasions, were not of a nature sufficiently firm and comprehensive to regulate his general conduct; and, showing themselves as they occasionally did, only entitled James to the character bestowed on him by Sully—that he was the wisest fool in Christendom.—That the fortunes of this monarch might be as little of a piece as his character, he, certainly the least able of the Stuarts, succeeded peaceably to that kingdom, against the power of which his predecessors had, with so much difficulty, defended his native throne. And, lastly, although his reign appeared calculated to ensure to Great Britain that lasting tranquillity and internal peace which so much suited the King's disposition, yet, during that very reign, were sown those seeds of dissension, which, like the teeth of the fabulous dragon, had their harvest in a bloody and universal civil war.

Such was the monarch, who, saluting Heriot familiarly by the name of Jingling Geordie, (for it was his well-known custom to give nick-names to all his familiars), inquired what new clatter-traps he had brought with him, to cheat his lawful and native Prince out of his siller.—“God forbid, my liege,” said the citizen, “that I should have any such disloyal purpose. I did but bring a piece of plate to show to your most gracious Majesty, which, both for the subject and for the workmanship, I were loth to put into the hands of any subject until I knew your Majesty's pleasure anent it.”—“Body o' me, man, let's see it, Heriot; though, by my saul, Steenie's service o' plate was sae dear a bargain, I had 'maist pawned my word as a Royal King, to keep my ain gold and silver in future, and let you, Geordie, keep yours.”—“Respecting the Duke of Buckingham's plate,” said the goldsmith, “your Majesty was pleased to direct that no expense should be spared, and——”—“What signifies what I desired, man? when a wise man is with fules and bairns, he maun e'ep play at the chucks. But you should have had mair sense and consideration than to gie Babie Charles and Steenie their ain gate; they wad hae floored the very rooms wi' silver, and I wouder they didna.”—George Heriot bowed, and said no more. He

knew his master too well to vindicate himself otherwise than by a distant allusion to his order; and James, with whom economy was only a transient and momentary twinge of conscience, became immediately afterwards desirous to see the piece of plate which the goldsmith proposed to exhibit, and despatched Maxwell to bring it to his presence. In the mean time he demanded of the citizen whence he had procured it.—“From Italy, may it please your Majesty,” replied Heriot.—“It has naething in it tending to papestrie?” said the King, looking graver than his wont.—“Surely not, please your Majesty,” said Heriot; “I were not wise to bring any thing to your presence that had the mark of the beast.”—“You would be the mair beast yourself to do so,” said the King; “it is well kenn’d that I wrestled wi’ Dagon in my youth, and smote him on the groundsill of his own temple; a gude evidence that I should be in time called, however unworthy, the Defender of the Faith.—But here comes Maxwell, bending under his burthen, like the Golden Ass of Apuleius.”—Heriot hastened to relieve the usher, and to place the embossed salver, for such it was, and of extraordinary dimensions, in a light favourable for his Majesty’s viewing the sculpture.—“Saul of my body, man,” said the King, “it is a curious piece, and, as I think, fit for a King’s chalmer; and the subject, as you say, Master George, vera adequate and beseeming—being, as I see, the judgment of Solomon—a prince in whose paths it weel becomes a’ leeving monarchs to walk with emulation.”—“But whose footsteps,” said Maxwell, “only one of them—if a subject may say so much—hath ever overtaken.”—“Haud your tongue, for a fause fleeching loun,” said the King, but with a smile on his face that shewed the flattery had done its part. “Look at the bonnie piece of workmanship, and haud your clavering tongue.—And whase handy work may it be, Geordie?”—“It was wrought, sir,” replied the goldsmith, “by the famous Florentine, Benvenuto Cellini, and designed for Francis the First of France; but I hope it will find a fitter master.”—“Francis of France!” said the King; “send Solomon, King of the Jews, to Francis of France!—Body of me, man, it would have kythed Cellini mad, had he never done ony thing else out of the gate. Francis!—why, he was a fighting fule, man—a mere fighting fule,—got himsell ta’en at Pavia, like our ain David at Durham lang syne;—if they could hae sent him Solomon’s wit, and love of peace and godliness, they wad hae dune him a better turn. But Solomon should sit in other gate company than Francis of France.”—“I trust that such will be his good fortune,” said Heriot.—“It is a curious and vera artificial sculpture,” said the King, in continuation; but yet, methinks, the carnifex, or executioner there, is brandishing his gulley ower near the King’s face, seeing he is within reach of his weapon. I think less wisdom than Solomon’s wald have taught him that there was danger in edge-tools, and that he wald have bidden the smaik either sheath his shable, or stand farther back.”—George Heriot endeavoured to alleviate this objection,

by assuring the King that the vicinity betwixt Solomon and the executioner was nearer in appearance than in reality, and that the perspective should be allowed for.—“Gang to the de’il wi’ your perspective, man,” said the King; “there canna be a waur prospective for a lawfu’ king, wha wishes to reign in luvie, and die in peace and honour, than to have naked swords flashing in his een. I am accounted as brave as maist folks; and yet I profess to ye I could never look on a bare blade without blinking and winking. But a’ thegeather it is a brave piece;—and what is the price of it, man?”—I. 124–133.

There is another scene which we are tempted to extract as bringing both the King and the redoubted Richard Moniplies into action,—though it does no justice to the loquacity, sagacity, stiffness, and self-conceit of the latter personage. He had, by means which it would be tedious here to describe, farther than that they were honest ones, got possession of certain Crown-jewels which had been impledged by Heriot, and which he had privately announced to the King that he would restore, if indulged with a private interview. James consents to this proposal, and the interview proceeds as follows.

‘Most men of Richie’s birth and breeding, and many others, would have been abashed at finding themselves alone with their Sovereign. But Richie Moniplies had an opinion of himself too high to be controlled by any such ideas; and having made his stiff reverence, he arose once more into his perpendicular height, and stood before James as stiff as a hedge-stake. “Have ye gotten them, man? have ye gotten them?” said the King, in a fluttered state, betwixt hope and eagerness, and some touch of suspicious fear. “Gie me them—gie me them—before ye speak a word, I charge you on your allegiance.” Richie took a box from his bosom, and stooping on one knee, presented it to his Majesty, who hastily opened it, and having ascertained that it contained a certain carcanet of rubies, with which the reader was formerly made acquainted, he could not resist falling into a sort of rapture, kissing the gems, as if they had been capable of feeling, and repeating again and again with childish delight, “*Onyx cum prole, silexque—Onyx cum prole!* Ah, my bright and bonnie sparklers, my heart louns light to see you again.” He then turned to Richie, upon whose stoical countenance his Majesty’s demeanour had excited something like a grim smile, which James interrupted his rejoicing to reprehend, saying, “Take heed, sir, you are not to laugh at us—we are your anointed Sovereign.” “God forbid that I should laugh!” said Richie, composing his countenance into its natural rigidity. “I did but smile, to bring my visage into coincidence and conformity with your Majesty’s physiognomy.” “Ye speak as a dutiful subject, and an honest man,” said the King; “but what de’il’s your name, man?” “Even Richie Moniplies, the son of auld Mungo Moniplies, at the West Port of Edinburgh, who had

the honour to supply your Majesty's mother's royal table, as weel as your Majesty's, with flesh, and other vivers, when time was."

"Aha!" said the King laughing,—for he possessed, as an useful attribute of his situation, a tenacious memory, which recollected every one with whom he was brought into casual contact,—“Ye are the self-same traitor who had weel nigh coupit us endlang on the causey of our ain court-yard? but we stuck by our mare. *Equam memento rebus in arduis servare*. Weel, be not dismayed, Richie; for, as many men have turned traitors, it is but fair that a traitor, now and then, suld prove to be, *contra expectanda*, a true man. How cam ye by our jewels, man?—cam ye on the part of George Heriot?”

“In no sort,” said Richie. “May it please your Majesty, I come as Harry Wynd fought, utterly for my own hand, and on no man's errand; as, indeed, I call no one master, save Him that made me, your most gracious Majesty who governs me, and the noble Nigel Olifaunt, Lord of Glenvarloch, who maintained me as lang as he could maintain himself, poor nobleman!”

“Glenvarlochides again!” exclaimed the King; “by my honour he lies in ambush for us at every corner.—Maxwell knocks at the door. It is George Heriot come to tell us he cannot find these jewels.—Get thee behind the arras, Richie—stand close, man—sneeze not—cough not—breathe not!—Jingling Geordie is so damnably rardy with his gold-ends of wisdom, and sae accursedly backward with his gold-ends of siller, that, by our royal saul, we are glad to get a hair in his neck.”

Richie got behind the arras, in obedience to the commands of the good-natured King, while the Monarch, who never allowed his dignity to stand in the way of a frolic, having adjusted, with his own hand, the tapestry, so as to conceal the ambush, commanded Maxwell to tell him what was the matter without. Maxwell's reply was so low as to be lost by Richie Moniplies, the peculiarity of whose situation by no means abated his curiosity and desire to gratify it to the uttermost. “Let Geordie Heriot come in,” said the King; and, as Richie could observe through a slit in the tapestry, the honest citizen, if not actually agitated, was at least discomposed. The King, whose talent for wit, or humour, was precisely of a kind to be gratified by such a scene as ensued, received his homage with coldness, and began to talk to him with an air of serious dignity, very different from the usual indecorous levity of his behaviour. “Master Heriot,” he said, “if we aright remember, we opignorated in your hands certain jewels of the Crown, for a certain sum of money—Did we, or did we not?”

“My most gracious Sovereign,” said Heriot, “indisputably your Majesty was pleased to do so.”

“The property of which jewels and *cimelia* remained with us,” continued the King, in the same solemn tone, “subject only to your claim of advance thereupon.”

Then follows a long prosing and very characteristic argumentation, ending in this pithy interrogation—

“ And now, man, what for have ye not brought back the jewels ? they are surely above ground, if ye wald make strict search.” “ All strict search has been made, may it please your Majesty,” replied the citizen ; “ hue and cry has been sent out everywhere, and it has been found impossible to recover them.” “ Difficult, ye mean, Geordie, not impossible,” replied the King ; “ for that whilk is impossible, is either naturally so, *exempli gratia*, to make two into three ; or morally so, as to make what is truth falsehood ; but what is only difficult may come to pass, with assistance of wisdom and patience ; as, for example, Jingling Geordie, look here !” And he displayed the recovered treasure to the eyes of the astonished jeweller, exclaiming, with great triumph, “ What say ye to that, Jingler ? By my sceptre and crown, the man stares as if he took his native prince for a warlock ! us, that are the very *malleus maleficarum*, the contending and contritulating hammer of all witches, sorcerers, magicians, and the like ; he thinks we are taking a touch of the black art ourselfs ! But gang thy way, honest Geordie ; thou art a good plain man, but nane of the seven sages of Greece ; gang thy way, and mind the soothfast word which you spoke, small time syne, that there is one in this land that comes near to Solomon, King of Israel, in all his gifts, except in his love to strange women, forbye the daughter of Pharaoh.” If Heriot was surprised at seeing the jewels so unexpectedly produced at the moment the King was upbraiding him for the loss of them, this allusion to the reflection which had escaped him while conversing with Lord Glenvarloch, altogether completed his astonishment ; and the King was so delighted with the superiority which it gave him at the moment, that he rubbed his hands, chuckled, and, finally, his sense of dignity giving way to the full feeling of triumph, he threw himself into his easy-chair, and laughed with unconstrained violence till he lost his breath, and the tears ran plentifully down his cheeks as he strove to recover it. Meanwhile, the royal cachination was echoed out by a discordant and portentous laugh from behind the arras, like that of one who, little accustomed to give way to such emotions, feels himself at some particular impulse unable either to control or to modify his obstreperous mirth. Heriot turned his head with new surprise towards the place, from which sounds so unfitting the presence of a monarch seemed to burst with such emphatic clamour. The King too, somewhat sensible of the indecorum, rose up, wiped his eyes, and, saying,—“ Tod-lowrie, come out of your den,” he produced from behind the arras the length of Richie Monipplies, still laughing with as unrestrained mirth as ever did gossip at a country christening. “ Whisht, man, whisht, man,” said the King ; “ ye needna nigher that gait, like a cousser at a caup o’ corn, e’en though it was a pleasing jest, and our ain framing. And yet to see Jingling Geordie, that hauds himself so much the wiser than other folks—to see him, ha ! ha ! ha !—in the vein of Euclio apud Plautum, distressing himself to recover what was lying at his elbow—

Perii, interii, occidi—quo curram quo non curram—

Tene, tene, quem ? quis ? nescio—nihil video.

Ah! Geordie, your een are sharp enough to look after gowd and silver, gems, rubies, and the like of that, and yet ye kenna how to come by them when they are lost. Ay, ay—look at them, man—look at them—they are a' right and tight, sound and round, not a doublet crept in amongst them." George Heriot, when his first surprise was over, was too old a courtier to interrupt the King's imaginary triumph, although he darted a look of some displeasure at honest Richie, who still continued on what is usually termed the broad grin. He quietly examined the stones, and finding them all perfect, he honestly and sincerely congratulated his Majesty on the recovery of a treasure which could not have been lost without some dishonour to the crown; and asked to whom he himself was to pay the sums for which they had been pledged, observing that he had the money by him in readiness. "Ye are in a deevil of a hurry, when there is paying in the case, Geordie," said the King.—What's a' the haste, man? The jewels were restored by an honest, kindly countryman of ours. There he stands, and wha kens if he wants the money on the nail, or if he might not be as weel pleased wi' a bit rescript on our treasury some six months hence? Ye ken that our Exchequer is even at a low ebb just now, and ye cry pay, pay, pay, as if we had all the mines of Ophir." III. 208-213.

Though the scenes in Alsatia are by no means of an engaging character, they are drawn with so much force that we think it but fair to exhibit one of them. That of the murder is the most striking; but it is too terrible for our present humour; and we hesitate between that of the insolent domineering brutal drunkard, or of the professional bully. The last is perhaps the most amusing; and it is rather the shortest. This personage forces himself upon the privacy of the noble refugee, the evening after his arrival, in this guise.

'The noble Captain Colepepper or Peppercull, for he was known by both these names, and some others besides, had a martial and a swashing exterior, which, on the present occasion, was rendered yet more peculiar, by a patch covering his left eye and a part of the cheek. The sleeves of his thickset velvet jerken were polished and shone with grease—his buff gloves had huge tops, which reached almost to the elbow; his sword-belt, of the same materials, extended its breadth from his haunch-bone to his small ribs, and supported on the one side his large black-hilted back sword, on the other a dagger of like proportions. He paid his compliments to Nigel with that air of predetermined effrontery, which announces that it will not be repelled by any coldness of reception, asked Trapbois how he did, by the familiar title of old Peter Pillory, and then seizing upon the black jack, emptied it off at a draught, to the health of the last and youngest freeman of Alsatia, the noble and loving Master Nigel Grahame.

'When he had set down the empty pitcher and drawn his breath,

he began to criticise the liquor which it had lately contained.—“Sufficient single beer, old Pillory—and, as I take it, brewed at the rate of a nutshell of malt to a butt of Thames—as dead as a corpse too, and yet it went hissing down my throat—bubbling, by Jove, like water upon hot iron.—You left us early, noble Master Grahame, but, good faith, we had a carouse to your honour—we heard *butt* ring hollow ere we parted; we were as loving as inkleweavers—we fought too, to finish off the gawdy. I bear some marks of the parson about me, you see—a note of the sermon or so, which should have been addressed to my ear, but missed its mark and reached my left eye. The man of God bears my sign-manual too, but the Duke made us friends again, and it cost me more sack than I could carry, and all the Rhenish to boot, to pledge the seer in the way of love and reconciliation.—But Caracco! ’tis a vile old canting slave for all that, whom I will one day beat out of his devil’s livery into all the colours of the rainbow.”—“Captain,” said Trapbois, “I was upon some little business with our noble friend here, Master Nigel Green—ugh, ugh, ugh—”—“And you would have me gone, I warrant you,” answered the bully; “but patience, old Pillory, thine hour is not yet come, man—You see,” he said, pointing to the casket, “that noble Master Grahame, whom you call Green, has got the *decuses* and the *smelts*.”—“Which you would willingly rid him of, ha! ha!—ugh, ugh,” answered the usurer, “if you knew how—but lack-a-day, thou art one of those that come out for wool, and are sure to go home shorn. Why now, but that I am sworn against laying of wagers, I would risk some consideration that this honest guest of mine sends thee home penniless, if thou darest venture with him—ugh, ugh—at any game which gentlemen play at.”—“Marry, thou hast me on the hip there, thou old miserly coney-catcher!” answered the Captain, taking a bale of dice from the sleeve of his coat; “I must always keep company with these damnable doctors, and they have made me every baby’s cully, and purged my purse into an atrophy; but never mind, it passes the time as well as aught else—How say you, Master Grahame?”—The fellow paused; but even the extremity of his impudence could hardly withstand the cold look of utter contempt with which Nigel received his proposal, returning it with a simple, “I only play where I know my company, and never in the morning.”—“Cards may be more agreeable, said Captain Colepepper; “and for knowing your company, here is honest old Pillory will tell you Jack Colepepper plays as truly on the square as e’er a man that trowled a die.—Men talk of high and low dice, Fulhams and bristles, topping, knapping, slurring, stabbing, and a hundred ways of rooking besides; but broil me like a rasher of bacon, if I could ever learn the trick on ’em.”—“You have got the vocabulary perfect, Sir, at the least,” said Nigel, in the same cold tone.—“Yes, by mine honour have I,” returned the Hector; “they are phrases that a gentleman learns about town.—But perhaps you would like a set at tennis, or a game at balloon—

—we have an indifferent good court hard by here, and a set of as gentleman-like blades as ever banged leather against brick and mortar.”—“ I beg to be excused at present,” said Lord Glenvarloch; “ and to be plain, among the valuable privileges your society has conferred on me, I hope I may reckon that of being private in my own apartment when I have a mind.”—“ Your humble servant, Sir,” said the Captain; “ and I thank you for your civility—Jack Colepepper can have enough of company, and thrusts himself on no one.—But perhaps you will like to make a match at skittles?”—“ I am by no means that way disposed,” replied the young nobleman.—“ Or to leap a flea—run a snail—match a wherry?”—“ No—I will do none of these,” answered Nigel.—Here the old man, who had been watching with his little peery eyes, pulled the bulky Hector by the skirt, and whispered, “ Do not vapour him the huff, it will not pass—let the trout play, he will rise to the hook presently.”—But the bully, confiding in his own strength, and probably mistaking for timidity the patient scorn with which Nigel received his proposals, incited also by the open casket, began to assume a louder and more threatening tone. He drew himself up, bent his brows, assumed a look of professional ferocity, and continued, “ In Alsatia, look ye, a man must be neighbourly and companionable. Zouns! Sir, we would slit any nose that was turned up at us honest fellows.—Ay, Sir, we would slit it up to the gristle, though it had smelt nothing all its life but musk, ambergrease, and court-scented water.—Rabbit me, I am a soldier, and care no more for a lord than a lamplighter.”—“ Are you seeking a quarrel, Sir?” said Nigel, calmly, having in truth no desire to engage himself in a discreditable broil in such a place, and with such a character.—“ Quarrel, Sir?” said the Captain; “ I am not seeking a quarrel, though I care not how soon I find one. Only I wish you to understand you must be neighbourly, that’s all. What if we should go over the water to the garden, and see a bull hanked this fine morning—’sdeath, will you do nothing?”—“ Something I am strangely tempted to do at this moment,” said Nigel.—“ Videlicet,” said Colepepper, with a swaggering air, “ let us hear the temptation.”—“ I am tempted to throw you headlong from the window, unless you presently make the best of your way down stairs.”—“ Throw me from the window?—hell and furies!” exclaimed the Captain; “ I have confronted twenty crooked sabres at Buda with my single rapier, and shall a chitty-faced beggarly Scotch lordling speak of me and a window in the same breath?—Stand off, old Pillory, let me make Scotch collops of him—he dies the death.”—“ For the love of heaven, gentlemen,” exclaimed the old miser, throwing himself between them, “ do not break the peace, on any consideration. Noble guest, forbear the captain—he is a very Hector of Troy—trusty Hector, forbear my guest, he is like to prove a very Achilles——”—Here he was interrupted by his asthma, but, nevertheless, continued to interpose his person between Colepepper (who had unsheathed his whinyard, and

was making vain passes at his antagonist) and Nigel, who had stepped back to take his sword, and now held it undrawn in his left hand. —“ Make an end of this foolery, you scoundrel ! ” said Nigel—Do you come hither to vent your noisy oaths and your bottled-up valour on me? You seem to know me, and I am half ashamed to say I have at length been able to recollect you—remember the garden behind the ordinary, you dastardly ruffian, and the speed with which fifty men saw you run from a drawn sword.—Get you gone, Sir, and do not put me to the vile labour of cudgelling such a cowardly rascal down stairs.”—The bully’s countenance grew as dark as night at this unexpected recognition; for he had undoubtedly thought himself secure in his change of dress, and his black patch, from being discovered by a person who had seen him but once. He set his teeth, clenched his hands, and it seemed as if he was seeking for a moment’s courage to fly upon his antagonist. But his heart failed, he sheathed his sword, turned his back in gloomy silence, and spoke not until he reached the door, when, turning round, he said, with a deep oath, “ If I be not avenged of you for this insolence ere many days go by, I would the gallows had my body and the devil my spirit ! ” II. 279—288.

We should like to give some touches of my Lord Dalgarno, who is very lively and witty, and represents all the gallantry and profligacy of the time—and also of the worthy Earl his father, who figures as the type of the ruder and more uncorrupted age that preceded. We are sorely tempted, too, to produce a sample of Jin Vin the smart apprentice, and of the mixed childishness and heroism of Margaret Ramsay, and the native loftiness and austere candour of Martha Trapbois, and the humour of Dame Suddlechops, and divers other seducing persons and things. But the rule we have laid down to ourselves of abstaining from large citations from well known books, must not be farther broken, in the very hour of its enactment;—and, contenting ourselves with the quotations already made, we shall now conclude with a few such general remarks on the work before us, as we already bestowed on some other performances, probably no longer so familiar to most of our readers.

We do not think, then, that it is a work either of so much genius or so much interest as *Kenilworth* or *Ivanhoe*, or the earlier historical novels of the same author—and yet there be readers who will in all likelihood prefer it to those books,—and that for the very reasons which induce us to place it beneath them. These reasons are, 1st, that the scene is all in London—and that the piece is consequently deprived of the interest and variety derived from the beautiful descriptions of natural scenery, and the still more beautiful combination of its features and expres-

sion, with the feelings of the living agents, which abound in those other works. *2d*, That the characters are more entirely borrowed from the written memorials of the age to which they refer, and less from that eternal and universal nature which is of all ages, than in any of his former works. The plays of that great dramatic era, and the letters and memoirs which have been preserved in such abundance, have made all diligent readers familiar with the peculiarities by which it was marked. But unluckily the taste of these writers was quaint and fantastical; and, though their representations necessarily give us a true enough picture of the fashions and follies of the time, it is obviously a distorted and exaggerated picture—and their characters plainly both speak and act as no living men ever did conduct or express themselves. Now, this style of caricature is too palpably copied in the work before us,—and, though somewhat softened and relaxed by the good sense of the author, is still so prevalent, that most of his characters strike us rather as whimsical humourists or affected maskers, than as faithful copies of the society of any historical period; and though they may afford great delight to such slender wits as think the commentators on Shakespeare the greatest men in the world, and here find their little archæological persons made something less inconceivable than usual, they cannot fail to offend and disappoint all those who hold that nature alone must be the source of all natural interest. *3dly*, We object to this work, as compared with those to which we have alluded, that the interest is more that of situation, and less of character or action, than in any of the former. The hero is not so much an actor or a sufferer in most of the events represented, as a spectator. With comparatively little to do in the business of the scene, he is merely placed in the front of it, to look on with the reader as it passes. He has an ordinary and slow-moving suit at court—and, *a propos* of this—all the humours and oddities of the sovereign are exhibited in rich and splendid detail. He is obliged to take refuge for a day in Whitefriars—and all the horrors and atrocities of the Sanctuary are spread out before us through the greater part of a volume. Two or three murders are committed, in which he has no interest, and no other part than that of being accidentally present. His own scanty part, in short, is performed in the vicinity of a number of other separate transactions; and this mere juxtaposition is made an apology for stringing them all up together into one historical romance. We should not care very much if this only destroyed the unity of the piece—but it sensibly weakens its interest—and reduces it from the rank of a comprehensive and engaging

narrative, in which every event gives and receives importance from its connexion with the rest, to that of a mere collection of sketches relating to the same period and state of society.

The character of the hero, we also think, is more than usually a failure. He is not only a reasonable and discreet person, for whose prosperity we need feel no great apprehension, but he is gratuitously debased by certain infirmities of a mean and somewhat sordid description, which suit remarkably ill with the heroic character. His prudent deportment at the gaming table, and his repeated borrowings of money, have been already hinted at; and we may add, that when interrogated by Heriot about the disguised damsel who is found with him in the Tower, he makes up a false story for the occasion, with a cool promptitude of invention, which reminds us more of Joseph Surface and his French milliner, than of the high-minded son of a stern puritanical Baron of Scotland.

These are the chief faults of the work, and they are not slight ones. Its merits do not require to be specified. They embrace all to which we have not specially objected. The general brilliancy and force of the colouring, the ease and spirit of the design, and the strong touches of character, are all such as we have long admired in the best works of the author. Besides the King and Richie Moniplies, at whose merits we have already hinted, it would be unjust to pass over the prodigious strength of writing that distinguishes the part of Mrs Martha Trapbois, and the inimitable scenes, though of a coarse and revolting complexion, with Duke Hildebrod and the miser of Alsatia. The Templar Lowestoffe, and Jin Vin, the aspiring apprentice, are excellent sketches of their kind. So are John Christie and his frail dame. Lord Dalgarno is more questionable. There are passages of infinite spirit and ability in this part; but he turns out too atrocious. Sir Mungo Malagrowth wears us, and so does the horologist Ramsay—because they are both exaggerated and unnatural characters. We scarcely see enough of Margaret Ramsay to forgive her all her irregularities and her high fortune. But a great deal certainly of what we do see is charmingly executed. Dame Ursula is something between the vulgar gossiping of Mrs Quickly in the Merry Wives of Windsor, and the atrocities of Mrs Turner and Lady Suffolk; and it is rather a contamination of Margaret's purity to have used such counsel.

We have named them all now, or nearly—and must at length conclude. Indeed, nothing but the fascination of this author's pen, and the difficulty of getting away from him, could have induced us to be so particular in our notices of a story, the de-

tails of which will so soon be driven out of our heads by other details as interesting,—and as little fated to be remembered. There are other two books coming, we hear, in the course of the winter; and by the time there are four or five, that is, in about eighteen months hence, we must hold ourselves prepared to give some account of them.

ART. IX. *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society.*
Vol. I. Part I. pp. 201. Cambridge, printed at the University Press. 1821.

ABOUT two years and a half ago, several persons of liberal views in the University of Cambridge established a Society for the promotion of Scientific Inquiry, by bringing together those who might wish to carry their ideas beyond the ordinary routine of academical pursuits, and enabling them to communicate, first to each other, and afterwards to the world, the results of their researches or observations. It is impossible to praise too highly this very useful design, whether we regard the place or the time of its conception. In Cambridge, there must always be a great number of men devoted to scientific pursuits; but, from the want both of the facilities and the excitements furnished by such an association, apt to lose the spirit of original investigation;—a remark peculiarly applicable to those young men who yearly distinguish themselves in the favourite studies of the University,—and who, after the laborious course of discipline by which they have attained the first object of their ambition, are prone, if left alone, to become the mere instruments for enabling others to pursue the same course. These persons are placed in circumstances admirably calculated to carry them through difficult and important inquiries. They have been habituated to the most severe studies; their knowledge is fresh, and impressed with peculiar liveliness upon their minds. If they have been somewhat fatigued by the unremitting attention recently exacted from them, a short interval of relaxation, and the want of their accustomed occupation, is likely to brace their faculties to new efforts with redoubled zeal; they are, as it were, in excellent training for the more abstruse branches of science, and more than a match for the obstacles with which they may have to grapple in the more arduous departments of experimental philosophy. We understand, moreover, that in all classes of persons at the University, there exists, at present, a more than ordinary disposition for original investigation. No time, then, could have been more opportune for the formation

of this institution ; and as it is likely, under good management, to produce important benefits, so we can descry no risk to which it is exposed of doing mischief. For surely there is little to be apprehended of evil from its interference with the Royal Society. That venerable body will always have a sufficient preference to secure for its Transactions the contributions of scientific men from all parts of the empire, while the sphere of the Cambridge Society is necessarily confined ; and perhaps we might venture to suggest, that a little rivalry would, should it arise, not be very prejudicial even to so illustrious an Institution. Certain it is, that of late there seems a little carelessness in the selection of the papers published in its Memoirs. Of the fifteen which form the last part (Part II. 1820), seven are upon medical subjects, for the most part such as can only interest professional readers ; and of these, five are written by the same individual.

The volume now before us contains the first fruits of the new Society's labours ; and it more than realizes any expectations that could have been reasonably formed. We purposely pass over the rules and regulations for the present ; because the most incontestable proof of the plan being good, and the conduct of the Institution's affairs successful, is afforded by the produce, to which we shall therefore direct our attention. We cannot, of course, minutely examine each of the papers ; we shall dwell only on those of the greatest importance.

The first is upon *Iso-metrical Perspective* ; and its author is the much respected President of the Society, Professor Farish. This gentleman having occasion, in the course of his Lectures, to exhibit models of the machinery used in the manufactures of this island, found it convenient to have the various parts which are common to most machines so adapted to each other, that they might, by a little management, be connected together in different combinations, and thus form the groundwork, as it were, of any machine he might find it necessary to construct. This is obviously much more convenient than having a separate model of each machine, and is attended with no greater difficulty than this, that a drawing, or other representation, must be made of each model, in order to enable the Professor's assistant to build any one of them without further directions or superintendence. To discover the best method of making such a representation was, therefore, an object of importance ; and this paper, the first that was read before the Society, contains the result of Mr Farish's inquiries upon the subject.

Every one at all acquainted with common perspective, knows that there are one or more points, according to the number and directions of the planes of the objects, to which all lines in those

planes respectively tend; and that those points are placed in what is called the horizontal line, which is on a level with the eye of the spectator. Now, as these vanishing points are all at a finite distance from the object, the lines which converge to them, and which are parallel in nature, are by no means so in the representation, and consequently their relative magnitudes are essentially changed, and the ratio they bear to the corresponding lines in the original cannot be easily found; so that the picture will be no guide, as a scale from which to construct the different parts of the object it represents. The Professor obviates this difficulty, by applying the simple principle of Orthographic projection. Taking a cube as the object to be represented, he supposes the eye placed in the diagonal of the cube produced, the drawing-paper being perpendicular to that diagonal. Then, if the eye be removed to an infinite distance, it is obvious that all lines drawn from any points in the cube to the eye may be considered as perpendicular to the paper. The cube will in this manner be *projected*, and the outline of the projection will be a regular hexagon, with vertical sides, and an angle at top and bottom. There will also be three interior lines which will join the centre and the alternate angles; of these, that which is vertical will pass from the centre to the lowest angle, supposing the upper surface of the cube to be visible. Now, the hexagon being equiangular and equilateral, those three lines are equal to one another in that projection, as they also are in the cube itself; and all other lines in the object parallel to any of those three radii, will bear the same proportion to them that they bear to the sides of the cube. They are thus reduced to a scale, and may, without difficulty, be compared with the three *radii*, which are called the *Isometrical lines*; or, as the Professor more fully denominates them, the *dexter, vertical, and sinister, isometrical lines*. It is also necessary to mention, that the angle at the centre contained by any two of the isometrical lines, is an angle of 120° ; and the angle contained by any one of them, and a side of the hexagon, is an angle of 60° ; hence, in representations upon this principle, all right angles appear either as angles of 120° , or of 60° .

The application of the method is sufficiently simple, at least for the purpose of exhibiting correct drawings of such regular objects as machines, the principal lines of which lie generally in three directions, parallel to the sides of a cube; and if there be any lines which are not in those directions, their position can be found without difficulty, by referring their extremities to the planes passing through the isometrical lines; and the position of the points being thus found in the picture, the lines themselves

so drawn are reduced to the same scale with the rest. Wheels which usually lie in the isometrical planes are represented in perspective by ellipses, in which the two axes and the isometrical diameters are in a given ratio. And as a circle drawn upon either of the three planes is always an ellipse of the same form, the axis being an isometrical line which coincides with the conjugate axis of the ellipse, wheels may be drawn as easily as straight lines. Also, as the diameters of the circle, which are drawn through the points of contact of the circle with the circumscribing figure, are isometrical lines, the true diameters of the wheel are obtained, reduced to the required scale. If there be any wheels which do not lie in an isometrical plane, their position may be found by observing, that the transverse axis of the ellipse will be the same in whatever plane it lies; and this axis is known by finding that diameter which is the intersection of the wheel with the plane parallel to the picture, passing through its centre; and the transverse axis is to the conjugate as radius to the sine of the angle which the wheel makes with the plane of vision.

From this sketch it is evident, that the method is particularly well calculated for the representation of regular objects, both because it exhibits the different parts at one view with distinctness, and because it gives every part in exact proportion. The author, however, goes somewhat further than we can be so sanguine as to follow him, in his prospects of its application to irregular bodies. He thinks it may be useful in representing objects of natural history; and become to 'those agriculturists who have of late years so much improved the breeds of our cattle, the means of explaining their ideas with precision on the points to which they wish to call the attention of their readers.' p. 15. For the rest, we believe that somewhat of the same method is used by engineers in representing fortifications; but we are not aware that the practical application of it has been so simplified by any former writer upon the subject.

The two next papers are by Mr Herschel upon Polarized Light, and possess great interest.

It was remarked by Dr Brewster, (Phil. Trans. 1818, p. 243.), when treating of crystals which develop tints by exposure to polarized light, that in almost all crystals having two axes of double refraction, the tints near the resultant axis deviate from the succession of colours in the laminæ as observed by Newton in his scale. Dr Brewster attributed this deviation to the thickness of the plates; but did not in that paper enter into any formal discussion respecting this phenomenon. The same disagreement with the order of colours in Newton's table, struck

Mr Herschel, during some experiments he was performing on polarized light. At first, he ascribed the dissimilarity to certain irregularities in the structure of the crystals, or to inequalities in their thickness, occasioned by imperfections in the process of grinding and polishing their surfaces. But perceiving the same deviation uniformly repeated in the most perfect specimens, he considered the subject worthy of more serious investigation; especially as the phenomena appeared to be at variance with Biot's theory of tints, which, in fact, can only be admitted as an explanation of the tints in crystals with one axis of double refraction. Mr Herschel accordingly turned his attention to this curious effect of polarized light, and his first paper upon the subject appeared in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1820. Of the two communications before us, the first contains an account of experiments made on crystals with one axis, for the purpose of reconciling, if possible, the singular diversity which seems to exist among crystals of this class, in their polarization of the differently coloured rays. We cannot, however, enter into the subject-matter of this paper, until we have adverted to some results materially connected with it, contained in the author's former Tract. Suppose the principal section of a crystal so placed, that the axis of the system of rings passing through their pole and centre, may make an angle of 45° with the plane of the primitive polarization (*See Ed. Rev.* vol. xxxii. p. 182.), it will appear in certain crystals, that the tints between the real poles correspond to lower orders of colour, than would result if those poles were assumed as the commencement of the scale; but that the tints will coincide much more nearly with the order in Newton's scale, if two other poles are assumed, lying somewhere beyond the real poles, as the origin of the scale. It will also appear, that the tints beyond the real poles continue to ascend to the assumed poles, where they attain their maximum colours, which is either white or perfect black, and then descend to infinity. On the contrary, with crystals of a different sort, the assumed poles must be taken within the actual poles, in order to produce the nearest possible agreement with Newton's scale; and even with these corrections, there is in almost every instance, a slight deviation. In all the crystals, as the thickness of the plate is increased, the tint developed in the real poles descends in the scale; and therefore the distance between them and the real poles must be increased. The thinner the plate, the nearer the tints approximate to Newton's scale; while in very thick plates, the tint in the poles is the composite white of the extremity of the scale. It may also be necessary to observe,

that the angular distance of the assumed poles from each other, and from the axes, is the same for all thicknesses.

At first, Mr Herschel conceived that these phenomena might be explained by the hypothesis which M. Biot offered to account for the secondary tints produced along the axis of rock crystal; namely, that of a force inherent in the molecules of the crystals, causing a rotatory motion in an invariable direction to the axis of polarization of the rays. This, however, he found inadequate; and a more probable explanation seemed to be afforded, by the supposition that the crystal exerted upon the differently coloured rays a peculiar action, analogous to its ordinary or extraordinary dispersive power, which by lengthening the periods of alternate polarization of the molecules in some colours, and contracting them in others, might fix the exact proportion to their periods of easy reflection and transmission shown by M. Biot to be necessary for producing the tints of Newton's scale. But this supposition alone will not suffice; and in proving its inadequacy to explain the phenomena, Mr Herschel is led to a result which is reconcileable to most of the appearances observed by him. If we suppose the length of a complete fit of easy transmission and reflexion at a perpendicular incidence for any homogeneous ray, to be represented by c , its colour and proportional intensity in the prismatic spectrum being denoted by C ; a beam of white light will be expressed by such a formula as $C + C' + C'' + \dots$, throughout the spectrum. Now, if n be the number of periods or parts of a period performed by the pencil C in its passage through the medium, then, by Biot's theory, according to the value of n , the pencil will pass wholly into the ordinary, or wholly into the extraordinary image, or partly into one, and partly into the other. But Mr Herschel assures us, that all the conditions which result from giving different values to n , will be satisfied by assuming $\sin^2(n\pi)$ to represent the intensity of the ray in the ordinary image; an assumption which we do not mean to dispute, though it certainly is somewhat arbitrary, because it seems sufficient for the present reasoning to express the intensity by some function of n . Now, n depends on the nature of the ray, on the action exerted upon it by the medium, on the direction of the ray, and on the thickness of the plate, and any other circumstance that may affect the periods. Let n , therefore, be taken equal to $M \cdot k$, k being a function of c , dependent on the nature only of the body through which the ray C passes, and M varying with the direction of the ray and thickness of the plate alone, and therefore being the same for all coloured rays; an expression of the form $C \cdot f(M \cdot k) + \dots$

$C'f(M.k') + C''f(M.k'') +$, &c., will denote the tint for any value of M . Now, by a variation in the direction of the ray or thickness of the plate, let M pass through every value, from zero to the utmost increase of which it is capable; then it is evident, that for every value of M a particular tint will arise; and if M begin a zero, and go on increasing, the same succession of tints will always be produced in the same order. But upon this supposition that M is independent of c , Mr Herschel shows that the conclusions to which it leads are quite at variance with the results which he has detailed as to the development of colour in the actual poles, and the situation of the order of rings of the assumed poles; consequently, the theory of alternate polarization must either be abandoned, or M must be admitted to depend on the nature of the ray. Allowing this to be the case, it appears, that the value of n for a molecule of a given colour, will depend upon the angles which the direction of the molecule makes with the axes of double refraction of the crystal,—upon the nature of the ray and of the body through which it passes, and also upon the path described; that is, it must be a function of the form $\frac{R \cdot t}{\cos. \phi} \cdot f(\theta, \theta')$; θ, θ' being the angles, t the thickness of the plate, ϕ the angle of refraction; so that $\frac{t}{\cos. \phi}$ is the length of the path described. From this we have $\frac{t}{\cos. \phi} \cdot f(\theta, \theta')$ for the value of M , which by supposition is a function of c ; but t is manifestly independent of c ; and if the dispersive power be very small, ϕ is also independent of c ; therefore $f(\theta, \theta')$ must be a function of c , and that to which we must look for the cause of the phenomena. Now, θ' is equal to $(\theta + a)$, a being the angle between the axes; and as θ is arbitrary, we have a a function of c . Hence, then, it appears, that if the theory of alternation be applicable, we must admit, that the angle between the axes of double refraction varies in the same crystal for the differently coloured plates, the dispersion of the axes being more or less considerable, according to the nature of the substance. This being established, Mr Herschel proceeds to show, that the hypothesis agrees with the results which he had obtained from the examination of various crystals. These certainly seem sufficiently to corroborate it, affording also an additional proof that the theory of alternate polarization gives an adequate explanation of the phenomena of polarized rings.

He then goes on to investigate a method by which the amount of the separation of the extreme red and violet axes may be

obtained, and arrives at a formula which applies where the incidences are nearly perpendicular. It involves certain elements representing the minimum length of a double oscillation, or space passed over during one complete period of a ray transmitted perpendicular to both axes. These minimum oscillations are supposed to be proportional to the length of the fits of easy transmission and reflexion; a supposition found to be nearly correct in several crystals, especially in those of one axis, in which the tints do not differ essentially from those of Newton's scale. In sulphate of lime and mica, Mr Herschel assures us, that the law of proportionality is very accurate; and in sulphate of barytes we find, by applying the formula, that the apparent separation of the red and violet axes is $1^{\circ} 59' 20''$; and it was ascertained by actual admeasurement previous to the computation, that the separation amounted to $2^{\circ} 1' 30''$, the difference being only $2' 10''$. Hence, in this case, the hypothesis of the minimum oscillations being proportional to the lengths of the fits of easy transmission and reflexion, appears strictly admissible. But when the formula was applied to Rochelle salt, the apparent angle was found to be $6^{\circ} 4'$; and by the most accurate observations it was shown to be no less than $10^{\circ} 14'$; so that the assumption of proportionality failed entirely. It therefore became advisable to compute the actual values of the minimum oscillations; and these, compared with the values of the fits of easy transmission and reflexion in their corresponding colours, show that the forces of polarization and double refraction, in the case of Rochelle salt, act with greater energy on the more refrangible rays, than they do in the instance of sulphate of lime, mica, and the other crystals in which the proportionality is more strictly perceived; and therefore, even if the axes of double refraction were coincident in this salt, there would nevertheless be a sensible deviation from the colours of thin plates, attributable to a peculiarity in the law which regulates the length of the minimum oscillations of the differently coloured rays within the medium.

This secondary cause of deviation is very important, as it enables us to account for the phenomena in crystals, of one axis of double refraction, which cannot be referred to the dispersion of the axes of differently coloured rays; and we are thus brought to the paper more immediately before us, which contains, indeed, only a minute investigation of the deviation exhibited in a remarkable degree by the Apophyllite or Fish-eye stone, a crystal possessing only one axis of double refraction.

In the common variety of this stone, the tints commence at the centre of the rings, and increase in regular succession out-

wards, the order being the same for every thickness of plate. Hence the multiplier M is the same for all the rays; and hence also the axes of the colours are all united, and the assumed poles coincide with the real ones and with the centre. Indeed, any separation of the axes would have been detected by the ellipticity of the rings, when examined with homogeneous light of that colour from which they were furthest apart. It appears likewise, from the succession of colours which this crystal exhibits, that the action of polarized light is nearly the same for all the colours in the spectrum; and this led Mr Herschel to conjecture, that there might possibly be some bodies in which the law of proportionality is so modified, as to make the periods performed by a red ray shorter than even those of a violet ray. By a singular accident, he found this supposition unexpectedly verified in another specimen of Apophyllite, which he soon after chanced to examine. It differed from the ordinary variety in the tints of the rings which it exhibited, and exhibited such anomalous appearances as induced Mr Herschel to examine it more closely. It was about three-fourths of an inch in breadth, and about 0.27 in length; the structure lamellar; and a remarkable flaw appeared in the direction of the laminae. Through this flaw, the crystal was divided into two portions, which, when polished to remove the irregularities of their surfaces, were respectively 165900, and 94499 millionths of an inch in thickness. These were examined separately in polarized light, and an extraordinary difference appeared in the character of the rings they exhibited; the scale of tints in the rings of the *thicker* portion corresponding accurately with that in the common variety; while in the *thinner*, the succession was nearly an inversion of the Newtonian scale—the polarizing action appearing far greater upon the red rays than the violet. Mr Herschel calculated the value of this action on the rays of each colour, and also the length of the shortest period of alternate polarization which those rays are capable of performing within the crystal; and found, that the polarizing energy decreases rapidly, but regularly, from the extreme red to the blue rays; then suddenly sinks, and is so small, through the whole of the indigo and beginning of the violet, as to render even the first ring, at its maximum of illumination, scarcely measurable; then increases at the mean violet yet more rapidly than it fell; and, at the extreme violet, has a value somewhere between the values for the yellow and green. The value obtained for the thicker portion coincided very nearly with that for the ordinary variety, which he had before examined and described in the paper (already referred to) in the Philosophical Transactions;

and certainly this agreement, coupled with the coincidence between the scales of their tints, seems to establish their identity, while it marks the diversity between the thinner portion and each of them. In the *Edinburgh Transactions*, Dr Brewster has lately described the compound structure of a crystal of this kind, in which the first variety of apophyllite is united with another possessing two axes of double refraction, the one surrounding the other. But the specimen of Mr Herschel presents, as he asserts, the 'hitherto unique combination of no less than three distinct substances, having each but one axis of double refraction, uniting to form a single crystal, and following regular geometrical laws of juxtaposition.' When he examined the two plates, in the experiments already referred to, he selected the portions most transparent, and of the most uniform structure; he insulated them from the rest, by fixing them over poles one-eighth of an inch in diameter in sheet-lead; but when he exposed the whole plates to a polarized beam, each was observed to consist of two distinct compartments, the border being separated from the interior portion by a plane of junction, which in the thicker plate appeared, on inclining it, to be marked with a series of pretty broad coloured fringes. The most transparent part of this border was then examined, and indicated that the action of the polarizing power was stronger on the red and violet rays than on the intermediate ones; this action decreasing rapidly from the extreme red to the yellow, and then rising still more rapidly from that to the violet. We have constructed the following Table from the different computations and results in Mr Herschel's papers upon this subject, for the purpose of exhibiting at one glance the phenomena of the Apophyllite, and the particular deviations which appear in each variety.

Colours.	Minimum length of Period in each Variety.			Polarizing Power in each Variety.		
	In the common variety.	In the Second.	In the Third.	In the common variety.	In the Second.	In the Third.
Extreme Red	93.066	20.213	43.634	107.886	49.475	22.918
Mean Orange	which is	25.465	101.238	which is	39.270	9.378
Yellow	nearly the	30.374	366.020 +	nearly the	32.923	2.728
Green	value for	38.057	89.646	same for	26.277	11.155
Blue	all the o-	93.904	32.211	ther co-	10.649	31.040
Indigo	lours also.	250.000 +	21.947	lours.	4.000	45.565
Indigo Violet		250.000 +			4.000	
Mean Violet		45.992			21.743	
Extreme Violet		35.043	13.704		28.536	72.970

These observations appear to establish, with sufficient certainty, the compound structure of the Apophyllite. It also appears most probable that the phenomena are referable to laminae possessing distinct polarizing powers; and that the crystal is formed by the superposition and alternation of those laminae. But, in the present state of our knowledge upon this intricate subject, no conclusion can safely be drawn either as to their number or composition. Perhaps in the further prosecution of the inquiry, some useful suggestions may be derived from a chemical analysis of such specimens as exhibit the anomalous appearances.

Mr Herschel's other paper, also upon the subject of Polarization, is very short, and contains so happy an illustration of some phenomena connected with Biot's theory of rotation (a subject of considerable refinement), that we cannot forbear giving a sketch of it.

About three years ago, Biot communicated to the French Institute a series of experiments, from which it appeared, that if a plate of rock crystal be exposed to polarized light, transmitted through it in the direction of its axis of double refraction, it will displace the plane of polarization of the incident ray, turning it aside in a direction invariable for the same crystal, and through an angle always proportional to the thickness of the plate; so that at its egress the plane of polarization will be situated *as if it had revolved* within the crystal during the passage of the ray, with an uniform angular velocity depending on the nature of the ray; and that this rotation is constant for rays of the same colour, but varies for those of different colours, being greater for the more refrangible rays. It further appears, that although the *direction* of this rotation, with respect to the observer, is always the same for the same specimen of rock crystal, yet it differs in different specimens; and moreover, that this curious property is possessed by several other bodies, liquids as well as solids. We shall not here enter into a discussion of Biot's explanation, which makes the property depend upon certain properties inherent in molecules, and inducing a rotatory motion in these round the plane of polarization. All this is abundantly vague and unsatisfactory. But the singular fact, that the direction in which this plane is turned varies in different specimens of the same crystal, sometimes inclining to the right, sometimes to the left, of the observer, seems to give ground for inferring the existence of a peculiarity in the structure of the crystal not necessarily apparent in its external form. We formerly remarked the connexion between the optical properties of bodies, and their forms

as crystals, (Ed. Rev. xxxii. 190). From what is known of this analogy, it may fairly be conjectured, that irregularities in the crystalline form may cause deviations in the action of the body upon the rays of light.

While considering the property of rock-crystal, which we have been describing, Mr Herschel thought it probable that some want of symmetry in the faces of the crystal with respect to the axis, might occasion the phenomena in question. In some specimens of the quartz which Haüy calls the *plagiedral* variety, such unsymmetrical faces occur; that is, the faces tend in one uniform direction round the summit adjacent to them, making angles with the adjacent sides greater on one side than on the other. Among the plates of rock-crystal which Mr Herschel had in his possession, there happened to be one with two small plagiedral faces, leaning to the left when the vertex of the pyramid was uppermost. This being exposed to polarized light, it was found that, to an observer looking in the direction of the rays, the rotation of the plane was to the left, and, of course, to the right of a person receiving the ray in his eye. He afterwards procured a quartz crystal, with a plagiedral face leaning to the right; and his hypothesis was again verified by the observation. He has in all examined twenty-three crystals with such faces, and has uniformly found the fact corroborate the theory. We may therefore conclude, that the direction of rotation corresponds with the inclination of the unsymmetrical faces in the plagiedral variety of quartzose crystals. But when called upon to admit that this also proves those faces to be produced by the same cause which determines the displacement of the plane of polarization, we must hesitate, in the present state of our knowledge, with respect either to the internal economy of crystals, or to the action which a peculiar structure may exert upon light. Conjecture seems all that we can now indulge in; though we very willingly hope that so careful an inquirer, and so acute an observer as our author has shown himself, may be destined to turn this into demonstration.

Mr Herschel's papers are followed by one of Dr E. Clarke, which we do not feel enabled to rate so highly as we could have wished. It appears to throw but little light upon the subject. Our chemical readers are aware that gold has so feeble an attraction for oxygen, that the acids separately act upon it in a very slight degree. The nitro-muriatic, however, effects its solution; the muriatic disposing the gold, by a certain affinity, to attract oxygen from the nitric, and then uniting itself with the

oxide of gold.* The metal then, which is thus held in solution, is in a state of oxidation; but it is very difficult to ascertain the proportion in which it is combined with the oxygen, owing to the readiness with which its oxides are decomposed. Various substances decompose the solution of gold, and with very different results. For example, sulphurous acid precipitates it in a pure metallic state, the oxide of gold parting with its oxygen to the sulphurous acid. Again, nitrate of mercury, at a *maximum* of oxidation, having a greater affinity for muriatic acid than gold has, precipitates the gold, which is separated in its oxidized state, because the mercury was before saturated with oxygen. A solution of green sulphate of iron precipitates the gold, which is said to be in its metallic state, the iron taking the oxide from the gold, and becoming the red sulphate. The colour of the precipitate is a purple-red; but as Proust affirms that muriatic acid partially dissolves it, we may infer that it contains a portion of oxide. Lastly, muriate of tin, in a state of *minimum* oxidation, precipitates a fine purple powder, known by the name of the Purple Powder of Cassius, composed of the oxide† of tin and gold, chemically united; but whether the gold is in a metallic or oxidated state in this powder, chemists have not yet been able to determine. To settle this matter, is the object of Dr Clarke's paper; and as we think he has not succeeded, we shall offer to the reader the opinion which we have formed from the experiments and observations of other writers.

When the powder is analyzed by means of nitro-muriatic acid, ‡ the gold is dissolved, and the muriate of tin separated from it, with all the character of an oxide at a *maximum*. Its additional oxygen has therefore been acquired from the gold, and this it must have taken while in the act of precipitating it. (See *Thomson's Chemistry*, vol. II. p. 248., for the strong affinity of muriate of tin and oxygen.) We might be inclined to suspect that this surplus of oxygen was obtained from the nitric

* This is Bertholet's explanation of the process. The operation is supposed to be in some degree similar to that by which an acid assists the oxidation and solution of a metal, by enabling it to decompose water.

† Murray's *Chemistry*, vol. II. p. 192. Also Nicolson's *Journal*, vol. XIV. p. 241.

‡ This analysis was made by Proust, in the course of a series of experiments upon gold. *Annales de Chymie*, tom. XXVIII. Some of Proust's papers are translated in Nicolson's *Journal*, vol. XIV. from *Journal des Sciences*, tom. LXII.

acid; but Proust asserts, that he obtained tin in as high a state of oxidation by boiling the precipitate in muriatic acid. The extreme avidity of tin for oxygen, and the readiness with which gold parts with it, certainly favours this opinion, and might induce us to believe, that if the tin does not entirely deprive the gold of its oxygen, it leaves it in a state of the lowest possible oxidation. But the ground for supposing the gold in the powder of cassius to be an oxide, is, that a very strong electric discharge being passed through gold leaf exposed to atmospheric air, converts it into a purple or violet-coloured powder, which it does not, if the experiment be tried *in vacuo*.* Accordingly, the majority of chemists consider it to be in a state of oxidation. The question is in reality of little importance. The manufacture of the powder is not materially affected by the decision; for enough is known of its composition to satisfy us that the colour depends upon so many other things as render it hardly possible to make two preparations of it alike.

It remains to take notice of what Dr Clarke has done upon this subject; and its value, at least, lies within a narrow compass. He has given two analyses of the purple precipitate, neither of them conducted, as it appears, with any great care. Thus the first is an analysis of an alloy, obtained by fusing the purple powder, no regard being had to the quantity employed. The alloy is dissolved in nitro-muriatic acid, and from the solution a precipitate is formed; from the precipitate a black powder is separated (by means of sulphate of iron), equal in weight to one fourth of the alloy, and losing nothing when turned into pure gold before the blowpipe. Then finding that the rest of the precipitate is muriate of tin, he concludes, that it must contain a weight of tin equal to the remainder of the alloy. 'These experiments,' says he, 'are sufficient to prove that the binary compound which has been analyzed consists of the oxides of tin and gold, chemically combined in exact proportion of three parts tin to one of gold, and that the alloy obtained by the fusion of one hundred parts of the purple powder would yield 75 of metallic tin, and 25 of metallic gold' (p. 57), although he had stated that he paid no attention whatever to the weight of the powder used. Besides, there is nothing in the analysis to justify him in declaring peremptorily that the powder consists of the oxides of the metals. This is the thing to be ascertained, indeed; but such is not the mode of ascertaining it. He tells us that he disregarded the weight of

* *Traité de Chymie*, par Thenard, tom. II. p. 596.

the powder, because he conceived that the 'weight of the oxygen requisite in the formation of the purple powder would always follow the weight of the alloy in a constant ratio.'* But nothing can be more gratuitous; and there is no ground for assuming that any oxygen at all exists in the gold of the powder. The second operation, although it no more than the first determines that the purple powder contains *oxide* of gold, is yet somewhat more carefully performed.

We pass over the next two papers, one by Mr Babbage upon Notation, and the other by Mr Herschel upon reducing a certain class of Functional Equations to Equations of finite differences. The former tract carries too far the anticipation of fancied cases, and the subject of the latter is rather of curiosity than use.

The *seventh* paper in this volume professes to discuss the Geology of Cornwall, and part of Devonshire, being the result of a tour made in 1819 by Mr Sedgwick, Professor of Geology in the University. The district had before been examined by Dr Berger, of whose Dissertation, in the first volume of the Geological Transactions, we took notice in our 37th Number. Although that paper contained much useful and curious matter, it is in many places by no means to be depended upon. The one before us has greater claims to accuracy.

Previous to entering upon his examination of the primitive region, Mr Sedgwick took an observation of the sandstone and conglomerate, which also prevail so much among the schistose rocks of Somersetshire; and from all he examined, he was confirmed in the idea, that the formation belongs to the same period in both counties. The slaty rocks with which the sandstone and conglomerate are associated, are first seen in the west of Somerset, and may be traced through the ridge of the Quantock Hills; and again, to the west of this ridge, stretching in

* 'Si les dissolutions sont concentrés,' (says Thenard) 'le précipité ne sera composé que d'or à l'état métallique; seulement il prendra une couleur noire dans le cas où l'on emploiera beaucoup de dissolution d'étain. Si au contraire les dissolutions sont très étendues d'eau, quand bien même elles seroient très acides, le précipité sera pourpre ou pourpre rosé ou pourpre violet; pourpre ou pourpre rosé, lorsque le muriate d'or sera en excès; pourpre ou pourpre violet lorsque le muriate d'étain sera predominant; et d'autant plus forcée d'ailleurs en rosé ou en violet que l'excès de muriate auquel il elevera cette couleur sera plus considerable.' See also the Experiments and Observations of Olerkamp on the Precipitate. *Annales de Chymie*.

masses into the northern and eastern parts of Devonshire. The whole of this tract is of a smooth and undulating character, the face of the country corresponding to the irregular waving of the fundamental strata. Geologists have referred this to the class which Werner calls the transition formation, and which he presumes to contain organic remains, though few are found in this region, and those almost entirely in the graywacke.

The great granitic ridge commences at the eastern extremity of Dartmoor, and extends through the middle of Cornwall to the Land's-end. With occasional interruptions, this primitive character distinguishes the whole of the western promontory that lies between the English and the Bristol Channels. The other rocks which prevail in this formation, are known in the language of the country by the name of Killas,—a term used by the miners to distinguish the various slaty rocks from those which have minerals in their composition. The general character of the granite is coarse-grained, and of a greyish or yellowish colour, derived from the feldspar which predominates in its composition, and frequently appears in very perfect crystals; the quartz in almost every instance is amorphous, and the mica assumes the form of abraded fragments rather than of regular crystals, although it sometimes is found crystallized in hexagonal plates. On the moors near St Stephen's, the granite is finer grained, and contains a larger proportion of silvery mica. The same variety is also found in the neighbourhood of Merazion. There are also some very beautiful varieties found in the cliffs between Trewavas-point and Pra-sands. In some of these the mica is of a bronze colour; in others the feldspar marks the variety, being sometimes of a greenish hue, and sometimes appearing in brilliant white crystals. In addition also to the usual constituents of granite, there are found occasionally such ingredients as apatite, chlorite, and semitransparent schorl.

The remarkable regularity which appears in the fissures by which large exposed surfaces of granite are found divided, has led some geologists to imagine that this rock may be stratified. Mr Sedgwick, however, concurs with most geologists, * in regarding this appearance as the first step towards disintegration. In process of time, by the action of the atmosphere, the fissures become enlarged, and the solid angles of the rhomboidal blocks are gradually rounded away—by degrees their bases are insufficient to support them, and the huge masses fall together in confused heaps. Sometimes they are so disposed, as to rest on a point or pivot on which the stone balances. There is one

* Transactions of the Geological Society, vol. i. p. 149.

of this description, called the Laggan-stone of Castle Trerern, which is above sixty tons weight, and is so poised, that it may be made to oscillate by the mere force of the hand. When the rocks of granite are jumbled together in this way, Mr Sedgwick conceives it indicates the second stage of decomposition. We may observe, by the way, that it is from these detached masses, or boulders, as they are called, that the greater part of the granite used in London is procured. If we mistake not, Waterloo Bridge is built of this; and we sincerely hope it may not prove an example of the decomposition, to which, by Mr Sedgwick's account, all granite is more or less liable. That variety which contains a large portion of silvery mica, which we have before noticed, exhibits decomposition in a peculiar manner.

'Numerous excavations,' says our author, 'are made in St Stephen's moor, exposing to view a granite of a brilliant white colour, intersected by contemporaneous veins of quartz. On a near examination, it is frequently found *soft enough to be cut with a spade*, and is in that state packed up and exported to our potteries; those parts only being rejected which are contaminated by the presence of dark coloured mica. In other pits on the same moor, the rock is broken down by mechanical force, and a running water is made to pass through the fragments. The finely attenuated particles of feldspar are instantly taken up and carried off in streams, as white as milk, which are collected in reservoirs, then pumped into cisterns, and evaporated either by natural or artificial heat. The beautiful white clay resulting from this process, enters into the composition of the finest earthen ware produced in this country," * pp. 104-105.

On the cause of this curious decomposition, Mr Sedgwick offers no conjecture, but proceeds to consider the various rocks which he found usually associated with the granite. Of these, schorl rock is the most remarkable. Blocks of this, in different varieties, lie scattered about the surface in many parts of Devonshire and Cornwall, particularly near the junction of the killas and granite. The whole of that great mass of rock which is situated between Bodmin and Truro, and known by the name of the Roach Rocks, is composed of schorl. † Generally speaking, however, schorl is not found in such distinct masses, but more commonly assumes the appearance of broken parts of

* According to Dr Berger, the mountain plain of this decomposed granite is several miles in extent. The decomposition appeared to him to be more perfect in the centre, than on the borders of the plain. He conjectures, that the granite is composed of two-thirds of feldspar, but takes no notice of the unusual quantity of mica.

† These rocks, which are very remarkable, are entirely passed over by Dr Berger in his survey.

veins, or undecomposed fragments, which have once been imbedded in the granite. In some parts of the western coast, great masses are seen projecting from the cliffs, apparently cutting the granite in a vertical direction. But it seems most probable, that originally, they have been wholly surrounded by the granite, and that it has yielded to the action of the elements, which their peculiar texture has enabled them to resist. At the bottom of the cliffs, many singular caverns are formed in this manner, by the sea eating its way into the granite. Among these, is the remarkable open work of Carglaze near St Austell; the principal constituents of the rock, are quartz, feldspar, schorl, and oxide of tin, with a little mica, the veins of schorl rock not suffering decomposition like the metalliferous beds. In this work, all the operations of mining are seen in open daylight in the highest perfection.

Owing to the prevalence of alluvial and vegetable matter, which generally abound near the junction of two distinct formations, it is by no means easy to observe the contact of the granite with the killas, in the interior of the county. In several places, however, on the western coast, the natural sections which are presented by the cliffs, exhibit the contact of the strata in great perfection. At its immediate junction with the granite, the killas was observed to contain an unusual proportion of mica. It adhered with singular pertinacity to the granite; and although, in some instances, the line of contact was not very distinctly marked, yet there never appeared to be any thing like a *separate* formation making a connecting link between the two deposits. To the general feature in the structure of Cornwall, namely, that the slate reposes conformably on the granite, there are some exceptions. The most remarkable is St Michael's Mount. On the north side, the killas beds suddenly change their dip, and rise towards the mount, the visible face of which is nearly perpendicular to the horizon; while these beds, having seldom an inclination greater than 10 or 12 degrees, have the appearance rather of abutting against, than of reposing on, the granite, from which, veins starting out, traverse the slate in all directions. These appearances have induced some geologists to regard the granite, in this instance, as a secondary formation, posterior to the rocks with which it is associated; others have imagined, that the whole island has been separated from the nearest land (*Mera-zion*) by an earthquake,* and that the anomalous position of the

* It is even asserted, that the quantity of land, and number of houses and churches swallowed up in the convulsion, can be accu-

strata was caused by the convulsion. Dr Berger is of opinion, that if such a separation, which he considers very probable, ever took place, it must have been not only long before the memory of man, but previous to the deposition of the killas formation. Mr Sedgwick again decidedly holds, that the position and inclination of the killas rocks, so far from being anomalous, are precisely what any one, who had at all attended to the structure of the county, would have been led, *a priori*, to expect, that the granite is not a secondary formation, and that the mount has not been severed from the mainland. We agree with Mr Sedgwick so far, that there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for either supposition; but we cannot help regarding the position and direction of the killas as anomalous; and indeed, taking all the peculiarities, totally inexplicable, even if we had our choice of the fire and water theories to explain them. If it has been ejected from its original horizontal position by the heaving of the melted granite, a still greater irregularity and confusion would appear in its present form—it would also tally more exactly with the face of the granite;—whereas, in one instance which Mr Sedgwick gives, the line of bearing of the strata gives no indication of the very uneven surface of the foundation upon which they rest. Again, if we suppose the granite to have been consolidated in a mass presenting a rugged and indented surface, and the slate rocks to have been quietly deposited from a state of aqueous solution,—how are we to explain the appearance which is sometimes observed at the junction of the two rocks, where they seem to have penetrated each other,—masses of slate mixing with the granite, and masses of granite running into the slate? Here it seems most natural to suppose, that they have been each in a state of partial fusion, or rather, perhaps, that, under certain circumstances, the melted granite has fused the schist immediately in contact with it, and thus produced a union between them. This is further corroborated by the fact, that veins starting out from the granite most commonly accompany these phenomena; and they are injected, as it were, in all possible directions, into the superincumbent slate. But the subject of granite veins deserves more particular attention; and, as Mr Sedgwick has entered somewhat minutely into it, we shall take advantage of his observations to give rather a detailed account of these important phenomena, especially as the best geological descriptions of Cornwall are very imperfect upon this point—none more so than

rately determined from the traditional accounts of the neighbourhood. See Dr Maton's Observations on the Western Counties.

that of Dr Berger, whose interest, as a pupil of the Wernerian school, it obviously was to pass them by with as little noise as possible. A junction of the granite and slate, near Trewavas-Point, presents a series of veins of remarkable size and form; and, as this has never been described by any former observer, we shall give Mr Sedgwick's account of it nearly in his own words.

About a quarter of a mile east of Trewavas-Point, where the cliffs are in an unusually ruinous state, a small brook has excavated a passage to the water's edge. The killas rocks on the beach appear to be intersected by numerous contemporaneous veins of quartz. Near this spot, several thin beds of granite *seem* to alternate with the slate; one in particular, which preserves its thickness and conformity to the lamina of the schist for upwards of 100 feet, when it is lost in the waters. However, a further examination discovered its real nature; for, upon observing it in the opposite direction, a number of smaller veins were seen emanating from it. It then cut obliquely through the lamina of slate, starting off from its first direction, and becoming finally lost in a waving line among the cliffs. The greatest width of this vein is about two feet, and its extent, from the edge of the water to its termination in the cliff, nearly 400 feet. Further west, the granitic veins are crossed by two others of a different character: one of them ranges nearly in the magnetic meridian, and underlies east two feet in a fathom; the other underlies in an opposite direction. They are about a foot and a half in width, and contain quartz, oxide of iron, and a little clay slate. For a considerable extent beyond this point, the whole base of the cliffs is covered with vast fragments of veins, which have been denuded by the surrounding killas becoming decomposed; one of these is 10 feet thick. In general they are of a brilliant white colour, and of a fine granular texture, sometimes containing within themselves parallel veins, composed of large crystals of quartz and feldspar, and proved to be of contemporaneous origin by the long spiculae of schorl which pass, without interruption, through both the quartz and feldspar. Beyond the ruins of these veins, there is a bed of granite, one foot thick, and about forty feet in length and breadth, which passes under the cliff, and to all appearance alternating with the slate, but which, as in the former instance, turns out to be a granitic vein. Advancing further to the west, the rocks are beautifully intersected with veins of a like nature, the lower part being cut through by a well-defined vein about a foot thick, while the higher parts are traversed by innumerable ramifications; the lower branch, after keeping the direction of the slate

beds for a distance of 60 feet, suddenly rises in a perpendicular direction to the top of the cliff. The whole of this system of veins afterwards unite in one trunk, which, after traversing a projecting ledge of rock, descends in an oblique direction into a great mass of granite, which forms part of a natural cavern. Near this spot appears a very large mass of granite, which seems to be the root of the gigantic veins which proceed from this point, and rise in broad white lines towards that part of the cliff which reposes immediately on the central granite. *Splinters of clay slate are here observed imbedded in the middle of the veins.* From a resemblance which the ragged edges of these fragments bear to each other, Mr Sedgwick conjectures, that they have originally been torn from the parent rock by mechanical force, and afterwards entangled in the veins. Now, if this be the case, we must allow that the slate formation is *prior* to that of the granite veins. But it appears, from all Mr Sedgwick's observations, that the laminæ of the slate are never affected, either in their inclination or direction, by the veins which are forced through them in every possible direction; wherefore it may be concluded, that the veins are *at least* coeval with the slate formation. It is to be regretted that Mr Sedgwick did not pay more particular attention to the appearances presented by these fragments, as it is precisely by minute circumstances of this nature that we are most likely to be guided to conclusions upon which we may rest with satisfaction.

From the point which we have last described,—

Two large veins, separated by a lancet-shaped mass of slate, rise towards the west, at an angle of about 15° . Within a few feet of these two, a third vein starts out nearly at the same angle, and proceeds in the same direction. These three veins are throughout nearly of the same thickness, viz. each about five feet. The highest, at some distance from its base, begins to ascend more rapidly, and is lost in the alluvial soil at the summit. The other two preserve their course, without being much deflected, for some hundred feet; and from the place where we first remarked them, disappear behind a projecting part of the cliff. On turning this projecting ledge, we suddenly reached a recess, the lower part of which was filled with the ruins from the higher of the overhanging rocks. The western side of this recess is composed of killas, intersected by some small granite veins. A protruding mass of granite forms the base of the eastern side, to the height of 25 or 30 feet. It is of a very singular outline, yet does not appear to have thrown the slaty laminæ repasing on it out of their usual direction. The mound of rubbish in the recess enabled us to ascend more than half way up the cliff, and trace the two large veins before mentioned into an enormous bunch of granite, which here reposes on the top of the cliff, and is sup-

ported by undisturbed beds of slate; the line of demarcation being nearly horizontal, and at an elevation of 60 or 70 feet above the level of the beach. The denuded face of this bunch of granite is 30 or 40 feet thick. Two or three veins appear to take their origin from this anomalous overlying mass. One spreads out in minute ramifications towards the part of the cliffs which abuts against Trewavas-Point, at the termination of the killas in that direction. Two others descend obliquely, and are lost behind the large mound of rubbish before-mentioned. At another junction, west of Trewavas-Point, a granite vein, about one foot wide, rises exactly parallel to the great line of separation of the two strata; so that we have here the singular appearance of undisturbed beds of slate, not more than three or four feet in length, reposing, from the bottom of the cliff to the top, between two perpendicular faces of granite.

‘In a great majority of instances, we are unable to trace the veins to the point where they terminate in the granite. But some parts of the coast expose the base of the veins so as to leave no doubt of their origin. The best examples of this fact may be seen at the last junction near Wicka Pool. Three large veins rise out from the granite into the slate. The first soon disappears; but the other two, after being cut off by the retreat of the coast, reappear in two or three successive projections of the cliff. The largest of them, at its intersection into the slate, is not less than 15 feet wide. At their lower termination, they are all distinct prolongations of the granite itself; and in composition differ from it in no respect whatever. At considerable distances, however, from their commencement, granite veins differ very much from the central mass in which they originate. They are generally finer grained. Sometimes they lose the mica, sometimes have schorl added to their component parts. In other cases, they are composed entirely of white granular feldspar. In following these veins from their commencement, through all the gradations to the most minute threads in which they generally terminate, we never observed such a break in the line of continuity as indicated a change in mineral composition. Still less did we observe any appearance to warrant the conclusion, that different parts of the veins have owed their origin to a different mode of formation.’ pp. 120-124.

To these observations we may add, that small veins of quartz sometimes traverse, and are sometimes cut off by these granite veins;—also, that where the killas and granite veins have been traversed by metalliferous bodies, they always appear to have suffered the same disturbance; and hence, it is most probable, that the killas and granite veins bore the same relation to each other, before the formation of the metalliferous veins, that they do at present.

We offer no apology for having enlarged so much on the subject of these granitic veins. Not to mention its vast importance to geological science in general, it was highly expedient to give a

full and unequivocal statement of the phenomena; because they have not only been slightly noticed by former geologists, but the most inaccurate accounts of them have lately been published by Dr Berger. It cannot be denied, that the Huttonians have the best of it in these particular phenomena; and yet, there are some appearances which cannot easily be reconciled to the hypothesis of the granite veins being posterior to the rocks which they traverse; for although this supposition would account for the fragments of slate which are imbedded in the veins, it is quite irreconcilable with the fact, that the *direction* of the slate-beds is always undisturbed, however they be traversed by veins; or however uneven the surface of the granite on which they rest. This circumstance would naturally lead us to conclude, that the veins are contemporaneous with the rocks through which they pass. It likewise agrees with the opinion which some geologists hold, namely, that the different formations among primitive rocks have no reference to succeeding epochs, but that they have originated in a simultaneous crystallization. But Mr Sedgwick combats this, by adducing the regularity of succession which is manifested in the great formations throughout Devonshire and Cornwall. His language here is that of a confirmed Wernerian. 'The schistose rocks,' says he, 'in both countries, undoubtedly belong to the same system of formation. There is no sudden change in the appearance or position of these rocks, which should indicate a change in the mode of *deposite*. Now, some of the upper rocks of this formation have undoubtedly been formed by successive *depositions*; for they are interstratified with beds which present undeniable traces of organic remains. We conclude, therefore, that the whole series of schistose rocks have arisen from successive depositions upon the granitic nucleus. When these depositions first commenced, the materials, though generally subject to an arrangement arising out of the gravitation of the parts, appear to have been held in that state of *solution* which admitted of a considerable development of crystalline forces; (how vague and hypothetical is this!) These forces combined with the gravitation of the parts deposited, and other disturbing causes with which we are probably (too probably indeed) unacquainted, would naturally produce very complex results.' p. 127. We are sorry to find Mr Sedgwick theorizing at last, after having so successfully steered clear of that dangerous propensity. We had given him credit for being unusually impartial in his observations; but human nature, it seems, or at least geognostic nature, cannot resist the temptation.

Mr Sedgwick next proceeds to consider the *Elvan Courses*,

which are porphyritic beds found in the schist, and parallel to its laminae—they sometimes assume the appearance of veins—but from the unaltered texture and position of the schistose rocks, it cannot be inferred that the Elvan courses have been injected into the killas, posterior to its consolidation, on which account it is probable, as in the case of granitic veins, that they are co-eval with the rocks with which they are associated. They differ materially from the granitic veins in their mineral character also.

Mr Sedgwick next enters into a description of the different rocks which compose the formation which we have hitherto known by the general name of *killas*. We have not room to follow him through this part of his subject; but he has indisputably shown that Dr Berger has not been warranted in characterizing the various beds which compose this formation by the single term *greywacke*. In every instance which came under Mr Sedgwick's observation, the rock in immediate contact with the granite bore no resemblance whatever to greywacke; neither were the finer schistose beds at all analogous in their structure to the greywacke slate. This is all that is material in the paper before us, except the remark, that the serpentine rocks of the Lizard Point and its vicinity form, in their position, a remarkable deviation from the Wernerian arrangement; in consequence of which Mr S. proposes to give the Society a separate paper on the subject.

The two next papers are of great merit, and we reserve them for a separate consideration at another opportunity; we allude to Mr Christie's upon the interesting subject of Magnetic Attraction, and Mr Whewell's admirable one upon the Position of the Apsides of Orbits of great Eccentricity. The remaining papers in the volume need not detain us long. One by Mr Okes gives a concise and very curious account of the fossil remains of a beaver, found in Cambridgeshire, the only specimen that has been discovered in England. These bones are portions of four skulls; the incisive teeth, which distinguish the tribe of *rongeurs*, according to Cuvier, are perfect. Near the same spot (which is the old bed of a river) were some bones, both of the elephant and a species of deer; but, as Mr Okes justly observes, these have no connexion with the remains of the beaver; they belong to a much more distant period, it having been ascertained by Cuvier, that bones of species similar to those which still exist alive, are never found in a fossil state, except in the latest alluvial depositions; and, from their superficial position, they are always in a worse state of preservation than those of an earlier date. The volume concludes with an

account, by Dr Clarke, of a singular formation of Natron in a church in Devonshire. Though this phenomenon certainly deserved to be recorded, yet this might have been done somewhat more concisely; and we cannot help doubting the accuracy of one statement. 'Having saturated distilled water,' says he, 'with a portion of the salt, and filtered the solution, there remained at the point of the filtre a *regular hexagonal crystal* of considerable magnitude,' (p. 196.) Now, the learned and ingenious author, whose *accuracy* in chemical analysis we are far from doubting, has shown that this salt is carbonate of soda. But did he ascertain the singular and novel fact of that salt exhibiting a *regular and perfect hexagon*? If so, it would follow, that the primitive form of carbonate of soda is a *regular octohedron*, from which a *regular hexagon* results by truncation. No mention is made of the goniometer having been applied; and we cannot help suspecting, that he took the form for granted, upon a very hasty inspection.

Although we have reserved for a future occasion two of the best, if not the very best, papers in this publication, we feel quite justified in asserting, upon the credit of those which we have now discussed, that the first labours of the Cambridge Society have been attended with as much success as could reasonably be expected, and, in looking forward to its future progress, as calculated to interest every friend of science.

ART. X. *Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local, and Characteristic: To which are added, Practical Details for the Information of Emigrants of every Class; and some Recollections of the United States of America.* By JOHN HOWISON, Esq. Edinburgh, 1821.

It is impossible to think of the effects that have already resulted from the British settlements in North America, without feelings of pride and exultation. A greater and more important change has been effected by them, and with more permanent benefit to mankind, than perhaps by any event in the whole range of history. A wilderness has been peopled—arts and civilization have been spread over an extent of country equal to a large portion of Europe—a powerful commonwealth has arisen, founded on the largest principles of political liberty which the world has ever seen reduced to practice, and exhibiting, for the first time, the cheering spectacle of ten millions of people flourishing under it, and peaceably enjoying all the blessings of a true representative government.

portion of land, they gave them a free passage across the Atlantic, and provided them with provisions and agricultural implements for one year after their arrival. But, with the exception of the free grant of 50 acres of land, these encouragements are all now withheld, owing as it is said, to the conduct of worthless individuals, who, abusing this bounty, frequently sold whatever they received, and went to the United States. We agree with Mr H. in thinking, that though the former plan offered too much temptation to pursue this line of conduct, yet if the assistance of Government were extended only so far, as to lessen the expense of the voyage and journey to the interior of the country, it would operate as a great relief to the honest poor, and remove a serious obstacle to the prosperity of the settlement, without any danger of such abuse. If vessels were occasionally despatched for Quebec for this purpose, Mr H. calculates that the passage money, including provisions, might be made so low as 2*l.*, while Government would incur no other expense than the hire of the vessel. This arrangement, together with the establishment of an agent at Quebec, to whom the emigrant might immediately, on his arrival, apply for advice and information, would, we are convinced, greatly relieve the difficulties of the poor, who, from the want of such assistance, frequently linger in the Lower province, wasting uselessly those funds which would have enabled them to reach comfortably their ultimate destination. The evils arising from this ignorance and want of information are well known, both in Montreal and Quebec, where benevolent individuals have united in establishing Emigrant Societies; but their influence is of course extremely limited; and nothing short of the interference of the Supreme Government can effectually remedy the evil. If this were done, and a regular, direct, and cheap conveyance established between Quebec and York, it would greatly diminish the disasters which are now so common.

As things now are, the most prudent course the emigrant can pursue, is to take his passage either to Quebec or Montreal, which can generally be obtained for about 7*l.* or 8*l.*, provisions included. If he take the way of New-York, which many do, he will find that route considerably more expensive; for, besides paying 30 per cent. on the value of the articles he brings with him, the transport of them by land will prove exceedingly troublesome and costly. On his arrival, his first object should be to reach York as expeditiously as possible, and not waste his time and funds by lingering in the Lower province. From Montreal, he should proceed up the St Lawrence

in a *batteau*, which, in about a week, will bring him to Kingston, at the mouth of Lake Ontario, from whence there are regular steam-packets for York, the seat of Government of Upper Canada, and the centre of all transactions connected with land business. He ought immediately to apply to the land-officer there, where he will obtain all the requisite instruction concerning the steps to be taken to entitle him to a grant. Fifty acres are given gratis to every British subject; and he can procure an additional quantity on the payment of certain fees proportioned to the extent required. For about 5*l.*, he can procure 100 acres, and 500 for 40*l.* The quantity being agreed on, he obtains what is called a location ticket; for as all lands are bestowed under certain restrictions and regulations, he does not receive a deed of the lot till the duties required of him are performed; but these are by no means severe, and indeed essential for his own comfort and subsistence. He must clear five acres of each 100 granted to him, open a road in front of his lot, and build a log-house of certain dimensions. If these operations are performed within eighteen months after the date of his location ticket, he is entitled to a regular deed from Government, which makes the property his own for ever. The emigrant should lose no time in proceeding to the district where he is inclined to make his settlement. If he has a wife and family, he ought, if possible, to leave them at York, while he explores the country; for when he has finally chosen his station, he must return there to get it confirmed.

It is of the highest importance that the settler should arrive in the country early in the summer, that he may have time to travel through the settlements, and survey the vacant lands while the roads are in a good state. If he should reach York in July, he may not only do this, but select his lot, build his house, clear several acres of ground, and sow it with wheat or Indian corn, before the commencement of winter—objects of the greatest moment to a new settler. There are many emigrants who, after having obtained possession of their land, are unable to commence operations for want of means to purchase the agricultural implements, stock and provisions, absolutely necessary even for the humblest beginnings. The only resource for this class of persons, is to hire themselves out as labourers to such of the settlers as are in a more prosperous condition, till they have acquired sufficient means to enable them to begin to work their own lands. Labourers being very scarce in all the new settlements, the demand is great and constant, and wages high. A man's wages are usually about 3*l.* per month, besides

board; and female house-servants get about 1*l*. per month; so that such persons, if industrious and economical, may soon be in a condition to work on their own account, and raise themselves to comfortable independence. In a couple of years, an individual who arrived without funds of any kind, may be able, by these means, to purchase all that is necessary for his establishment. He should if possible, before he begins, have a pair of oxen, a cow, a few pigs, and some farming utensils. The cost of the whole will not exceed 30*l*.; and while he has been labouring to purchase these necessities, he will at the same time have acquired much useful knowledge for his future guidance, with regard to the mode of clearing the land, rearing of cattle, and method of farming adapted to the peculiar nature of the climate and country. For the first two or three years, he must reckon on encountering many hardships, and leading a severe and laborious life; but every season will lessen his difficulties, and he may look forward with certainty at the end of that period to obtain a secure independence for the rest of his life. He will then be able to raise from his own ground, not only abundance of every kind of produce for his own consumption, but sufficient to purchase all the necessaries of life. When he has reached this point, his future prospects are all cheering and inviting; he may confidently anticipate that every succeeding year will add to his possessions and his comforts; and when he looks on the rising family that surround him, he has the satisfaction to feel, that his labours have secured to them comforts superior to those he himself enjoys. The contrast of his present situation with that he quitted in Europe, cannot fail to strike him;—there, even in the vigour of his youth, often obliged to submit to the degradation of receiving aid from the parish to eke out his scanty subsistence; his children an equal burden on himself and the state, and with probably no better prospect than that of ending his career within the dreary walls of an almshouse.

Mr Howison describes at large the various methods employed by the Canadians for clearing their wild lands, and all the process of their farming operations. We have no intention of following him in any of these details. The emigrant cannot fail, in a very short time, to acquire on the spot all the necessary information. It is sufficient for him to know before hand, that the soil of Upper Canada is in general of excellent quality, and easy of cultivation, producing all kinds of grain, and very favourable to the growth of fruit; the climate not unhealthy, and improving with the progress of cultivation; taxes extremely

light, a penny an acre being all that is levied on improved land. Mr H. does not seem to be a scientific traveller; for though he resided about two years in the country, and traversed a region very interesting to the naturalist, and particularly to the botanist, his volume contains no information whatever on those subjects; and his remarks on the state of society are not only by no means profound, but in several instances contradictory and unintelligible. However, in spite of these deficiencies, we have found his book both entertaining and interesting. His narrative, on the whole, is agreeably written; and although his style is somewhat too florid and ambitious, his descriptions of the wild and picturesque scenery of the wilderness he traversed, are given with very considerable spirit and effect. Such scenery is but of rare occurrence in the course of his route; for Upper Canada being a flat country, nothing can well be imagined more dreary and monotonous than its general aspect. He alone who has visited those regions of interminable forests can form an adequate idea of their dreariness; and even when the dull uniformity is occasionally broken by the appearance of the first feeble attempts at cultivation, the view that presents itself is hardly more attractive—a formal angular notch cut out in the forest, the lofty trees with which it is hemmed in on all sides, devoid of lateral branches, stand with their thin naked trunks, generally blackened and scorched by fire, like gigantic palisades, in gloomy formality; the interior covered with unsightly stumps, and intersected by zigzag irregular fences, formed of split trees, and in the centre the small log-house of the proprietor, which looks singularly diminutive when contrasted with the lofty objects that surround it; the whole forming a picture, from which the painter or lover of the picturesque would turn with disgust.

In the Lower province, the aspect of things is very different there, particularly along the banks of the St Lawrence; the country is thickly peopled and well cultivated, and almost every where presents an animated and cheerful scene. Mr Howison thus describes his first impression on commencing his journey from Montreal; and any one who has visited that country will readily recognise, in his sketch of the calash-driver, the joyous, vain, communicative disposition so common in the Canadian peasant.

‘ In travelling from Montreal to La Chine, a village nine miles further up the St Lawrence, I could not but remark the warm and glowing appearance which every part of the country exhibited. The air was so pure and transparent, that every beam of the sun seemed to reach the earth in unimpaired brilliancy, quickening the luxuriant

verdure that covered the fields, trees, and shrubbery. Beautiful and improved farms lay on each side of the road; and instead of being immured among forests, as I had anticipated, I saw extensive tracts of land waving in all the gayety and loveliness of harvest.

After an amusing ride which lasted more than an hour, I stopped at La Chine. There is a portage between the two places; for the Rapids of the St Lawrence interrupt the navigation, and consequently all stores and goods, intended for the upper country, are conveyed from Montreal to La Chine by land. At the latter place, they are put into flat-bottomed boats, called *batteaux*, which are rowed up the river, with incredible labour, by Canadians, whom the forwarders engage at a certain sum during the season. La Chine is thus rendered a place of some importance, which otherwise it would not be; but still it merely consists of a few dwellinghouses, and several large stores for the reception of the goods. This village is agreeably situated upon the St Lawrence, which expands into a breadth of several miles, and forms what the Canadians term Lake St Louis. The sun was just setting when I contemplated this scene. Not a sound could be heard, but the dull paddling of a canoe which had just left the shore. The picturesque dresses of the Indians who sat in it, the glittering of their tomahawks, and the figure of the chief, as he stood erect, appearing almost gigantic from the state of the horizon, were all impressive in the highest degree. There is something powerfully affecting in the scenery of a foreign country. Any trivial object, if peculiar to it, will render the mind susceptible of receiving increased emotion from other features, which might have before been so familiar, that they scarcely excited any at all. Often had I contemplated lakes and forests with something like indifference, but the mere introduction of the Indian canoe awakened me to a new feeling concerning them.

I remained all night at La Chine, and at an early hour next morning, was provided with another calash and driver. This man possessed a most happy disposition, and was altogether so free and *degagé* in his manner, that he afforded me much amusement. Though a carpenter by trade, he kept a calash for the accommodation of travellers, and would either *drive* a horse or a nail, as best suited his purpose. The Canadian post-horses are in appearance the most wretched animals imaginable, being lank, clumsy, and rough-coated; but they become both active and spirited under the influence of the whip, which their drivers generally use very freely. I believe no member of the Four-in-hand Club, when mounted on the box, feels more elated than the Canadian peasant does while driving his sorry horse and shackling chariot. He is all life and gayety, and talks to his horse and to the traveller alternately. He points out the beauties of the prospect; and if the carriage or harness gives way, he dismounts and repairs it, regains his seat, and dashes on. He relieves his horse by walking up every hill, and compliments himself upon

this sacrifice, by calling to the animal, "*Ah pauvre cheval ! Vous avez un bon maître,*" &c. The Canadian peasantry display a native politeness, a presence of mind, and a degree of address, which, though extremely pleasing, sometimes betray their possessors into too much familiarity; however, there is so much gayety and sentiment in these mistakes, that one cannot but heartily excuse them.' pp. 6-9.

The course of the St Lawrence, sometimes confined by its banks to narrow limits forming dangerous rapids, sometimes expanding into lakes, and broken by a variety of islands, frequently presents scenes of great picturesque beauty. We extract the following passage as a favourable specimen of the author's power of description.

'We now entered that part of the river which is called the Lake of the Thousand Islands. The St Lawrence expands into a large basin, the bosom of which is diversified by myriads of islands, and these are characterized by every conceivable aspect of nature, being fertile, barren, lofty, low, rocky, verdurous, wooded, and bare. They vary in size as much as in form. Some are a quarter of a mile long, and others only a few yards; and, I believe, they collectively exhibit, on a small scale, a greater variety of bays, harbours, inlets, and channels, than are to be found throughout the whole continent of America. Nature seems here to have thrown sportively from her hand a profusion of masses of the material world, that she might perceive what combinations of scenery would be produced, when they assumed their respective positions on the bosom of the waters.

'The number of islands has never been correctly ascertained, but it is generally supposed to exceed seventeen hundred. Many of them are of little value, being covered with scraggy pine, and having no depth of soil; and, I believe, any person, whose romantic fancy might inspire him with the desire of possessing one, would find no difficulty in getting it granted by government. But some of the larger islands would form delightful little farms; and the energies of a future people may perhaps bring them under cultivation, and embellish them with all the beauties that arts and agriculture can communicate. When this takes place, the scene will realize all that fairy loveliness in which eastern historians have delighted to robe the objects of the material world.

'The scene reminded me of the beautiful description of the Happy Islands in the Vision of Mirzali; and I thought at the time, that if the Thousand Islands lay in the East, some chaste imagination would propose, that they should be made an asylum for suffering humanity, and distributed according to the respective virtues and merits of those who deserved them.

'The current between some of the islands is so rapid, that the boatmen, with all their exertions, can scarcely make way against it. There are particular channels, with which the Canadians are well acquainted, and which they invariably follow; for if they ventured

upon others, they would soon be bewildered among the islands, and might probably continue in search of the true course during many days, as has several times been the case.

‘ Shortly after sunset, we landed upon a small island, and the Canadians having moored their boat, proceeded to make a fire, as they intended to enjoy themselves for several hours. We were just opening a basket of provisions when we were all startled by hearing shouts, which apparently proceeded from people on the other side of the island. The ruddy glare of a fire likewise attracted our attention, and the continuance of the cries induced several boatmen to hasten to the spot where the light seemed to be. My imagination was instantly excited; and when I heard the wind whistling among the trees, and the perturbed waters of the St Lawrence dashing against the island, and saw a lurid sky stretched above me, the most alarming impressions crowded upon my mind. All the stories I had heard of the horrible atrocities often committed by the Indians rose in my memory, and I already conceived that I saw my companions tomahawked, and their mangled bodies struggling convulsively among the whelming surges of the river.

‘ However, the return of the Canadians put an end to my fears. The supposed Indians were no other than the crew of a brigade of batteaux, and the shouts we heard were raised in consequence of their having seen three deer, in the pursuit of which they requested us to join. This proposal was acceded to by all parties; and some began to kindle large fires in several parts of the island, while others stript the hickory tree of its bark, and made torches. Thus prepared, we sallied forth, some carrying arms, and the others being provided with blazing flambeaux. Intending to surround the deer, and gradually close upon them, we dispersed into a large circle, and sent two dogs among the brushwood to rouse the game, which they soon accomplished, and we accordingly made regular encroachments upon their precincts. The deer, when they saw themselves thus environed, sprung from one side to the other, leaped into the air, reared upon their hind-legs, and at last sank down apparently in despair; but upon the discharge of a couple of fowling-pieces, they again started, and having escaped our circle, plunged into the river.

‘ Several of the boatmen had remained upon the banks of the island, that they might prevent the deer from taking the river; but when they found this impracticable, they shouted to us and ran to the batteaux, and immediately unmoored them. The remainder of the crew soon followed, with arms and torches, and they all moved out in pursuit of the game. Nothing could be more brilliant and picturesque than the scene which succeeded. We saw the heads and antlers of the beautiful animals moving with graceful rapidity upon the surface of the water, while the brightness of their eyes rivalled that of the transparent drops which sparkled around them. When the shouts of the crew and the dashing of the oars assailed their ears, the exertions they made to escape were inconceivably strong—sometimes

raising themselves almost entirely out of the water, and sometimes springing forward several yards at one leap. The bustle among the boats, the glare of the torches, and the ferocious countenances of the crew, were finely contrasted with the meekness and timidity of the deer, and the whole effect was heightened by the islands around, the wild and romantic features of which were strikingly displayed at intervals, when the ruddy light of the torches happened to fall upon them.

‘ Several shots were fired, though apparently without effect, and I began fervently to hope that the deer might escape. Two of them eluded their pursuers, but the batteaux surrounded the other, and the Canadians beat it to death with their oars, and, having taken it on board, returned to the shore.

‘ While we were around the fire, dividing the booty, two canoes, full of Indians, suddenly emerged from behind a point of land, and steered directly towards us. The women were seated, but the men stood erect, and managed their paddles with the utmost elegance and dexterity. Their heads were adorned with steel crescents and waving feathers. The rest of their dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, and long scarlet cloaks covered with ornaments, which, though mere tinsel, had a very shining effect. This was the first time I ever heard the Indian language; and never could its harsh and fantastic sounds have been more impressive to any one than they were to me, surrounded as I was with objects the most wild and uncivilized in their character.

‘ These unexpected visitors landed near us, but seemed not at all incommoded by our presence; for the women immediately began to cut firewood, and their husbands having collected a few poles and some birch bark, set about making a wigwam. At my request, some venison and spirits were sent them, which they received with many acknowledgments.

‘ Assisted by my fellow-passengers, I now spread a table, and obtained the necessary furnishings from our respective provision baskets. Our repast proved both a comfortable and an amusing one. On one side were the Canadians, loitering round the fire in different groupes, some half asleep and others singing and wrestling with their comrades; while a few attempted to read a half worn-out French hymn-book, the devout expressions in which were heard at intervals among the oaths that proceeded from almost every mouth. On the other side, we saw the Indians seated under their wigwam, and dressing their venison. The rum they had drank began to affect them. The men looked ferocious, sharpened their tomahawks, and occasionally uttered the war-whoop. The women talked incessantly, and their children played the Jew's harp. Our party completed the group; and, though our voices were almost drowned amidst the confusion of tongues, a spectator would easily have ascertained, that at least three different languages were spoken on the island.’ pp. 31-37.

On reaching Lake Ontario, the first object that presents it-

self is the town of Kingston, which is situated near its mouth, in a bay which affords an excellent harbour, protected by a strong fort, built on a point of land that completely commands the town and entrance of the harbour, which has depth of water sufficient to allow a ship of the line to lie close to the quay. Kingston is by far the most important place in Upper Canada, both on account of its population (containing about 5000 inhabitants), and of its position as a place of strength. Here was the great scene of our exertions during the late war with America. The proofs of our activity are still strikingly visible to the traveller, when he beholds afloat, close to this little town, a ship of war of a hundred and twenty guns, with several frigates. Such a spectacle could not fail to astonish any one unacquainted with the circumstances of that war. It gives rise to a train of ideas and associations so novel and so at variance with those formerly excited in us by the name of Lake Ontario, that we can hardly yet read of it without feelings of wonder. A very few years ago, and it was still the 'wild Ontario,' whose waves were unbroken save by the light Indian canoe, and on whose desert shores the stillness of the primeval forest was disturbed only by the howlings of wolves, or the more savage cries of the native hunter of the wilderness. But the sight of ships of war, and steam-packets conveying crowds of passengers across the lake, puts to flight all those poetical images, and diverts the thoughts to very different speculations. Even the great cataract of Niagara, which so lately could not be reached but by a long and toilsome journey through the pathless forest, loses somewhat of its sublimity in the eyes of the traveller, who has been carried to its very brink in a mail-coach; and he views it with very different emotions, when he sees perched on the Table rock, instead of the wild Indian in his savage habiliments, a bevy of giggling damsels from Albany or New-York, with pink pelisses and green parasols.

We shall spare our readers Mr H.'s description of this scene, which he has laboured very unsuccessfully to render impressive by big words and sounding epithets, and follow him rather in his visits to some of the new settlements. The first he entered was chiefly possessed by a colony of Scotch Highlanders, who had given it the name of Glengary. The Highlanders, as may be presumed, from their previous habits and mode of life, are particularly ill qualified for such undertakings; and the following account is only so far encouraging, as it shows rather what industry may effect in such a situation, than what has been done in this settlement.

"I entered the settlement in the evening, and the first person I

met was a common labourer, whistling and walking gaily along, with his axe over his shoulder. I accosted him, and had some conversation with him, in the course of which he informed me, that he had commenced farming two years before, not being then possessed of subsistence for two months; but things had prospered with him, and he now owned a house, three cows, several sheep, and seven acres of very fine wheat. He seemed in high spirits, and concluded his narrative with wishing, that his countrymen could be made acquainted with the advantages which Upper Canada afforded to the poor.

' This account filled me with high expectations; and the more so, as I had been told that the upper part of the settlement was in a state of rapid advancement. I therefore hoped to see my countrymen elevated in their characters, and improved in their manners, by the influence of independence, and stopped at a private house, which my driver had recommended as being much superior to the tavern. Here I found a large family devouring pork and onions, and a room containing as much dirt as it could conveniently hold. I had scarcely passed the threshold, when I was importuned by signs to take my seat on the head of a cask, and helped abundantly to the family fare. Resistance was vain, as none of the party seemed to understand a word of English; and I suppose my unwillingness to join in the repast was attributed to *false modesty*.

' The evening being far advanced, I was obliged to resolve upon remaining with them all night. After listening for a couple of hours to Gaelic, I followed the landlord to my bedroom; but the moment he opened the door, a cloud of mosquitoes and other insects settled upon the candle, and extinguished it. He made signs that I should remain a few moments in the dark; but I followed him down stairs, and firmly declined paying another visit to the apartment intended for me.

' As our road lay through the Glengary settlement, I had an opportunity next morning of seeing it, and was rather disappointed; the improvements bearing no proportion to what I had anticipated. The majority of its inhabitants were indeed very poor when they commenced their labours, and had a variety of discouraging circumstances to contend with, the principal of which were, the peculiarities of the climate, the almost inaccessible situation of their farms, the badness of the roads, and the immense woods which incumbered the soil. They have, in some degree, surmounted the greater number of these difficulties; but still the settlement is not in a very flourishing state; and its inhabitants seem too unambitious to profit by the advantages of their condition. A very great majority of the houses are built of logs, and contain only one apartment; and the possessors display no inclination to improve their mode of life, being dirty, ignorant, and obstinate. Few of the settlers have more than sixty or seventy acres cleared, and the generality only thirty or forty; yet, how many comforts, and even luxuries, might persons of moderate industry derive from a domain of this extent!

' While they were preparing breakfast at the tavern at which I had stopped, I strolled out for amusement. Diminutive log-houses, surrounded with a few acres of cleared land, presented themselves in various directions; and the feeble vestiges of civilization which these objects exhibited, seemed to be derided by the clumps of immense oaks that every where waved their colossal boughs, as if threatening destruction to all below. A profusion of decayed and half-burnt timber lay around; and the serpentine roots of trees, blown down by tempests, stretched into the air in the most fantastic forms. In different places, piles of blazing timber sent forth columns of smoke, which enveloped the forests far and wide. Axes rung in every thicket; and the car was occasionally startled by the crashing of trees falling to the ground. I attempted to ascertain the age of an oak that had recently been cut down, by counting the circumgyrations of the wood, and found it had flourished at least two hundred and sixty-seven years. Its size, however, was very moderate, when compared with that of many others which grew beside it, and which, from their dimensions, I judged to be five or six hundred years old.

' The surface here, to the depth of several inches, is composed almost entirely of decayed vegetable matter. The withered leaves, strewed by every autumn, speedily decompose and unite with the soil; and a thin layer being thus added annually, a stratum of considerable thickness is soon formed, which has hitherto been allowed, in most places, to accumulate, without disturbance from the plough or harrow. Fallen trees likewise add a great deal to the surface by their decomposition; they may be observed in all stages of decay, from simple rottenness to that of absolute disintegration. A soil of this description, as you may easily conceive, is rather too rich for the common purposes of agriculture; and consequently the first crops never are so good as those that follow. As a proof of its luxuriant quality, I may mention, that two fields were pointed out to me which had been cropped twenty-one years in succession, without receiving any manure whatever. That part of the soil which has been some time under cultivation, presents an appearance superior to any thing of the kind I have ever seen, being formed entirely of a rich black loam resting upon a bed of clay. This combination is peculiarly adapted for agricultural purposes, as it possesses the double advantage of being easily worked, and, under proper management, not capable of exhaustion.' pp. 18-22.

By far the most important and flourishing of the new settlements, is that planted by Colonel Talbot in 1802, and now bears his name. The excellence of the soil, the comparative mildness of the climate, and the facility with which land is acquired, render it the great centre of attraction for emigrants of all descriptions, who annually flock to it in great numbers; and it already has a condensed population of many thousands.

The Talbot Settlement lies parallel to the shore of Lake Erie,

and consists of two great roads, which extend seventy or eighty miles, besides back settlements. The object in giving it such a longitudinal form was, that a road might be opened to the head of Lake Erie, and this has consequently been effected, much to the advantage of the province in general. The tract of country in which the settlement lies, was placed by Government under the superintendence and management of Colonel Talbot; and no one can obtain land there without applying to him. At first, lots, containing two hundred acres, were given to emigrants; but, when both roads were planted through their whole extent, the quantity was reduced to one hundred acres. The settler is obliged to clear ten acres of land, to build a house of certain dimensions, and to open one half of the road in front of his farm, within the space of three years;—regulations equally beneficial to the country in general, and advantageous to the occupier of the lot.' pp. 168, 169.

Mr H. resided during eight months in this district, and of course had the most ample opportunity of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the situation, progress and prospects of the settlers; and certainly his testimony is, on the whole, highly encouraging.

'The Talbot Settlement exhibits more visibly than any other part of the province, these advantages, and that amelioration of circumstances, which Upper Canada affords to the peasantry who emigrate from Europe. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants were extremely poor when they commenced their labours, but a few years' toil and perseverance has placed them beyond the reach of want. All of them have rude houses and barns, also cows and oxen, and innumerable hogs. Some of the wealthier settlers feed sheep, but on most lots the quantity of cleared land is so small, that they cannot afford to lay much of it out on pasture. Most of the settlers might live much more comfortably than they do at present, if they exerted themselves, or had any ideas of neatness and propriety; but they follow the habits and customs of the peasantry of the United States, and of Scotland, and, consequently, are offensively dirty, gross, and indolent, in all their domestic arrangements. However, these, it is to be hoped, are temporary evils, and do not at all affect the conclusions that a view of this settlement must force upon every unprejudiced mind. It is evident, that the advantages to be derived from emigration to Upper Canada, are not altogether chimerical, as has been too generally supposed; but that, in so far as concerns the lower classes of Europeans, they are equally numerous and important, as some of our most sanguine speculators have represented them to be. No person, indeed, will pretend to say, that the settlers, whose condition I have described, are in a way to grow rich; but most of them, even now, enjoy abundant means of subsistence, with the earnest of increasing comforts; and what state of things can be more alluring and desirable than this to the unhappy peasantry of Europe?' pp. 171—173.

He certainly draws no very flattering picture of the manners or morals of these people; but we cannot help suspecting that it is occasionally overcharged; as, for example, when he says,

'He who examines a new settlement in detail, will find most of its inhabitants sunk low in degradation, ignorance, and profligacy, and altogether insensible of the advantages which distinguish their condition. A lawless and unprincipled rabble, consisting of the refuse of mankind, recently emancipated from the subordination that exists in an advanced state of society, and all equal in point of right and possession, compose, of course, a democracy of the most revolting kind. No individual possesses more influence than another; and were any one, whose qualifications and pretensions entitled him to take the lead, to assume a superiority, or make any attempt at improvement, he would be strenuously opposed by all the others. Thus, the whole inhabitants of a new settlement march sluggishly forward at the same pace; and if one advances in the least degree before the others, he is immediately pulled back to the ranks.' pp. 169, 170.

And again, when describing the inhabitants of another settlement—

'Many of them possess thirty or forty head of cattle, and annually store up two or three thousand bushels of grain in their barns; but this amelioration in their condition, unfortunately, has not produced a corresponding effect upon their manners, character, or mode of life. They are still the same untutored incorrigible beings that they probably were, when, the Russian remnant of a disbanded regiment, or the outlawed refuse of some European nation, they sought refuge in the wilds of Upper Canada, aware that they would neither find means of subsistence, nor be countenanced in any civilized country. Their original depravity has been confirmed and increased by the circumstances in which they are now placed. Possessing farms which render them independent of the better classes of society, they can, within certain limits, be as bold, unconstrained, and obtrusive, as they please, in their behaviour towards their superiors; for they neither look to them for subsistence, nor for any thing else. They now consider themselves on an equality with those to whom, in former times, the hope of gain would have made them crouch like slaves; and tacitly avow their contempt of the better part of society, by avoiding the slightest approximation towards them, so far as regards habits, appearance, or mode of life.' pp. 135—137.

Now, when we consider the former condition of the greater part of these emigrants, we can readily believe, that, in their new situation, their manners should continue to be vulgar and gross, and that, from their coarse notions of independence, their deportment to their superiors should be insolent and offensive. But it is certainly not so easy to conceive, even admitting them to have sprung from the very refuse of the

most profligate city in Europe, that they could continue in their new abodes to practise those vices and crimes which stained their former life. Even if they retained the inclination, they could no longer find a field for their exercise,—or any temptation to kindle their evil passions. Indeed, we cannot conceive a better school of reform than one of these forest hamlets. The constant occupation necessary for their very existence, must, of itself, produce a most salutary change; and the never-failing rewards of that industry, gradually increasing comforts and enjoyments, cannot fail to encourage their hopes of independence, and stimulate them to new exertions. Domestic ties will be formed without any fear of adding to their own burdens, or entailing misery on their offspring; but with the conviction that their children will not only give a new charm to their homes, but soon materially help to lighten their labours, and add to their wealth. It would be a waste of words to compare the moral effects of such a life with that of the poor labourer in a populous city. Starving in the midst of plenty, surrounded with wealth and luxury in every form, and hardly able to procure a morsel of bread, who can wonder that the poor wretch who, in a happier position, might have proved an useful member of the community, should fall into some of the many snares that every where beset his path, and sink into the abyss of vice and crime?

But Mr H. himself is not very consistent in what he says on this subject. In the passage we have already quoted, speaking of the Talbot Settlement, he designates the inhabitants as ‘a lawless and unprincipled rabble;’ forming ‘a democracy of the most revolting kind;’ while, a few pages after, he adds,

‘I resided many months in the Talbot Settlement, and, during that time, enjoyed abundant opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of its inhabitants, who form a democracy, such as, I believe, is hardly to be met with in any other part of the world. The difference in point of wealth which exists among them, is as yet too trifling to create any distinctions of rank, or to give one man more influence than another; therefore, the utmost harmony prevails in the colony, and the intercourse of its people is characterised by politeness, respect, and even ceremony. They are hospitable, and, upon the whole, extremely willing to assist each other in cases of difficulty.—But the most extraordinary thing of all is, the liberality which they exercise towards emigrants, in immediately admitting them to live on an equality with themselves; for any poor starving peasant, who comes into the settlement, will meet with nearly the same respect as the wealthiest person in it, captains of militia excepted. The Scotch and English emigrants are frequently, at first, a good deal puzzled with the consideration with which they are treated, and, when they hear themselves ad-

dressed by the titles, *sir*, *master*, or *gentleman*, a variety of new ideas begin to illuminate their minds. I have often observed some old Highland crone apparently revolving these things within himself, twitching his bonnet from one side of his weather-beaten brow to the other, and looking curiously around, as if suspicious that the people were *quizzing* him. However, those who are at first most sceptical about the reality of their newly-acquired importance, generally become most obtrusive and assuming in the end; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that, in Upper Canada, the *ne plus ultra* of vanity, impudence, and rascality, is thought to be comprised under the epithet *Scotch Yankey*.' pp. 173-175.

But we leave Mr H. to reconcile these inconsistencies, and hasten to bring our remarks on his volume to a close. He pursues his journey from Talbot as far as Amherstburgh, at the head of Lake Erie, the most westerly, and one of the most flourishing settlements in the Upper Province. His narration of the incidents that occurred in the course of this journey, form the most entertaining portion of his book; but our limits will only permit us to extract a few very short passages, as a sample of the amusement it affords.

'It was nearly dark when I remounted my horse. The moon had indeed arisen, but, in consequence of the cloudiness of the sky, I derived but little benefit from her light. I still had eight miles to ride before I reached the side of the river Thames, where I intended to remain during the night. When I had proceeded about half way, I inadvertently left the main road, while the increasing narrowness and intricacy of the path I then followed soon convinced me that I had taken a wrong course; however, upon hearing the sound of voices, I continued to advance, and soon found myself on the bank of the Thames. A vivid glare of light illumined every object around; but, as there was a little turn in the course of the river, I could not at first discover whence the radiance proceeded; in a few moments, however, a large raft, in which were five Indians and a blazing fire of hickory bark, appeared floating down the stream. Two of the Indians held torches in their hands, and a couple of dogs sat in a small canoe that lay along-side. A column of smoke rose from the fire, which, extending itself into ruddy volumes, hovered about the raft like a canopy, as it slowly glided down the refulgent current of the Thames, and rivetted my eyes. My attention was soon drawn to the opposite shore by a young deer, which had sprung from the thicket, and stood steadfastly gazing upon the savages in an attitude of beautiful astonishment. In a moment three rifles were levelled at it. They were discharged, and it dropped down. The Indians raised a triumphant shout, and waved their torches, while a couple of them jumped into the canoe, and, accompanied by the dogs, paddled rapidly to the shore. But when they landed, the deer, which had merely been wounded, sprung upon its legs again, and rushed into

the forest. The dogs being despatched to turn it, barked incessantly; the Indians on shore shouted and whistled to encourage them, and those upon the raft called loudly to their companions in tones of anger and impatience. The dogs soon succeeded in getting ahead of the deer, and driving it to the shore; but it immediately plunged into the river, and, having swam towards a little bay that lay in the shade, it disappeared, to the great disappointment of the hunters. The raft had now floated far below the point at which the Indians had landed with the canoe, so that they hastily embarked, and paddled down the stream towards it. When they reached their companions, they were taken on board, and the whole party moved down the river, illumining the woods, and decoying their inhabitants into destruction.

‘ This kind of hunting is practised, I believe, by the North American Indians only. The brightness of the fire allures the deer, and several other kinds of game, to the sides of the river, where they are so much exposed to the shots of the hunters, that they very rarely escape.’ pp. 181–184.

‘ When it was midnight, I walked out, and strolled in the woods contiguous to the house. A glorious moon had now ascended to the summit of the arch of heaven, and poured a perpendicular flood of light upon the silent world below. The starry hosts sparkled brightly when they emerged above the horizon, but gradually faded into twinkling points as they rose in the sky. The motionless trees stretched their majestic boughs towards a cloudless firmament, and the rustling of a withered leaf, or the distant howl of the wolf, alone broke upon my ear. I was suddenly roused from a delicious reverie, by observing a dark object moving slowly and cautiously among the trees. At first, I fancied it was a bear, but a nearer inspection discovered an Indian on all fours. For a moment I felt unwilling to throw myself in his way, lest he should be meditating some sinister design against me: however, on his waving his hand, and putting his finger on his lips, I approached him, and, notwithstanding his injunction to silence, inquired what he did there. “ Me watch to see the deer kneel,” replied he; “ This is Christmas night, and all the deer fall upon their knees to the Great Spirit, and look up.” The solemnity of the scene, and the grandeur of the idea, alike contributed to fill me with awe. It was affecting to find traces of the Christian faith existing in such a place, even in the form of such a tradition.’ pp. 191–192.

From all that we learn of the state of the aborigines of this great continent from this volume, and from every other source of information, it is evident they are making no advances towards civilization. It is certainly a striking and mysterious fact, that a race of men should thus have continued for ages stationary in a state of the rudest barbarism. That tendency to improvement, a principle that has been thought more than

perhaps any other to distinguish man from the lower animals, would seem to be totally wanting in them. Generation after generation passes away, and no trace of advancement distinguishes the last from the first. The mighty wilderness they inhabit may be traversed from end to end, and hardly a vestige be discovered that marks the hand of man. It might naturally have been expected, that, in the course of ages, some superior genius would have arisen among them, to inspire his countrymen with a desire to cultivate the arts of peace, and establish some durable civil institution; or that, at least, during the long period since the Europeans have been settled amongst them, and taught them, by such striking examples, the benefits of industry and social order, they would have been tempted to endeavour to participate in blessings thus providentially brought within their reach. But all has been unavailing; and it now seems certain that the North American Indians, like the bears and wolves, are destined to fly at the approach of civilized man, and to fall before his renovating hand, and disappear from the face of the earth, along with those ancient forests which alone afford them sustenance and shelter.

The volume concludes with what the author calls, 'Recollections of the United States of America.' It is a meagre sketch of his journey from Niagara to New York and Philadelphia, containing little worthy of notice, and interlarded with long vulgar dialogues between stage-coach drivers and maid-servants, exceedingly tiresome and disgusting, and which, if Mr Howison cannot drive from his 'recollection,' he ought at least to expunge from his pages, and not allow them to deform his otherwise respectable volume.

ART. XI. *Europe and America, in 1821; with an Examination of the Plan laid before the Spanish Cortes, for the Recognition of the Independence of South America.* Translated from the French of the ABBE DE PRADT, by J. D. WILLIAMS. 2 vols. 8vo. London, Cowie, 1822.

THE work to which this pompous title belongs, turns out, upon inspection, to be a series of rambling discourses, by that indefatigable bookmaker M. de Pradt. The style resembles sometimes that of a sermon, sometimes that of a newspaper; while the matter is composed of vague, unsubstantial remarks; endless dissertation, which leaves, after the perusal, no definite idea of what we have been reading, nor any feeling except that of great lassitude; ranting declamation without an object; and

perpetual attempts at reasoning, followed by regular failures. We know not, in the present day, a more indefatigable, or a more tiresome writer, than M. de Pradt. It would be well if he ever sympathized with his readers; but the misfortune is, that the tedium of his work is always shared unduly; and, in proportion as he is fresh, they are exhausted. As to his principles (though the side which he espouses may signify little), it is not very easy to define them precisely; but for the most part, he seems to take liberal views of the questions which he pretends to treat. In the work before us, the mediocrity of the original is greatly increased by the vileness of the translation. The language is hardly English, and the sense in almost every page is mistaken. The ignorance of the translator is such, that he seems never to have heard of Mary Queen of Scots; at least so we infer, from his making mention of '*Maria Stuart.*' We may therefore very possibly owe to him, and not to the ingenious Abbé, the marvellous blunder of making Pompey gain the battle of Pharsalia (vol. ii. p. 95.) We know not if the following description of aristocracy, taken at random, be for the honour of the author, or of his inimitable translator. To whichever of these cognate worthies the praise is due, no one can be insensible of the picture's merits.

'Aristocracy does not oppose itself to the improvements of society from any antipathy to them, but from the apprehension that they may produce a diminution of obedience. Aristocracy is always alive to the preservation of the rank it occupies. It only admits things at a distance; the least approach is prohibited. Its affection always revolves into protection, and, in its continued action, like the elements, it acts according to the nature of its formation. It is, in itself, a social element; it cannot secrete itself from the necessary effects of its formation; and to depict that which it has done, would only be to paint it as it is, and as it ever will be. We are not here to accuse it, but to describe it.

'Far be from any one the idea of criminating aristocracy; it cannot be otherwise than what time and its works have shown it to us. Thus subscribing to the improvements of society, it has laid aside the former abruptness of its proceedings, and it has become tinted with the colours of the times it has passed through. It has followed the path traced out by civilization; but it has not relinquished its rights. It pursues them, no doubt, with less vehemence than it would have done in other times; but it avails itself of all its means to regain its natal superiority, because it does not look upon society as the reservoir of the common advantages of mankind; but, divesting itself of the idea of society, to pursue that of power, it only regards mankind as beings born to subordination under chiefs who are and cannot but be identified with itself.' II. 256, 257.

A somewhat more favourable specimen may be given of this

book, in the author's remarks upon the King's journey last year to Ireland—though the style is so abominable as to be absolutely revolting.

'The King's journey to his Irish dominions, which were unknown to his ancestors, is an act of civilization most consistent with the interests of both countries. This approximation could not be otherwise than favourable both to the Prince and to his subjects; the latter, by exhibiting sentiments of the greatest loyalty at the sight of their Sovereign, must have re-awakened in his heart the regret at not having been able to confer upon them the benefit he had intended. He must have felt the whole extent of the fault which had been committed by the English Aristocracy, in refusing him the pleasure of enjoying the fruit of the noble idea he had conceived; and when the Catholic clergy and the Quakers, arriving from the opposite poles of religion, presented themselves before him, to exhibit each in their own manner their affectionate and obedient hearts, he must have imagined that toleration herself appeared before him, and presented him a petition to put an end to the intolerance that desolated the land in which they were assembled, and at the same time a proof of the equal facility with which kings may be served by those who differ in the manner of serving the King of kings.' II. 74, 75.

But it is very far from our present plan to go through the work before us; we shall merely recommend to the reader, what we really take to be the only portion of value, the anecdotes of the Emperor Napoleon, every thing relating to whom is justly to be deemed of importance.

The chapter entitled, '*Death of Napoleon*,' opens in the genuine style of the ci-devant Archbishop, with an invocation to Bossuet, to come and help him in making a sermon upon the littleness of human greatness. But he by no means waits for the arrival of the grand preacher; on the contrary, he starts himself, and after somewhat touching the fading of flowers, and much against courtiers and flatterers of all descriptions, he gives the fall of Buonaparte, and the progress of the world notwithstanding it, as an example of a position which it seems that great man was fond of laying down, 'that there exists not any one for whom there is a necessity.'—'It is the disease of princes (he was wont to say) to believe themselves necessary; but no man is necessary, myself no more than another, say what you will.' We have then a tiresome disquisition upon the question, who is the fittest person to write Napoleon's life, or rather who would have been, had he lived at the proper time; for he discusses only the claims of deceased historians, from Plutarch down to Mad. de Staël; and after quickly disposing of the ancients, and then at somewhat greater length of Cardinal de Retz, Saint Simon, Brantôme, Rhuliers, Bossuet, and Massilon, he concludes in favour of Mad. de Staël, in whose praise he launches

forth, and certainly very justly, though neither very needfully nor very profitably, as far as regards the matter in hand, the character of Napoleon. Though he mentions no living author, we think it very likely that he has one in his eye; and we suspect that we cannot reckon on his concurrence when we venture to remark, that whoever may be the fit person for the great task in question, M. de Pradt clearly is not that person. We give the only part of his chapter upon this subject which is even tolerably written; and we give it for the substance, and not the execution.

- ‘ Continued contrasts require striking colours; but they must be distributed wisely, so that oppositions may not become contradictions. The most devouring activity must be painted, accompanied by long intervals of rest; the most rapid execution by the most tardy decision in the most trivial matters. Aptness, which accomplished every thing, realized every thing before the age which could have learnt any thing—the little games of a child, in the midst of plans and ideas which encircled and shook the globe—the tone of the *camerade* succeeding without interval to those words of command which spread silence over the earth—the *coup d’œil* that comprehended an immense extent, and the facility of descending to the minutest details—a memory that did not bend under the mass of names, of acts, and of the greatest variety of circumstances—a presence of mind which reproduced in its proper colours, and in its natural state, whatever had once arrested its attention—the most violent agitation in the midst of the most profound calm—an unalterable pulse in the midst of transports of the most violent rage—a philosophical contempt for grandeur, accompanied by the most ardent labours to acquire it—the most eminent wisdom with the falsest illusions—according to the English expression, generous as the sun, and able in calculation—magnificent as a king in his palace, and as economical as a Dutchman, recalling Montesquieu’s observation, with respect to Charlemagne, who, after having distributed the riches of the world, sold the vegetables out of his garden—wishing to touch realities, to ensure himself of them, and yet giving way to fictions; at once Tacitus and Machiavel.’ pp. 97, 98.

M. de Pradt confirms all the other accounts of Napoleon’s naturally easy and kind disposition. He says, that after being a great deal about him, he can assert ‘ he never remarked any thing in him belonging to the character of a malicious man;’ he mentions his ‘ kindness and gaiety, even to childishness.’ ‘ I have seen him,’ says he ‘ repeatedly with his first wife, and the children of his brothers and sisters, give himself up to the lively and animated joy of infancy. When he had a son, there were no limits to his playfulness; it was necessary sometimes to take him away from him, his joy was so vio-

‘lent.’ He also represents him as a great talker. ‘Talking was his delight, and he lost more time in conversation than he employed in action.’

To the remarks upon Napoleon are subjoined two pieces of importance; the one contradicting the vile calumnies propagated so industriously by the Ultra party about Napoleon’s treatment of the Pope; the other confirming the authority of Mr O’Meara’s late work. The former is a narrative in the words of Mr Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantz, who was intrusted with a most material part of the negotiation respecting the Concordat, and is represented as a man of the most undoubted integrity. Nothing, to be sure, can more triumphantly refute the miserable tales, so greedily swallowed, of violence exercised upon the Roman Pontiff by the Emperor. The latter is a statement, by General Rapp, of the attempt to assassinate Napoleon at Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, in 1805. This agrees in every essential particular with the narrative of the same incident, given by Mr O’Meara from Bonaparte’s own relation; and, coming from a quarter wholly unconnected, it may be regarded both as a testimony to that gentleman’s correctness, and to the accuracy of Bonaparte’s own memory. We have only room for the examination of the young fanatic who forms the subject of the narrative.

‘After having issued this order, General Rapp went again to Napoleon, where he found Prince Bernadotte, and the Generals Berthier and Duroc. Saint was brought in by two gendarmes, with his hands tied behind his back. He appeared perfectly calm, nor did the presence of Napoleon make the least impression upon him; he, however, saluted him respectfully. Napoleon asked him whether he spoke French, he answered, very little. Napoleon then desired General Rapp to put the following questions to him. Where do you come from? From Neuenburg. What is your father? A Protestant clergyman. What age are you? Eighteen. What did you intend to do with this knife? To kill you. Young man, you are either a fool, or belong to the sect of the Illuminati. I am not a fool, nor do I know the meaning of illuminati. You must be ill then? I am not ill, I am perfectly well. Why did you wish to kill me? Because you caused the misfortunes of my country. Have I done you any harm? To me, as well as to the rest of the Germans. Who instigated you to commit this crime? No one; it was only from the positive conviction, that I should render the greatest service to my country and to Europe, by killing you. Is this the first time that you have seen me? I saw you at Erfurth, at the time of the interview. Did not you desire to kill me then? No, because I thought that you would not make war upon Germany again; I was then one of your greatest admirers. How

long have you been at Vienna? Ten days. Why have you delayed the execution of your project so long? I came to Schoenbrunn eight days ago with the intention of killing you then; but the parade was just over, and I postponed my intention till to-day. Young man, you are either mad, or you are ill, said Napoleon; let Corvisart be sent for. I am neither mad nor ill; who is Corvisart? Upon being told that he was a doctor, he said, I am not in want of him. Nothing was said until the arrival of the doctor. Saint remained perfectly quiet; Corvisart at length arrived. Napoleon ordered him to feel the young man's pulse. After it had been felt several times, Saint said to the doctor, Is it not true that I am not ill? Upon which the doctor told Napoleon, that the person was in good health, and Saint repeated with great tranquillity, and even with an air of satisfaction, *I said so before*. Napoleon was confused at the confidence of the young man, and began again by the following questions. Your imagination is bewildered, and you will cause the unhappiness of your family; I will grant your life, if you will ask pardon for the crime you were about to commit, and which you must regret.—I want no pardon, and I regret exceedingly that I have not succeeded.—It appears that a crime is not of any consequence in your eyes? To kill you is not a crime, but a duty.—Whose portrait is that which was found upon you?—It is that of a young person whom I love.—She will be very sorry when she hears of this event?—She will be very sorry that I have not succeeded; she abhors you as much as I do myself.—But, however, if I pardon you, will you feel obliged to me?—I warn you that I shall kill you notwithstanding, at a later period.—Napoleon was thunderstruck at this answer; he ordered the prisoner to be taken away; he was tried and shot.' II. 127–129.

He died in the same state of enthusiasm, refused sustenance, affirmed that he had no accomplices, and was urged on solely by 'his own impulses;' although, being told that peace was concluded, he appeared overjoyed, exclaiming at the moment of execution, '*Vive la Paix! Vive l'Allemagne!*' The principal difference between this account and that of Mr O'Meara is, that the latter represents Napoleon as having delayed the execution four-and-twenty hours, with the desire of pardoning the young man, who, however, at the end of this time, was found to persist in his fanatical purpose, notwithstanding confinement and fasting.

We have given M. de Pradt's opinion of Napoleon—the reader may be desirous of learning the Emperor's sentiments respecting the prelate, and they are likely to be moderately acceptable to his Grace. 'De Pradt,' said he, 'may be said to be '*une espece de fille de joie qui prête son corps* to all the world 'for payment. Once, when he was giving vent to his custo-

‘ many bavardage and extravagant projects in my presence, I
 ‘ contented myself with humming a part of the air—

“ OÙ courez vous donc Monsieur l’Abbé ?

“ Vous allez vous casser le nez ”—

‘ which disconcerted him so much, that he had not another
 ‘ word to utter.’ (O’Meara, ii. 208.)

Perhaps M. de Pradt will pardon us for here citing what he has himself said (II. 117) respecting the vein of sarcasm in which Napoleon was accused of indulging too freely. ‘ Let those
 ‘ persons who were the objects of his sarcasms look within
 ‘ themselves, and ascertain their reasons for visiting his pa-
 ‘ laces; and ask, whether they did not provoke those retalia-
 ‘ tions, which they afterwards related in the Fauxbourg St
 ‘ Germain as unmannerly attacks.’

NOTE.

We have received a long letter from Mr Knox, the master of Tunbridge School, complaining of some statements in a recent article of ours on that subject, and requiring us to print his letter in our next publication. With this request, however, we must decline complying; 1st, Because the letter is needlessly long; 2^d, Because he has already been pleased to publish it in the newspapers; and, 3^d, Because it consists chiefly of imputations on the fairness or accuracy of certain statements in a pamphlet by Mr Prinsep; and is, in fact, the beginning of a controversy with that gentleman, for which we have no desire to make our pages a vehicle.

The substance however is, that the value of the surplus revenue of the school has been exaggerated—that the master, &c. were parties to the suit in Chancery from the beginning—and that such a suit must necessarily have been instituted at all events, and whether there had been any question about the application of the revenues or not.

These are Mr Knox’s averments;—and we really are not aware that they materially affect the justice of any of our remarks in the article now alluded to.

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M. SIMOND is already well known in this country as the author of one of the best accounts of it that has ever been given to the world, either by native or foreigner—the fullest certainly, and the most unprejudiced—and containing the most faithful descriptions both of the aspect of our country, and the peculiarities of our manners and character, that has yet come under our observation. There are some mistakes, and some rash judgments; but nothing can exceed the candour of the estimate, or the fairness and independence of spirit with which it is made; while the whole is pervaded by a vein of original thought, always sagacious, and not unfrequently profound. The main fault of that book, as a work of permanent interest and instruction, which it might otherwise have been, is the too great space which is allotted to the transient occurrences, and discussions of the time to which it refers—most of which

have already lost their interest, and not only read like old news and stale politics, but have extended their own atmosphere of repulsion to many admirable remarks and valuable suggestions, of which they happen to be the vehicles. There was likewise in that work too free and frequent a nomination of individuals, and too many personal anecdotes, that illustrated only private characters.

The work before us is marked by the same excellences, and is nearly free from the faults to which we have just alluded. In spite of this, however—perhaps even in consequence of it—we suspect it will not generally be thought so entertaining. The scene, to be sure, is narrower, and the persons of the drama fewer and less diversified. There must be bright lights and dark shades to make a striking picture; and a society, which is fortunate enough to exhibit none of the extremes—where there is neither great wealth nor great poverty, great industry nor great idleness, great cultivation nor great rudeness, probably never can figure well in description; nor furnish matter for those contrasts which rouse alternately our contempt and admiration, our envy and our pity, and call successively into play the whole compass of our moral emotions. The work, however, is full of admirable description and original remark:—nor do we know any book of travels, ancient or modern, which contains, in the same compass, so many graphic and animated delineations of external objects, or so many just and vigorous observations on the moral phenomena it records. The most remarkable thing about it, however—and it occurs equally in the author's former publication—is the singular combination of enthusiasm and austerity that appears both in the descriptive, and the reasoning or ethical parts of the performance—the perpetual struggle that seems to exist between the feelings and fancy of the author, and the sterner intimations of his understanding. Though plainly a devoted, and even passionate admirer of natural beauty, his descriptions are never florid or rapturous; and, instead of alarming us with the ambitious eloquence in which most of the picturesque tribe deal so profusely, they are not only studiously concise and simple in their diction, but occasionally provoke us by images and suggestions rather too homely and familiar—and never sacrifice fidelity to effect, by omitting any of the humble details, or degrading accompaniments, by which most real scenes are apt to be attended. It is chiefly, however, in his moral and political observations, that this contrariety of sentiment discloses itself. There is, in all these parts, a constant alternation of romantic philanthropy and bitter sarcasm—of the most captivating views of apparent happiness and virtue, and the most relentless dis-

closures of actual guilt and misery—of the sweetest and most plausible illusions, and the most withering and chilling truths. He expatiates, for example, through many pages, on the heroic valour and devoted patriotism of the old Helvetic worthies, with the memorials of which the whole face of their country is covered—and then proceeds to dissect their character and manners with the most cruel particularity, and makes them out to have been most barbarous, venal, and unjust. In the same way, he bewitches his readers with seducing pictures of the peace, simplicity, independence and honesty of the mountain villagers; and by and by takes occasion to tell us, that they are not only more stupid, but more corrupt than the inhabitants of cities. He eulogises the solid learning and domestic habits that prevail at Zurich and Geneva; and then makes it known to us that they are infested with faction and ennui. He pronounces a splendid encomium on Pestalozzi, and his system of education; and immediately after tells us, that, upon a strict inspection, he found the mode of teaching very like what it is in other schools, and the pupils about as much attached to their teachers, and no more. He draws a delightful picture of the white cottages and smiling pastures in which the cheerful peasants of the Engadine have their romantic habitations—and then casts us down from our elevation without the least pity, by informing us, that the best of them are those who have returned from hawking stucco parrots, sixpenny looking-glass and coloured sweetmeats through all the towns of Europe. He is always strong for liberty, and indignant at oppression—but cannot settle very well in what liberty consists; and seems to suspect, at last, that political rights are oftener a source of disorder than of comfort; and that if person and property are tolerably secure, it is mere quixotism to look further.

So strong a contrast of warm feelings and cool reason, such animating and such despairing views of the nature and destiny of mankind, are not often to be found in the same mind—and still less frequently in the same book; and yet they amount but to an extreme case, or strong example of the inconsistencies through which all men of generous tempers and vigorous understandings are perpetually passing, as the one or the other part of their constitution assumes the ascendant. There are many of our good feelings, we suspect, and some even of our good principles, that rest upon a sort of illusion; or cannot submit at least to be questioned by frigid reason, without being for the time discountenanced and impaired—and this we take to be very clearly the case with M. Simond. His temperament is plainly enthusiastic, and his fancy powerful; but his reason is active and

commanding, and his love of truth paramount to all other considerations. His natural sympathies are with all fine and lofty qualities—but it is his honest conviction, that happiness is most securely built of more vulgar materials—and that there is even something ridiculous in investing poor human nature with these magnificent attributes. At all events, it is impossible to doubt of his sincerity in both parts of the representation;—for there is not the least appearance of a love of paradox, or a desire to produce effect; and nothing can be so striking as the air of candour and impartiality that prevails through the whole work. If any traces of prejudice may still be detected, they have manifestly survived the most strenuous efforts to efface them. The strongest, we think, are against French character and English manners—with some, perhaps, against the French Revolution, and its late Imperial consummator. He is very prone to admire Nature—but not easily satisfied with Man;—and, though most intolerant of intolerance, and most indulgent to those defects of which adventitious advantages make men most impatient, he is evidently of opinion that scarcely any thing is exactly as it should be in the present state of society—and that little more can be said for most existing habits and institutions, than that they have been, and might have been, worse. The book, however, is full of lively as well as judicious remarks, and contains a great deal of miscellaneous and incidental information, not necessarily connected with the localities of the tourist; while its great charm and recommendation undoubtedly is, that we feel it, all through, to be the work of a man who sees and thinks for himself, and is eminently successful in making his readers both see what he has seen, and understand what he has thought and felt on the journey.

He sets out for the most picturesque country of Europe, from that which is certainly the least so:—and gives the first indications of his sensitiveness on these topics, by a passing critique on the ancient chateaus of France, and their former inhabitants. We may as well introduce him to our readers with this passage as with any other.

* These edifices are stuck up between architectural plantations, of a bad growth, in straight walks, regularly arched inside, and squared outside, where not a twig, or so much as a leaf, projecting beyond its neighbour, ever escapes the busy shears. If the ground slopes at all, terraces appear one above the other, like stairs, each with its *patterne* of box borders and sand walks, lattice-work, *jets-d'eau*, and statues. Woods, where there are any, are always cut down every fifteen or twenty years. The same person who spends a million of francs in mason-work, lead pipes, flower-pots, and hot-houses, speculates on a few acres of faggots, and puts his park (as they call

their pleasure-grounds) *en coupe réglée* to the very door of the *château*, without suffering a single plant to preserve, or even attain, the form nature intended. A few people, having pretensions to modern taste, allow themselves a bit of lawn; but the grass is only rank weeds, too scanty and poor for a meadow, too high for pasture; one quarter of the labour bestowed, and the expense incurred, in pruning the trees, would keep this grass in good order. The walks are strewn over with river sand, which never binds, and it is brought from a distance at great expense; while the earth on the spot, coarsely sifted, would yield very good gravel. All these residences, with their *esplanades* of white sand before, and of street pavements behind, which dazzle your eyes in summer, and feel uncomfortable to your feet at all times, banish all thoughts of the country. You do not meet with any well-grown trees in the environs of Paris; those of the lower part of St Cloud are indeed magnificent, and some in the Tuilleries may be called fine; but their style of beauty is that of a forest. The effect of a full-grown single tree, or group of trees, balancing their horizontal limbs and vast masses of foliage with graceful majesty over the velvet lawn, is quite unknown in France; I have not seen any—except in lithographic prints in the shop-windows along the quays, or at the opera.' I. 5, 6.

And even after he has got down to Dijon, he observes—

'A few comfortable residences, scattered about the country, have lately put us in mind how very rare they are in general: Instead of them, you meet, not unfrequently, some ten or twenty miserable hovels, crowded together round what was formerly the stronghold of the lord of the manor; a narrow, dark, prison-like building, with small grated windows, embattled walls, and turrets peeping over thatched roofs; the lonely cluster seems unconnected with the rest of the country, and may be said to represent the feudal system, as plants in a *hortus siccus* do the vegetable. Long before the Revolution, these châteaux had been forsaken by their *seigneurs*, for the nearest country town; where Monsieur le Comte, or Monsieur le Marquis, decorated with the cross of St Louis, made shift to live on his paltry seigniorial dues, and rent ill paid by a starving peasantry; spending his time in reminiscences of gallantry with the old dowagers of the place, who rouged and wore patches, dressed in hoops and high-heeled shoes, full four inches, and long pointed elbow-ruffles, balanced with lead. Not one individual of this good company knew any thing of what was passing in the world, or suspected that any change had taken place since the days of Louis XIV. No book found its way there; no one read, not even a newspaper. When the Revolution burst upon this inferior nobility of the provinces, it appeared to them like Attila and the Huns to the people of the fifth century—the Scourge of God, coming no body knew whence, for the mere purpose of destruction—a savage enemy, speaking an unknown language, with whom no compromise could be made.' I. 14, 15.

After passing Jougne, the country, he says, begins to assume a Swiss aspect; and the altered physiognomy, and greater cleanliness of the people, as well as the huge, low walled, high roofed, wooden houses, all intimate to the traveller that he is leaving the precincts of France. The first view of the new country is given with a freshness of feeling which we are tempted to preserve in an extract.

Soon after passing the frontiers of the two countries, the view, heretofore bounded by near objects, woods and pastures, rocks and snows, opened all at once upon the Canton de Vaud, and upon half Switzerland; a vast extent of undulating country, tufted woods and fields, and silvery streams and lakes; villages and towns, with their antique towers, and their church-steeple shining in the sun.

The lake of Neuchatel, far below on the left, and those of Morat and of Vienne, like mirrors set in deep frames, contrasted by the tranquillity of their lucid surfaces, with the dark shades and broken grounds and ridges of the various landscape. Beyond this vast extent of country, its villages and towns, woods, lakes and mountains; beyond all terrestrial objects—beyond the horizon itself, rose a long range of aerial forms of the softest pale pink hue; these were the high Alps, the rampart of Italy, from Mont Blanc in Savoy, to the glaciers of the Oberland, and even farther. Their angle of elevation seen from this distance is very small indeed. Faithfully represented in a drawing, the effect would be insignificant; but the aerial perspective amply restored those proportions lost in the mathematical perspective.

The human mind thirsts after immensity and immutability, and duration without bounds; but it needs some tangible object from which to take its flight,—something present to lead to futurity, something bounded from whence to rise to the infinite. This vault of the heavens over our heads, sinking all terrestrial objects into absolute nothingness, might seem best fitted to awaken the creative powers of the mind; but mere space is not a perceptible object to which we can readily apply a scale, while the Alps, seen at a glance between heaven and earth—met as it were on the confines of the regions of fancy and of sober reality, are there like written characters, traced by a divine hand, and suggesting thoughts such as human language never reached.

Coming down the Jura, a long descent brought us to what appeared a plain, but which proved a varied country with hills and dales, divided into neat enclosures of hawthorn in full bloom, and large hedgerow trees, mostly walnut, oak, and ash. It had altogether very much the appearance of the most beautiful parts of England, although the enclosures were on a smaller scale, and cottages less neat and ornamented. They differed entirely from France, where the dwellings are always collected in villages, the fields all open, and without trees. Numerous streams of the clearest water

crossed the road, and watered very fine meadows. The houses, built of stone, low, broad, and massy, either thatched or covered with heavy wooden shingles, and shaded with magnificent walnut trees, might all have furnished studies to an artist.' I. 25-27.

The following, however, is more characteristic of the author's vigorous and familiar, but somewhat quaint and abrupt, style of description.

' One of the most beautiful parts of the Jura is that where the dent-de-vaillon is situated with the source of the Orbe and its falls. We set out early on a fine morning, *unseen*, to visit it; and our charrs-a-banc reached the village of Ballaigne in five hours, stopping in the way at the *Grotte aux fées*, a cavern, from the mouth of which, as from a balcony at an upper window, you look down some hundreds of feet on the torrent of the Orbe, in its deep bed of rocks and woody precipices. Leaving our equipages at Ballaigne, and taking a guide, we proceeded to the falls of the Orbe, through a hanging wood of fine old oaks, and came, after a long descent, to a place where the Orbe breaks through a great mass of ruins, which, at some very remote period, have fallen from the mountain, and entirely obstructed its channel. All the earth, and all the smaller fragments, having long since disappeared, the water now works its way, with great noise and fury, among the larger fragments, and falls above the height of eighty feet in the very best style. The blocks, many of them as large as a good-sized three-story house, are heaped up most strangely, jammed in by their angles—in equilibrium on a point, or forming perilous bridges, over which you may, with proper precaution, pick your way to the other side. The quarry from which the materials of the bridge came is just above your head, and the miners are still at work—air, water, frost, weight, and time. The strata of limestone are evidently breaking down; their deep rents are widening, and enormous masses, loosened from the mountain, and suspended on their precarious bases, seem only waiting for the last effort of the great lever of nature to take the horrid leap, and bury under some hundred feet of new chaotic ruins, the trees, the verdant lawn—and yourself, who are looking on and foretelling the catastrophe. We left this scene at last reluctantly, and, after long climbing, regained Ballaigne, where the least active of the party, mounting their charr-a-banc, went home, while we proceeded towards the *dent-de-vaillon*, at the base of which we arrived in two hours, and in two hours more reached the summit, which is four thousand four hundred and seventy-six feet above the sea, and three thousand three hundred and forty-two feet above the lake of Geneva. Our path lay over smooth turf, sufficiently steep to make it difficult to climb. At the top we found a narrow ridge, not more than one hundred yards wide. The south view, a most magnificent one, was unfortunately too like the one at our entrance into Switzerland to bear a second description; the other side of the ridge can scarcely

be approached without terror, being almost perpendicular. Crawling, therefore, on our hands and knees, we ventured, in this modest attitude, to look out of the window at the hundred and fiftieth story (at least two thousand feet), and see what was doing in the street. Herds of cattle in the *infiniment petit* were grazing on the verdant lawn of a narrow vale, on the other side of which, a mountain, overgrown with dark pines, marked the boundary of France. Jougne, and the road by which we had entered Switzerland, formed a zig-zag line between the mountains. Towards the west, we saw a piece of water, which appeared like a mere fishpond. It was the lake of Joux, two leagues in length, and half a league in breadth. We were to look for our night's lodgings in the village on its banks. At sunset, we began to descend, or run down the smooth pasture grounds, scarcely able to stop ourselves, and reached the lake in less than a quarter of the time we had employed in going up.' I. 33-36.

'Bienne struck us as more Swiss than any thing we had yet seen, or rather as if we were entering Switzerland for the first time; every thing looked and sounded so foreign, and yet to see the curiosity we excited the moment we landed and entered the streets, we might have supposed it was ourselves who looked rather outlandish. The women wore their hair plaited down to their heels, while the full petticoat did not descend near so far. Several groups of them, sitting at their doors, sung in *parts* with an accuracy of ear and of taste innate among the Germans. Gateways fortified with towers intersect the streets, which are composed of strange-looking houses built on arcades, like those of bridges, and variously painted, blue with yellow borders, red with white, or purple and grey; projecting iron balconies, highly worked and of a glossy black, with bright green windows. The luxury of fountains and of running water is still greater here than at Neuchâtel, and you might be tempted to quench your thirst in the kennel, it runs so clear and pure. These public fountains are adorned with figures which characterize sufficiently the respective periods of their construction. Those of the fifteenth century have bearded warriors; those of the sixteenth, angels of light with wings, and angels of darkness with tails. Watchmen perambulate the streets all night, as in England, proclaiming in German recitativo what o'clock it is, the state of the weather, and tranquillizing the citizens and their wives on the subject of fire and thieves. At the welcome sound they turn on their other side, and go to sleep.—Morning and evening, goats, in immense droves, conducted to or from the mountain, traverse the streets, and stop of themselves, each at its own door. In the interior of the houses, most articles of furniture are quaintly shaped and ornamented, old-looking, but rubbed bright, and in good preservation; from the nut-cracker, curiously carved, to the double-necked cruets, pouring oil and vinegar out of the same bottle. The accommodations at the inn are homely, but not uncomfortable; substantially good, though not elegant.' I. 65, 66.

We may add the following, which is in the same style.

' It rained all day yesterday, and we remained shut up in our room at a German inn in Waldshut, enjoying a day's rest with our books, and observing men and manners in Germany, through the small round panes of our casements. The projecting roofs of houses afford so much shelter on both sides of the streets, that the beau sex of Waldshut were out all day long in their Sunday clothes, as if it had been fine weather; their long yellow hair in a single plait hung down to their heels, along a back made very straight by the habit of carrying pails of milk and water on the head; their snow-white shift-sleeves, rolled up to the shoulder, exposed to view a sinew, sun-burnt arm; the dark red stays were laced with black in front, and a petticoat scarcely longer than the Scotch kilt, hid nothing of the lower limb, nor of a perfectly neat stocking well stretched by red garters full in sight. The aged among them, generally frightful, looked like withered little old men in disguise. We had time, likewise, to examine the furniture of our apartment. The most prominent articles were, an oaken sofa of high antiquity, carved all over to imitate point-lace, curiously woven into a rich pattern; then, a ponderous table, also of ancient oak, with spreading legs to secure it against overturns in case of an earthquake, these convulsions of nature being very frequent along the Rhine during the fifteenth century, a period when this table might have been in its prime. The worsted carpet covering, glowing with the primitive colours of the rainbow, had seen many generations of travellers, and promised to see many more, from the uniform care with which furniture is kept in German houses, although neatness, particularly as to floors and stairs, is not so conspicuous as in Switzerland. Not a soul in the house spoke any thing but German, except the landlord, who understood a little French, and, bowing at every word, said, *J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer*, whenever we called for any thing.' I. 87; 88.

It would be endless to follow this industrious traveller through the whole of his route—or to attempt an abstract of his travels;—all we can pretend to is, to give a few specimens of his manner, and to select some things that appear to be striking. Of all the Swiss cities, he seems to have been most struck with Berne; and the impression made by its majestic exterior, has even made him a little too partial, we think, to its aristocratic constitution. His description of its appearance is given with equal sprit and precision.

' These fine woods extend almost to the very gates of Berne, where you arrive under an avenue of limes, which, in this season, perfume the air. There are seats on the side of the road, for the convenience of foot-passengers, especially women going to market, with a shelf above, at the height of a person standing, for the purpose of receiving their baskets while they rest themselves on the bench: you meet also with fountains at regular distances. A Bernese road resembles the best roads in England, only wider. They are carried in

every direction, even to the highest mountains, on the borders of eternal snows ; and all this, I understand, without *corvées*, without a tax, or even a toll. The whole country has the appearance of English pleasure grounds. The town itself stands on the elevated banks of a rapid river, the Aar, to which the Rhine is indebted for one half of its waters. A sudden bend of the stream encloses, on all sides but one, the promontory on which the town is built ; the magnificent slope is in some places covered with turf, supported in others by lofty terraces planted with trees, and commanding wonderful views over the surrounding rich country, and the high Alps beyond it.

‘ It is not an easy matter to account for the first impression you receive upon entering Berne. You certainly think you enter an ancient and a great city ; yet, before the eleventh century, it had not a name, and its present population does not exceed twelve thousand souls. It is a republic ; yet it looks kingly. Something of Roman majesty appears in its lofty terraces ; in those massy arches on each side of the streets ; in the abundance of water flowing night and day into gigantic basins ; in the magnificent avenues of trees. The very silence, and absence of bustle, a certain stateliness and reserved demeanour in the inhabitants, by showing it to be not a money-making town, implies that its wealth springs from more solid and permanent sources than trade can afford, and that another spirit animates its inhabitants. In short, of all the first-sight impressions and guesses about Berne, that of its being a Roman town would be nearer right than any other. Circumstances, in some respects similar, have produced like results in the Alps, and on the plains of Latium, at the interval of twenty centuries. Luxury at Berne seems wholly directed to objects of public utility. By the side of those gigantic terraces, of those fine fountains and noble shades, you see none but simple and solid dwellings, yet scarcely any beggarly ones ; not an equipage to be seen, but many a country waggon, coming to market, with a capital team of horses, or oxen, well appointed every way.

‘ Aristocratic pride is said to be excessive at Berne ; and the antique simplicity of its magistrates, the plain and easy manners they uniformly preserve in their intercourse with the people, are not by any means at variance with the assertion ; for that external simplicity and affability to inferiors is one of the characteristics of the aristocratic government ; all assumption of superiority being carefully avoided when real authority is not in question. Zurich suggests the idea of a municipal aristocracy ; Berne of a warlike one : there, we think we see citizens of a town transformed into nobility ; here, nobles who have made themselves citizens.’ I. 213—217.

After all the descriptions that have been given of Mont Blanc and Chamouni, the following appears to us to deserve an extract—as being at once far shorter, more lively, and more distinct, than any other with which we are acquainted.

‘ The Valley of Chamouni may be compared to a street, with splen-

did edifices reared by the hand of Nature on either side. They are so high, and the interval (about half a mile) comparatively so narrow, that little more is seen than the ground story. The magnificent front of Mont Blanc, rising to the height of eleven thousand seven hundred and eighty perpendicular feet above Chamouni, itself three thousand feet above the sea, occupies six or eight miles in length of that sort of street on the south side of it; and over the way stands the Bréven, which is Mont Blanc's nearest neighbour. Other mountains follow on that side as far as the Col-de-Balme, which terminates the long vista at the distance of about eighteen miles. The first evening of our arrival we merely went curiously along, looking in wonder on the buttresses, which at regular distances seem to prop up the base of Mont Blanc. They are, I believe, all composed of calcareous strata, turned up against the granitic mass, and less precipitous than the rest of the front. They afford a footing for trees, differing in species according to height; the first zone deciduous, the next composed of pines, then larches; forest above forest, waving their tufty and dark shades, accessible as far as three or four thousand feet above Chamouni. *The interval between each of these verdant buttresses is filled by a glacier.* There are six or seven of them, those of *Taconay* and *Bossons*, before coming to Chamouni; and those of *Montanvert*, *Des Bois*, *D'Argentiere*, and *De la Tour* beyond it; the *Glacier des Bois* is the most considerable. The cap of snow over the head of Mont Blanc, turned to hard ice solely by the pressure of its own accumulating mass, covers the neck and shoulders of the giant, and hangs down to the ground, forming an irregular drapery, of which the glaciers just enumerated are the skirts. It is the quantity of snow falling upon the top of Mont Blanc, that is upon the upper third of its height, where it never melts; and not the intenseness of the cold, which determines the progressive encroachments at the lower end of the glaciers, over the green fields of the valleys. Last winter, for instance, was remarkably mild all over Europe, but it was rainy; and as rain is always snow on the top of high mountains, the accumulation has, by its weight, pushed down the glaciers some hundred feet further than usual, over the valley of Chamouni. It does not follow, however, that the encroachment will be permanent; for the glacier, encountering more heat as it descends lower, the principle of dissolution will ever be found commensurate. Indeed, whatever may be said of encroachments, the existence of *moraines*, or accumulation of stone, so far beyond the present limits of the glaciers, and covered with trees of several centuries' growth, can leave no doubt of their having, at various times, advanced and receded much beyond their present limits, although their progress has been very mischievous of late. With slow but irresistible power, the ice pushes forward vast heaps of stones, bends down large trees to the earth, and gradually passes over them. It does not form a field of ice by any means, and scarcely presents an inch of even surface; the whole bristling over with

sharp ridges, and points bent forwards like the pikes of embattled soldiers. At the edge of the glaciers, those irregular masses of ice, hollowed and undermined by heat, assume various fantastic appearances—a cavern, the wreck of a ship, the devouring jaws of nameless monsters, wide, open, and dripping blood; ferruginous earth, often adhering to the ice, is washed down into red streaks. Although the fragments are often so dirty as to be scarcely distinguishable from the mud and stones among which they have tumbled; yet, when broken, their fracture presents beautiful crystallizations of extremely hard ice, perfectly transparent, and not *porous* as I expected, although divided by numerous interstices like those of coral. Streams of water, of a milky appearance, continually issuing from under the glacier, had formed new channels through the adjacent meadows, cut into ravines, and extending the destruction far beyond what the ice covered. The miserable inhabitants, collected into melancholy groups, looked on dejectedly; but some of them, turning their misfortune to good account, told their sad story, and begged, with a certificate of the magistrates in their hand. Several dwellings, are actually under the glaciers, and others await the same destruction. These accidental encroachments of the glaciers, after all, rarely extend to one hundred feet in a season, and more commonly not to one-fourth of that.' I. 292-296.

We are tempted to go on a little with our adventurous traveller, and to give our untravelled readers a glimpse of the perils and delights of these alpine excursions.

'The first dawn of the morning, which was very fine, found us up, and ready to storm the Breven; the ladies mounted on their mules, and the gentlemen armed with their sticks, shod with a point of iron; an article deemed necessary for a mountain expedition, and which has a knowing look about it, a certain *air de glacier* which is very captivating; yet it is in general rather an incumbrance, as on plain ground you have to carry it, and in difficult places you can make a better use of your hands in holding by rocks and bushes.—In ascending the Breven we had three guides with us, who, at the moderate rate of five francs a day, would climb and talk, and fight their battles over again for our instruction and amusement. One of them *Jacques Balma, dit des dames*, on account of his particular attention to ladies climbing under his guidance, gave us, on our return in the evening, after so many hours of hard labour, a proof of his undiminished strength, spirit, and, perhaps, rashness, at the age of sixty. A party of young men, on a botanizing excursion, spied a very fine, and, I presume, rare plant, (*saxifraga pyramidalis*, I think it was called), blooming in apparent safety out of reach, on the top of an inaccessible rock. Jacques Balma considered a few minutes, then took off his shoes, and securing a foot here, a hand there, holding once by his teeth to a twig, springing from a shelving place to another like a chamois, or writhing like a snake among stones and bushes out of sight, without once hesitating or looking back,

worked himself up to the pyramidal bunch of flowers, and threw it down to the wondering spectators. That was not enough; another bunch of flowers, another laurel-wreath bloomed over his head, in a still more difficult and hazardous situation. He sprung for it; we joined our entreaties to those of the other guides, who warned him of his danger, and then turned away, not to appear to encourage the mad attempt. A general exclamation induced us soon after to look again. We beheld him in equilibrium on his breast, plucking the flower with the toes of an outstretched leg! How he came down I do not know; it was, perhaps, still more hazardous than going up; but in a few minutes we saw him again by our side, his load on his back, and not even out of breath. When the intrepid old fellow waited on us at supper in the evening, I felt ashamed to see him behind my chair. Jacques Balma was born a goatherd, and is, perhaps, less well-informed than many of the other guides; but he has in him that genuine spirit, which makes heroes either for good, for indifferent, or for bad purposes.

At nearly three thousand feet above Chamouni there is a *châlet* on the *Breven*, where travellers may procure milk, and get some sort of shelter under the miserable roof; for the *châlets* of Savoy are vastly inferior to those of Switzerland. The view of Mont Blanc is here nearly as good as from the top of the *Breven*; and as all the difficulty of the ascent is to come, there is really no reason to go farther, unless it is *pour la gloire*, like Jacques Balma. *Pour la gloire*, then, all those of our party, who were game, or at least had some little reputation that way to support, set off from the *châlet* with two of the guides. There was no difficulty till we came to the first field of snow, which was very steep and very slippery; a back-sliding might have been serious on account of the difficulty of stopping. By striking in the end of your foot at every step you take, you get a secure footing, and may anchor yourself, with your hands in the snow, when the declivity is very great—without a stick, nearly as well as with it. At the Chimney, a difficult passage at all times, the guides had a consultation, as it had not been tried yet this season. We might have turned it, by another field of snow, but it was more precipitous than the first, therefore it was determined to make for the chimney—first climbing a steep rock with very little difficulty, and no danger, provided you do not look behind. Above that is *the chimney*, a chasm or recess full of ice, which, melting first where it touches the rock, had left a vacant space of about two feet. With your back against the smooth ice, and plying diligently with feet, knees, and hands against the rock, in the manner chimney-sweepers do, you may work yourself up, with tolerable ease and comfort, to the top, some twenty or thirty feet, in a very few minutes. There you find another field of snow-ice not at all steep, then a very steep ascent, and the last, wholly composed of broken schist, which brings you to the signals, two rude constructions like altars, on the top of the *Breven*. The prospect of Mont Blanc was here very

little different from what we had found it at the *châlet*, yet the summit of Mont Blanc, the *bosse du dromedaire*, appeared now less foreshortened, and the whirlwinds of snow-dust upon it were clearly distinguished athwart the dark-blue of the sky, moving round with great violence on particular spots.—The view here was undoubtedly a most extraordinary one, placed full in front, and about mid-height of Mont Blanc, and therefore at equal distance between the summit and the base. Sufficiently far to embrace the whole at one glance, sufficiently near to distinguish every detail, we saw this stupendous object like a full-length picture hung up there for our pleasure and information. When we began to ascend the *Breven*, and half way up to its *châlet*, we could not turn round and look at Mont Blanc, without experiencing the terrific sensation of its *falling down over us*. Several of our party made use of this expression, at the same time averting their eyes in terror, which shows how general and how strong the impression was; but as we ascended higher, it ceased.—Our coming down from the top of the *Breven*, over the fields of snow, although not entirely without hazard, was, at least, a less laborious operation—the guides gave the example of sliding down, in a standing posture, holding their great stick behind them to steer by, as well as steady themselves; they thus traversed the air like winged mercuries, scarcely furrowing the snow, in the direction they chose, with equal ease, swiftness, and elegance of motion. But, as this was too much for us to attempt, they gave us next an elementary lesson of *bottom-trailing*; that is, sliding down in a sitting posture, always steering by the stick held behind in the snow. Although this seemed very easy, several of us, frightened at their own swiftness, or wishing to do better than well, and making too violent a use of the stick, either to stop their motion suddenly, or steer abruptly to the right or left, broke it short, and thus become ungovernable, flew headlong to what appeared to them impending destruction, with every variety of awkwardness, and expression of dismay in their gestures, yet arrived in perfect safety in the arms of the guides, accustomed to these sorts of accidents, and prepared for them.' I. 296—303.

Every one has heard of the avalanches or slips of snow that characterize the scenery of Switzerland, and add so much to its sublimity and dangers; but very few, we believe, of those who have not actually visited the country, are aware of the great frequency of these occurrences, and of the extent of the mischief they occasion. The following passage gives an admirable account of the distant appearance of the phenomena; and is, in all respects, characteristic of the author.

'After nearly five hours' toil, we reached a *châlet* on the top of the mountain, (the *Wingernalp*.) This summer habitation of the shepherds was still unoccupied; for the snow having been unusually deep last winter, and the grass, till lately covered, being still very short, the cows have not ventured so high. Here we resolved upon a halt,

and having implements for striking fire, a few dry sticks gave us a cheerful blaze in the open air. A pail of cream, or at least of very rich milk, was brought up by the shepherds, with a kettle to make coffee, and afterwards boil the milk; very large wooden spoons or ladles answered the purpose of cups. The stock of provisions we had brought was spread upon the very low roof of the chalet, being the best station for our *repas champetre*, as it afforded dry seats sloping conveniently towards the prospect. We had then before us the *Jung-fraw*, the two *Eigers*, and some of the highest summits in the Alps, shooting up from an uninterrupted level of glaciers of more than two hundred square miles; and although placed ourselves four thousand five hundred feet above the lake of Thun, and that lake one thousand seven hundred and eighty feet above the sea, the mighty rampart rose still six thousand feet above our head. Between us and the Jungfraw, the desert valley of Trumlatenthal formed a deep trench, into which avalanches fell, with scarcely a quarter of an hour's interval between them, followed by a thundering noise continued along the whole range; not, however, a reverberation of sound, for echo is mute under the universal winding-sheet of snow, but a prolongation of sound, in consequence of the successive rents or fissures forming themselves, when some large section of the glacier slides down one step.

'We sometimes saw a blue line suddenly drawn across a field of pure white; then another, above it, and another, all parallel, and attended each time with a loud crash like cannon, producing together the effect of long-protracted peals of thunder. At other times, some portion of the vast field of snow, or rather snowy ice, gliding gently away, exposed to view a new surface of purer white than the first, and the cast-off drapery gathering in long folds, * either fell

* 'Our guides assured us, that pushing with your foot against the edge of a beginning cleft in a bed of snow is often sufficient to determine the fall of an avalanche; that is, the sliding of the newer over the older bed of snow. The discharge of a gun, the jingling of the bells of mules, the voices of men, may be attended with the same consequences. Avalanches in the shape of loose dust (*staubleuinen*) are the most dangerous, on account of the great space they involve, and the whirlwinds which accompany them, often so very violent, as to tear up the trees by the roots, demolish houses, and move large stones; while an avalanche of compact snow or ice only strikes a narrow field. The latter sort of avalanche takes place in spring and summer only; the former in winter. It is deemed unsafe to cut down the grass on very steep declivities, as it binds the snow to the ground, and prevents its sliding down; an instance of apparent disproportion between causes and effects, which recalls to mind the Dutch expedient for securing their dykes against the encroachments of the sea, viz. by covering them with straw mats pinned down to the ground.'

at once down the precipice, or disappeared behind some intervening ridge, which the sameness of colour rendered invisible, and was again seen soon after in another direction, shooting out of some narrow channel a cataract of white dust, which, observed through a telescope, was, however, found to be composed of broken fragments of ice or compact snow, many of them sufficient to overwhelm a village, if there had been any in the valley where they fell. Seated on the chalet's roof, the ladies forgot they were cold, wet, bruised, and hungry, and the cup of smoking *café au lait* stood still in their hand, while waiting in breathless suspense for the next avalanche, wondering equally at the death-like silence intervening between each, and the thundering crash which followed. I must own, that while we shut our ears, the mere sight might dwindle down to the effect of a fall of snow from the roof of a house; but when the potent sound was heard along the whole range of many miles, when the time of awful suspense between the fall and the crash was measured, the imagination, taking flight, outstripped all bounds at once, and went beyond the mighty reality itself. It would be difficult to say where the creative powers of imagination stop, even the coldest; for our common feelings—our grossest sensations—are infinitely indebted to them; and man, without his fancy, would not have the energy of the dumbest animal. Yet we feel more pleasure and more pride in the consciousness of another treasure of the breast, which tames the flight of this same imagination, and brings it back to sober reality and plain truth.

‘When we first approached the Alps, their bulk, their stability and duration, compared to our own inconsiderable size, fragility, and shortness of days, strikes our imagination with terror; while reason, unappalled, measuring these masses, calculating their elevation, analyzing their substance, finds in them only a little inert matter, scarcely forming a wrinkle on the face of our earth, that earth an inferior planet in the solar system, and that system one only among myriads, placed at distances whose very incommensurability is in a manner measured. What, again, are those giants of the Alps, and their duration—those revolving worlds—that space—the universe—compared to the intellectual faculty capable of bringing the whole fabric into the compass of a single thought, where it is all curiously and accurately delineated! How superior, again, the exercise of that faculty, when rising from effects to causes, and judging, by analogy, of things as yet unknown by those we know, we are taught to look into futurity for a better state of existence, and in the hope itself find new reason to hope!

‘We were shown an inaccessible shelf of rock, on the west side of the *Jung-frau*; upon which a lammergeyer (the vulture of lambs) once alighted with an infant it had carried away from the village of *Murren*, situated above the Staubbach; some red scraps, remnants of the child's clothes, were for years observed, says the tradition, on the fatal spot.’ I. 234—239.

There are innumerable valleys in Switzerland, besides that of Trumlatenthal, which are entirely deserted, and almost inaccessible to any thing having life, in consequence of being the constant receptacles of these tremendous visitations from the surrounding cliffs. There is, at page 364, a very striking account of the tragical effects produced, only three years ago, by the temporary damming up of the river Dranse, in one of those valleys which open upon that of Bagne. The scantiness of the water that reached the inhabited parts, at the time when the stream should have been fullest, gave rise to suspicions; and, upon ascending to the desert part, a great lake was found to have accumulated behind an immense barrier of ice, brought down by the avalanches of the preceding winter, and which threatened to deluge the whole country, as soon as this perishable bulwark came to be melted away. Immediate measures were taken to open a tunnel or gallery through the ice, and so to drain the lake by degrees. But, though the greatest skill and industry were employed, and a very great part of the accumulated water actually discharged by this artificial opening, the whole dike at last gave way, on the 16th of June, and a dreadful inundation ensued. The rapid increase of the heat had loosened and disengaged several of the huge masses of which the bulwark was composed, which, parting from the rest with loud explosions, floated up to the surface, and weakened and undermined its foundations. The catastrophe was, in this way, in some measure foreseen and provided for; but, when it did come, it was still sufficiently terrible.

‘ At half past four in the evening, a terrible explosion announced the breaking up of the dike; and the waters of the lake rushing through, all at once formed a torrent, one hundred feet in depth, which traversed the first eighteen miles in the space of forty minutes, carrying away one hundred and thirty *chalets*, a whole forest, and an immense quantity of earth and stone. When it reached Bagne, the ruins of all description borne along with it, formed a moving mountain, three hundred feet high, from which a column of thick vapour arose, like the smoke of a great fire. An English traveller, accompanied by a young artist, Mr P. of Lausanne, and a guide, had been visiting the works, and on his return was approaching Bagne, when, turning round by chance, he saw the frightful object just described coming down, the distant noise of which had been lost in the nearer roar of the Dranse. He clapt spurs to his horse to warn his companion, as well as three other travellers who had joined them. All dismounting, scrambled up the mountain precipitately, and arrived in safety beyond the reach of the deluge, which, in an instant, filled the valley beneath.—From Bagne the inundation reached Martigny, four leagues, in fifty minutes, bearing away in

that space thirty-five houses, eight windmills, ninety-five barns, but only nine persons, and very few cattle, most of the inhabitants having been on their guard. The village of Beauvernier was saved by a projecting rock, which diverted the torrent. It was seen passing like an arrow by the side of the village, without touching it, though much higher than the roofs of the houses. The fragments of rocks and stones deposited before reaching Martigny, entirely covered a vast extent of meadows and fields. Here it was divided; but eighty buildings of this town were destroyed, and many were injured. The streets were filled with trees and rubbish; but only thirty-four persons appear to have lost their lives at Martigny, the inhabitants having retired to the mountains. Below Martigny the inundation spreading wide, deposited a quantity of slime and mud, so considerable, as it is hoped, will redeem an extensive swamp. The Rhone received it by degrees, and at different points, without overflowing, till it reached the Lake of Geneva at eleven o'clock at night, and was lost in its vast expanse, having gone over eighteen Swiss leagues in six hours and a half, with a gradually retarded movement.' I. 367-369.

Such are a part of the dangers by which the delights of an Alpine residence are compensated. But there are others still more frightful, both to the imagination, and in reality. The snow does not only slide from the mountains, but the mountains themselves slide down upon the valleys. This, too, is by no means an uncommon phenomenon, but is liable to occur in all the vast and numerous mountains that are stratified—the strata lying generally at so high an angle of inclination, as to be extremely likely to slip, when any of the softer ones that are interposed are so far disintegrated or lubricated by water as no longer to adhere firmly to the upper portion, but to allow it to slip down the inclined plane on which it rests. The most extensive catastrophe of this kind that has occurred of late years, took place in 1806, in the mountain of Rossberg, where a space twice as large as the city of Paris slipped down at once into the Lake of Lawertz, and occasioned the most dreadful devastation. This mountain was composed of parallel *strata* of pudding-stone, separated in many places by thin beds of argillaceous earth, liable to be turned, by the introduction of water, into a smooth slippery mud, and over the highly inclined bed of which the upper strata would therefore slide, 'just as a ship,' says our author, 'in the act of launching, slides on her ways.' The following are some of the interesting particulars that are here recorded of this terrible disaster.

'The summer of 1806 had been very rainy, and on the 1st and 2d of September it rained incessantly. New crevices were observed in the flank of the mountain; a sort of cracking noise was heard internally; stones started out of the ground; detached fragments of

rocks rolled down the mountain. At two o'clock in the afternoon, on the 2d of September, a large rock became loose, and, in falling, raised a cloud of black dust. Toward the lower part of the mountain, the ground seemed pressed down from above; and when a stick or a spade was driven in, it moved of itself. A man who had been digging in his garden, ran away from fright at these extraordinary appearances. Soon a fissure, larger than all the others, was observed; insensibly it increased. Springs of water ceased all at once to flow; the pine-trees of the forest absolutely reeled; birds flew away screaming. A few minutes before five o'clock, the symptoms of some mighty catastrophe became still stronger; the whole surface of the mountain seemed to glide down, but so slowly as to afford time to the inhabitants to go away. An old man, who had often predicted some such disaster, was quietly smoking his pipe, when told by a young man, running by, that the mountain was in the act of falling. He rose and looked out, but came in to his house again, saying, he had time to fill another pipe. The young man, continuing to fly, was thrown down several times, and escaped with difficulty. Looking back, he saw the house carried off all at once.

Another inhabitant, being alarmed, took two of his children and ran away with them, calling to his wife to follow with the third; but she went in for another, who still remained, (Marianne, aged five). Just then Francisca Ulrich, their servant, was crossing the room with this Marianne, whom she held by the hand, and saw her mistress. At that instant, as Francisca afterwards said, "the house appeared to be torn from its foundation (it was of wood), and spun round and round like a *tetotum*. I was sometimes on my head, sometimes on my feet, in total darkness, and violently separated from the child." When the motion stopped, she found herself jammed in on all sides, with her head downwards, much bruised, and in extreme pain. She supposed she was buried alive at a great depth. With much difficulty she disengaged her right hand, and wiped the blood from her eyes. Presently she heard the faint moans of Marianne, and called to her by her name. The child answered that she was on her back, among stones and bushes which held her fast, but that her hands were free, and that she saw the light, and even something green. She asked whether people would not soon come to take them out. Francisca answered, that it was the day of judgment, and that no one was left to help them, but that they would be released by death, and be happy in heaven. They prayed together. At last, Francisca's ear was struck by the sound of a bell, which she knew to be that of Stenenberg; then seven o'clock struck in another village, and she began to hope there were still living beings, and endeavoured to comfort the child. The poor little girl was at first clamorous for her supper; but her cries soon became fainter, and at last quite died away. Francisca, still with her head downwards, and surrounded with damp earth, experienced a sense of cold in her feet almost insupportable. After prodigious efforts, she succeeded in disengaging

her legs, and thinks this saved her life. Many hours had passed in this situation, when she again heard the voice of Marianne, who had been asleep, and now renewed her lamentations. In the mean time the unfortunate father, who, with much difficulty, had saved himself and two children, wandered about till daylight, when he came among the ruins to look for the rest of his family. He soon discovered his wife, by a foot which appeared above ground. She was dead, with a child in her arms. His cries, and the noise he made in digging, were heard by Marianne, who called out. She was extricated with a broken thigh; and, saying that Francisca was not far off, a farther search led to her release also, but in such a state that her life was despaired of. She was blind for some days, and remained subject to convulsive fits of terror. It appeared that the house, or themselves at least, had been carried down about one thousand five hundred feet from where it stood before.

‘ In another place, a child two years old was found unhurt, lying on its straw mattress upon the mud, without any vestige of the house from which he had been separated. Such a mass of earth and stones rushed at once into the lake of Lowertz, although five miles distant, that one end of it was filled up, and a prodigious wave passing completely over the island of Schwanan, seventy feet above the usual level of the water, overwhelmed the opposite shore, and, as it returned, swept away into the lake many houses with their inhabitants.’ I. 181–184.

Another accident of the same kind occurred on the Lake of Lucerne, in 1801, when eleven persons were drowned at a village on the opposite side of the lake, by the wave raised by the plunge of the falling mass. And a still more tremendous one was threatened in 1795, when there seemed to be the most imminent hazard of the fall of the whole upper part of the steep and vast mountain of the Righi into the lake just mentioned; which must have been followed by the universal devastation of its wide and populous shores. The phenomenon is described by M. S. with his customary precision, as follows.

‘ In the spring of the year 1795, longitudinal cracks, or crevices, appeared on the perpendicular front of the Righi, at about one-third of its height, (seen from the Lake). The place is still distinguishable by its reddish colour. Before day, on the 16th of July, the inhabitants were awakened by strange noises, and soon observed a stream of mud, a mile wide, and fifty or sixty feet *high*, coming down upon them; but as it travelled very slowly, they had ample time to take care of their movables. Like a stream of lava, it overtopped and crushed down houses, walls, and every artificial obstacle in its way; and, flowing during a whole fortnight, covered a great part of the country with a bed of ferruginous clay, which the long application of industrious labour is only beginning to render productive. Doubtless this clay, intervening between strata of rock, and softened by the acci-

dental introduction of springs, was pressed out by the superincumbent weight of two or three thousand perpendicular feet of mountain ; and, as the fall of the Rossberg was also to all appearance determined by this same circumstance (*i. e.* the softening of the earthy strata into mud), and as the general dip of the strata is the same in both mountains, there was great reason to fear that the whole top of the Righi might have come down, sliding over its base, as a mere slice of the Rossberg did some years after. But as this mass would have been, at least, ten times as large as the other, it is frightful to think of the possible consequences of its fall into the lake. The waters, driven at one stroke from their bed, would have covered the valleys of the Four Waldstetten, assailed even the highest mountains, and perhaps swept away every living creature from the ancient hold of the Helvetic League ! That such a misfortune did not happen when appearances seemed so threatening, affords, however, strong reason for hoping that it will never happen in this place at least, the earthy stratum having been entirely squeezed out. In the case of the Rossberg, the catastrophe was announced by various signs, years beforehand, and so strongly for some hours before, as not to be mistaken,—affording ample time for the inhabitants to save their lives.

‘ When we were on the *Righi Coulm*, I observed a hole or crevice on the level top of the mountain, and about three hundred yards south of the house where we slept, in the direction of the lake of the Waldstetten, so situated as to absorb most of the waters of the melting snows, which then formed a stream into it, penetrating to the very heart of the mountain. Nothing is more likely to produce the dreadful accident under consideration. It seems obvious, that superficial drains should be made to lead away the waters.’
I. 200–202.

But we must now hasten from the Physical wonders of this country to some of the author's Moral observations ; and we are tempted to give the first place, to his unsparing but dispassionate remarks on the character of modern English travellers. At Geneva, he observes,

‘ English travellers swarm here, as everywhere else ; but they do not mix with the society of the country more than they do elsewhere, and seem to like it even less. The people of Geneva, on the other hand, say, “ Their former friends, the English, are so changed they scarcely know them again. They used to be a plain downright race, in whom a certain degree of *sauvagerie* (oddity and shyness) only served to set off the advantages of a highly cultivated understanding, of a liberal mind, and generous temper, which characterized them in general. Their young men were often rather wild, but soon reformed, and became like their fathers. Instead of this, we see (they say) a mixed assemblage, of whom lamentably few possess any of those qualities we were wont to admire in their predecessors. Their former shyness and reserve is changed to disdain and rudeness. If you see

these modern English, they keep aloof, do not mix in conversation, and seem to laugh at you. Their conduct, still more strange and unaccountable in regard to each other, is indicative of contempt or suspicion. Studiously avoiding to exchange a word with their countrymen, one would suppose they expected to find an adventurer in every individual of their own nation, not particularly introduced,—or at best a person beneath them. You cannot vex or displease them more than by inviting other English travellers to meet them, whom they may be compelled afterwards to acknowledge. If they do not find a crowd, they are tired. If you speak of the old English you formerly knew, that was before the Flood! If you talk of books, it is pedantry, and they yawn; of politics, they run wild about Buonaparte! Dancing is the only thing which is sure to please them. At the sound of the fiddle, the thinking nation starts up at once. Their young people are adepts in the art, and take pains to become so, spending half their time with the dancing-master. You may know the houses where they live by the scraping of the fiddle, and shaking of the floor, which disturb their neighbours. Few bring letters; and yet they complain they are neglected by the good company, and cheated by inn-keepers. The latter, accustomed to the *Milords Anglais* of former times, or at least having heard of them, think they may charge accordingly; but only find *des Anglais pour rire*, who bargain at the door, before they venture to come in, for the leg of mutton and bottle of wine, on which they mean to dine!" Placed as I am between the two parties, I hear young Englishmen repeat what they have heard in France, that the Genevans are cold, selfish, and interested, and their women *des précieuses ridicules*, the very milliners and mantua-makers giving themselves airs of modesty and deep reading! that there is no opera, nor *theatre des variétés*; in short, that Geneva is the dullest place in the world. Some say it is but a bad copy of England, a sham republic, and a scientific, no less than a political, counterfeit. In short, the friends of Geneva, among our modern English travellers, are not numerous—though they are select. These last distinguished themselves during the late hard winter by their bounty to the poor—not the poor of Geneva, who were sufficiently assisted by their richer countrymen, but those of Savoy, who were literally starving. If English travellers no longer appear in the same light as formerly, it is because they are not the same class of people who go abroad, but all classes,—and not the best of all classes either. They know it, and say it themselves; they feel the ridicule of their multitude, and of their conduct; they are ashamed and provoked; describe it with the most pointed irony, and tell many a humorous story against themselves. Formerly, the travelling class was composed of young men of good family and fortune, just of age, who, after leaving the University, went the tour of the Continent under the guidance of a learned tutor, often a very distinguished man, or of men of the same class, at a more advanced age, with their families, who, after many years spent in professional duties at home, came to visit again the countries they

had seen in their youth, and the friends they had known there. When no Englishman left his country either to seek his fortune, to save money, or to hide himself; when travellers of that nation were all very rich or very learned; of high birth, yet liberal principles; unbounded in their generosity, and with means equal to the inclination, their high standing in the world might well be accounted for; and it is a great pity they should have lost it. Were I an Englishman, I would not set out on my travels until the fashion were over.' I. 356-59.

At Schaffhausen, again, he observes,

'There were other admirers here besides ourselves, some English, and more Germans, who furnished us with an opportunity of comparing the difference of national manners. The former, divided into groupes, carefully avoiding any communication with each other still more than with the foreign travellers, never exchanged a word, and scarcely a look, with any but the legitimate interlocutors of their own set; women adhering more particularly to the rule, from native reserve and timidity, full as much as from pride or from extreme good breeding. Some of the ladies here might be Scotch; at least they wore the national colours, and we overheard them drawing comparisons between what we had under our eyes and Coralyn, giving, justly enough, the preference to the Clyde; but, at any rate, they behaved *à l'Anglaise*. The German ladies, on the contrary, contrived to *lier conversation* in indifferent French. With genuine simplicity, wholly unconscious of forwardness, although it might undoubtedly have been so qualified in England, they begged of my friend to let them hear a few words in English, just to know the sound, to which they were strangers. If we are to judge of the respective merits of these opposite manners, by the impression they leave, I think the question is already decided by the English against themselves; yet, at the same time that they blame and deride their own proud reserve, and would depart from it if they well knew how. Yet a few only venture:—and I really believe they are the best bred who thus allow themselves to be good-humoured and vulgar.' I. 94, 95.

We have not much to say in defence of our countrymen—but what may be said truly, ought not to be suppressed. That our travellers are now generally of a lower rank than formerly, and that not very many of them are fitted, either by their wealth or breeding, to uphold the character of the noble and honourable persons who once almost monopolized the advantages of foreign travel, is of course implied in the fact of their having become vastly more numerous,—without supposing any actual degeneracy in the nation itself. At a very popular point of M. Simond's journey, it appeared from a register which he consulted, that the proportion of travellers from different countries, was twenty-eight English to four Prussians, two Dutch, five French, one Italian, and three Americans. That some

of this great crowd of emigrants might not be suitable associates of some others, may easily be conjectured—and that the better sort may not have been very willing to fraternize with those who did least honour to their common country, could scarcely be imputed to them as a fault. But these considerations, we fear, will go but a little way to explain the phenomenon—or to account for the ‘*Morgue Aristocratique*,’ as Bonaparte called it, of the English gentry—the sort of sulky and contemptuous reserve with which, both at home and abroad, almost all who have any pretensions to *bon ton* seem to think it necessary to defend those pretensions. The thing has undoubtedly been carried, of late years, to an excess that is both ludicrous and offensive—and is, in its own nature, unquestionably a blemish and a misfortune: But it does not arise, we are persuaded, from any thing intrinsically haughty or dull in our temperament—but is a natural consequence, and, it must be admitted, a considerable drawback from two very proud peculiarities in our condition—the freedom of our constitution, and the rapid progress of wealth and intelligence in the body of the nation.

In most of the other countries of Europe, if a man was not born in high and polished society, he had scarcely any other means of gaining admission to it—and honour and dignity, it was supposed, belonged, by inheritance, to a very limited class of the people. Within that circle, therefore, there could be no derogation—and, from without it, there could be no intrusion. But, in this country, persons of every condition were always entitled to aspire to every situation—and, from the nature of our political constitution, any one who had individual influence, by talent, wealth, or activity, became at once of consequence in the community, and was classed as the open rival or necessary auxiliary of those who had the strongest hereditary claims to importance. But though the circle of society was in this way at all times larger than in the Continental nations, and embraced more persons of dissimilar training and habits, it does not appear to have given a tone of repulsion to the manners of those who affected the superiority, till a period comparatively remote. In the days of the Tudors and Stuarts, there was a wide pale of separation between the landed Aristocracy and the rest of the population; and accordingly, down at least to the end of Charles the Second's reign, there seems to have been none of this dull and frozen arrogance in the habits of good company. The true reason of this, however, was, that though the competition was constitutionally open, good education was, in fact, till after this period, confined to the children of the gentry; and a certain parade in equipage and

dress, which could not be easily assumed but by the opulent, nor naturally carried but by those who had been long accustomed to it, threw additional difficulties in the way of those who wished to push themselves forward in society, and rendered any other bulwarks unnecessary for the protection of the sanctuary of fashion. From the time of Sir Robert Walpole, however, the communication between the higher and the lower orders became far more open and easy—commercial wealth and enterprise were prodigiously extended—literature and intelligence spread with unprecedented rapidity among the body of the people; and the increased intercourse between the different parts of the country, naturally produced a greater mixture of the different classes of the people. This was followed by a general relaxation in those costly external observances, by which persons of condition had till then been distinguished. Ladies laid aside their hoops, trains, and elaborate head-dresses; and gentlemen their swords, periwigs, and embroidery;—and at the same time that it thus became quite practicable for an attorney's clerk or a mercer's apprentice to assume the exterior of a nobleman, it happened also, both that many persons of that condition had the education that fitted them for a higher rank—and that several had actually won their way to it by talents and activity, which had not formerly been looked for in that quarter. *Their* success was well merited undoubtedly, and honourable both to themselves and their country; but its occasional occurrence, even more than the discontinuance of aristocratical forms or the popular spirit of the Government, tended strongly to encourage the pretensions of others, who had little qualification for success beyond an eager desire to obtain it. So many persons now raised themselves by their own exertions, that every one thought himself entitled to rise; and very few proportionally were contented to remain in the rank to which they were born; and as vanity is a still more active principle than ambition, the effects of this aspiring spirit were more conspicuously seen in the invasion which it prompted on the prerogatives of polite society, than in its more serious occupations; and a herd of uncomfortable and unsuitable companions beset all the approaches to good company, and seemed determined to force all its barriers.

We think we have now stated the true causes of this phenomenon—but, at all events, the fact we believe to be incontrovertible, that within the last fifty years there has been an incredible increase of forwardness and solid impudence among the half-bred and half-educated classes of this country—and that there was consequently some apology for the assumption of more distant and forbidding manners towards

strangers, on the part of those who were already satisfied with the extent of their society. It was evidently easier and more prudent to reject the overtures of unknown acquaintances, than to shake them off after they had been once allowed to fasten themselves—to repress, in short, the first attempts at familiarity, and repel, by a chilling and somewhat disdainful air, the advances of all, of whom it might any way be suspected that they might turn out discreditable or unfit associates.

This, we have no doubt, is the true history of that awful tone, of gloomy indifference and stupid arrogance, which has unfortunately become so striking a characteristic of English manners. At its best, and when most justified by the circumstance of the parties, it has, we must allow, but an ungracious and disobliging air; but the extravagant height to which it is now generally carried, and the extraordinary occasions on which it is often displayed, deserve all the ridicule and reprobation they meet with. We should not quarrel much with a man of family and breeding being a little distant and cold to the many affable people he may meet with, either in his travels or in places of public resort at home. But the provoking thing is, to see the same frigid and unsociable manner adopted in private society, and towards persons of the highest character, if they happen not to belong to the same set, or to be occupied with the same pursuits with these fastidious mortals—who, while their dignity forbids them to be affable to men of another club, or women of another assembly, yet admit to the familiarity of their most private hours, a whole gang of led captains, or led parsons, fiddlers, boxers, or parasitical buffoons. But the most remarkable extravagance in the modern practice of this repulsive system, is, that the most outrageous examples of it are to be met with among those who have the least occasion for its protection,—persons whose society nobody would think of courting, and who yet receive the slightest and most ordinary civilities,—being all that the most courteous would ever dream of offering them,—with airs of as vehement disdain as if they were really in danger of having their intimacy taken by storm. Such manners, in such people, are no doubt in the very extreme of absurdity. But it is the mischief of all cheap fashions, that they are immediately pirated by the vulgar; and certainly there is none that can be assumed with so little cost either of industry or understanding as this—as the whole of it consists in being silent, stupid and sulky, it is quite level to the meanest capacity—and, we have no doubt, has enabled many to pass for persons of some consideration, who could never have done so on any other terms; or has per-

mitted them at least to think that they were shunning the society of many by whom they would certainly have been shunned.

We trust, therefore, that this fashion of mock stateliness and sullen reserve will soon pass away. The extreme facility with which it may be copied by the lowest and dullest of mankind,—the caricatures which are daily exhibited of it in every disgusting variety,—and the restraints it must impose upon the good nature and sociality which, after all, do *really* form a part of our national character, must concur, we think, with the alienation it produces in others, speedily to consign it to the tomb of other forgotten affectations. The duties that we owe to strangers that come casually into our society, certainly are not very weighty—and a man is no doubt entitled to consult his own ease, and even his indolence, at the hazard of being unpopular among such persons. But, after all, affability and complaisance are still a kind of duties in their degree; and of all duties, we should really think are those that are repaid, not only with the largest share of gratitude, but with the greatest internal satisfaction. All we ask is, that they, and the pleasure which naturally accompanies their exercise, should not be sacrificed to a vain notion of dignity, which the person assuming it knows all the while to be false and hollow—or to a still vainer notion of fashion, which does not impose upon one in a thousand, and subjects its unhappy victim to the ridicule of his very competitors in the practice. All studied manners are assumed, of course, for the sake of the effect they are to produce on the beholders: And if a man have a particularly favourable opinion of the wisdom and dignity of his physiognomy, and, at the same time, a perfect consciousness of the folly and vulgarity of his discourse, there is no denying that such a man, when he is fortunate enough to be where he is not known, will do well to keep his own secret, and sit as silent, and look as repulsive among strangers as possible. But, under any other circumstances, we really cannot admit it to be a reasonable, any more than an amiable demeanour. To return, however, to M. Simond.

If he is somewhat severe upon our national character, it must be confessed that he deals still harder measure to his own countrymen. The following is something sweeping.

‘ There was a *regatta* on the Saône while we were at Lyons; a sort of tilting in boats, and the watermen carried flags inscribed with various most loyal devices, such as the following:

Toujours pleins de zèle et de foi,
Toujours au champ d'honneur prêts à servir d'exemple,
Les nautonniers du port du Temple,
Savent être Soldats et mourir pour leur Roi!

‘ Now it is not long since, that a man, well known in Europe, went through this town, and passed this very *Port du Temple*, on his

way to Paris, with a handful of followers, for the express purpose of dethroning the king. No one dreamed of stopping him. The *nau-tenniers du port du Temple* did not stir. Superficial observers might therefore suppose what they read on the flag to be an impudent lie—or ironical. Neither the one nor the other—it is simply a poetical fiction! The day required, besides, a smart dress, white jacket and trousers, with red and blue sashes; with something of a dramatic attitude and language. These people are acting a certain part, as every one else does here—that is all. They practise no deception. Nobody believes what they say; and if any good royalist, taking them at their word, should come and propose to them to *die for their king* in good earnest, they would laugh at him for his folly, and justly too; for, *speaking the language of the country*, it would not be their fault if they were not understood. There are people, even in France, who indulge in jokes about French *girouettes*, &c.—That is, I think, scarcely fair. You might as well pretend to stigmatize *Talma*, or *Mademoiselle Mars* with the name of *girouettes*, for not acting every night the same part, as our French politicians and philosophers for changing sides and principles from day to day. Some of them will tell you their principle is, that there are no principles—and I deem the declaration to be very honest.

‘The moral phenomenon observed at Paris during the massacre in the prisons, of September 1793, occurred again at Lyons. Occasional caprices of humanity spared some of the devoted prisoners. Executioners were seen to leave their bloody work, in order to conduct home a rescued victim, and enjoy, even to tears, the meeting with their friends; then return whence they came, as furious as ever. Now, these people were not precisely demons, but eminent tragedians, fully worked up to their part, and to an excess of good acting. Madame de Staël has remarked somewhere of the Italians, that *they abstain from nothing because they are seen, and do nothing because they are seen*—the aphorism, just reversed, would suit their neighbours admirably. Highly patriotic at the theatre, they scarcely have in reality any public spirit, nor would submit in secret to the smallest personal sacrifice for the good of the country.’ I. 322-324.

This other is rather less atrocious,—and probably nearer the truth. It is the sequel of an encomium on the domestic and studious occupations of the well-informed society of Zurich.

‘Probably a mode of life so entirely domestic would tempt few strangers, and in France particularly, it would appear quite intolerable; yet people may feel least lonely when most alone, and most tired when they pursue amusement only. Walking occasionally the whole length of the interior Boulevards of Paris, on a summer evening, I have generally observed on my return, at the interval of one or two hours, the very same figures sitting just where I had left them; mostly isolated middle-aged men, established for the evening on three chairs, one for the elbow, another for the extended leg, a third for the centre of gravity; with vacant looks and a muddy com-

plexion, appearing discontented with themselves and others, and profoundly tired. A *fauteuil* in a *salon*, for the passive hearer of the talk of others, is still worse than the three chairs on the Boulevard. The theatre, seen again and again, can have no great charms; nor is it every one who has money to spare for the one, or free access to the other; therefore, an immense number of people are driven to the Boulevard as a last resource. As to home, it is no resource at all. No one thinks of the possibility of employing his time there, either by himself or with his family. Upon the whole, I do not believe there is a country in the world where you see so many long faces, care-worn and cross, as among the very people who are deemed, and believe themselves, the merriest in the world. A man of rank, who has spent many years in the *Crimée*, who employed himself diligently and usefully when there, and who naturally loves a country where he has done much good, praising it to a friend, has been heard to remark, as the main objection to a residence otherwise delightful—“*Mais on est obligé de s'aller coucher tous les soir, à sept heures, —parcequ'en Crimée on ne sait pas où aller passer la soirée!*” This remark excites no surprise at Paris; every one feels there is no alternative,—some place, *not home*, to spend your evenings in, or to bed at seven o'clock! It puts one in mind of the gentleman who hesitated about marrying a lady whose company he liked very much, “for,” as he observed, “where then shall I spend my evenings?” I. 404, 405.

The following, though not a cordial, is at least a candid testimony to the substantial benefits of the Revolution.

“The clamorous, restless, and bustling manners of the common people of Aix, their antiquated and ragged dress, their diminutive stature and ill-favoured countenances, strongly recalled to my mind the population of France, such as I remember it formerly; for a considerable change has certainly taken place, in all such respects, between the years 1789 and 1815. The people of France are decidedly less noisy, and graver, better dressed, and cleaner. All this may be accounted for; but handsomer is not so readily understood *à priori*. It seems as if the hardships of war, having successively carried off all the weakly, those who survived have regenerated the species. The people have undoubtedly gained much by the Revolution on the score of property, and a little as to political institutions. They certainly seem conscious of some advantage attained, and to be proud of it—not properly civil liberty, which is little understood, and not properly estimated, but a certain coarse equality, asserted in small things, although not thought of in the essentials of society. This new-born equality is very touchy, as if it felt yet insecure; and thence a degree of rudeness in the common intercourse with the lower class, and, more or less, all classes, very different from the old proverbial French politeness. This disagreeable circumstance is, however, a good sign. Pride is a step in moral improvement, from a very low state. These opinions, I am well aware, will not pass in
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France without animadversion, as it is not to be expected the same judgment will be formed of things under different circumstances. If my critics, however, will only go three or four thousand miles off, and stay away a quarter of a century, I dare say we shall agree better when we compare notes on their return.' I. 333, 334.

The largest sketch of manners is that which refers to Geneva; but we can afford to give but little of it. The following does not exhibit the most attractive side of the picture.

'No town was ever blessed with *soirées*, or what is, I believe, now called in London, "evenings at home," to such an extent as Geneva. They go on multiplying from November to the approach of spring, when the superior attractions of the country soon put an end to them; and this division of the year is, I must say, rather more rational than the one prevailing in London. Geneva is a small town, and the genteel part still smaller. Carriages are out of the question; sedan chairs even are rarely used; and the *beau monde* repair on foot to their parties. Soon after eight in the evening, the ladies sally forth, wrapped up in a cloak and hood, a rebellious feather only appearing sometimes in front, and walk on tiptoe about the streets, preceded by their maid, who carries a lantern. When they reach their destination, the cloak and double shoes are thrown off in an anteroom appropriated to the purpose. Their dress is then shaken out a little by the attentive maid; their shawl thrown afresh over the shoulders with negligent propriety; their cap set to rights; and then they slide in lightly, to appearance quite unconscious of looks, make their courtesy, take their seat, and try to be agreeable with their next neighbour. Yet, now and then they stifle a yawn, and change place under some pretence, for the sake of changing, and curiously turn over young ladies, or young gentlemen's drawings, placed on the table with prints and books, upon which they would not bestow a look if they could help it, any more than they would listen to the music, to which they now seem attentive. Tea comes at last, with heaps of sweet things. A few card parties are arranged; and, as the hour of eleven or twelve strikes, the maid and lantern are announced in a whisper to each of the fair visitors. Mean time the men, in groups about the room, discuss the news of the day, foreign or domestic politics, but mostly the latter, making themselves very merry with the speech in council of such or such a member (of course of the adverse party), who talked for two hours on the merest trifle in the world, and thought he was establishing his reputation as a statesman for ever. Many complain of the growing evil and intolerable hardship of sitting from four to eight or nine o'clock every day throughout the year, to hear long speeches and do nothing. It was even once observed, that during the fifteen years they belonged to the French, Monsieur le Prefet went through the same business with far greater ease all alone, and in half the time; but this anti-national and imprudent reflection met with indignant frowns, and this short answer—It is not for the sake of the themes boys do at school, but in order to form their under-

standings by the exercise, that schools are instituted. Any school-master might, no doubt, perform the task better, and more quickly than his boys; yet, to take it out of their hands would not answer the purpose, any more than intrusting the business of the state to a French Prefect, instead of an assembly of counsellors of state, prosing, captious, and dilatory as they may be. In short, legislative assemblies are not so much intended *pour faire des affaires, que pour faire des mœurs!*

' Large parties, at Geneva, are laborious undertakings for the mistress of the house, especially when she happens to be on the verge of her *cast*, and considered in the light of a *parvenue*. She must not only remember all who ought to be invited, but remember to forget all who ought not, choose her night well, not to interfere with other parties, likely to draw off the crowd in preference, and make it a point to have some distinguished personage to give a zest to the party. The runaway Hospodar of Valachia, for instance, with his diamonds and his court; a British prince, who remembers the names of every grandmother he knew here in his early youth, and delights them with the long-forgotten tale of their beauty and accomplishments; Lady Morgan, an Italian singer, the puppet-show, &c.; and, after all, when the *soirée* is happily over, most people say it was tiresome; and the mistress of the house, above all, will exclaim, *quelle corvée!*' I. 508-512.

The following is less sarcastic, but, on the whole, more to the purpose.

' I think there is here very little affectation of wit or smartness in conversation, which is much in favour of the state of society; for of all sorts of pretensions, this is the most unfortunate for him who has it, as well as for those who must endure it. But pretensions to learning having something positive for their object, are easily brought to the test. No one can long be mistaken himself as to his own qualifications, or long expect to impose on others. These people, therefore, in confining their pursuits or conversation very much to positive knowledge, run much less risk of being ridiculous and offensive than their neighbours. Among the very many men of letters Geneva has produced, it is remarkable enough there scarcely is, I do not say a poet, but a versifier; for assuredly, if the lively and strong delineation of feelings and of facts, and the art of awakening in others the dormant faculties of the mind, be poetry, few countries can boast of greater poets than J. J. Rousseau and Madame de Staël. Undoubtedly, the mother of a family, devoted to her husband and her children, may have less sensibility to spare for the people of her society; but they may, in their turn, seek a compensation where she finds hers, and suffer her to remain a living contradiction of the witty, but false, aphorism, that in this world, pleasures are all either unwholesome or sinful.

' The morals of Geneva, during the last half of the eighteenth century, were not by any means so unobjectionable, although purer

than in most other parts of Europe. Luxury and idleness exerting their usual influence, an universal relaxation had taken place; but the French Revolution coming towards the latter end of this wicked age, swept away together vices and virtues, property and life.* Half a century will be necessary to rebuild Genevan fortunes; adversity in the mean time, and serious cares, have restored the national character, not assuredly to calvinistical austerity, but to simplicity, solidity, and a preference of domestic enjoyments over all others.' I. 340, 341.

' At Geneva, the reign of terror was established in 1794; and four years after, the Republic was swallowed up by France, and remained unwillingly united till the downfall of Buonaparte. The Genevans silently bore an unavoidable yoke; but their will was not subdued, and the officers of the conquering government, treated with cold civility, never were admitted to any degree of intimacy; there always was a complete separation between them and their masters. The penance lasted fifteen years, and was not without its use, having afforded time for factions to cool, and old quarrels to be forgotten. Turning over a new leaf, they now begin the Republic anew; and it will be some time before parties acquire the same degree of violence as heretofore. There is on one side, as in France, a perverse disposition to reinstate the old abuses in hatred of the Revolution; and a determination no less perverse, on the other side, to reject every thing that is not new. The just abhorrence of the excesses of the Revolution is unjustly transferred to those wholesome principles which served as a pretence to the perpetrators of horrid crimes, and which suffer for having kept such bad company.' I. 344, 345.

The Bernese have the same merits and defects, but 'with a difference.' This is M. S.'s account of them.

' Gentle, modest, and domestic, the Bernese women, above the lower ranks, much resemble those of Geneva, although probably possessing less information. The exclusive spirit of *coterie* is still more marked here than at Geneva, and political jealousies more violent, although of a different nature. The Genevans are at issue about opinions, the Bernese about places, that is to say, personal distinctions; for most of these places are without emolument. Political adversaries in all countries hate each other. At Geneva, this feeling is disputatious; here, it is rather sullen; for the object is not to persuade or confute, but to supplant. The number of individuals of the

* ' The city of Geneva had, before the Revolution, seventeen millions a year in the French funds, of which about twelve were on their own account. They have lost two-thirds (eight millions), which is about three hundred and fifty francs a year to each individual throughout the whole population,—those who had the income spending it, of course, among those who had not.'

same family who can be counsellors of state being limited, a rivalry is of course established in the very bosom of families, and it extends to affairs of the heart, and the choice of a wife; for brothers even are sure to fall in love with the young lady whose father can give his son-in-law a seat in the Bernese house of parliament. One of the most melancholy maxims of the melancholy book of La Rochefoucault, *qu'il faut vivre avec nos meilleurs amis, comme s'ils devoient un jour devenir nos ennemis!* is said to be carried into practice here. All this is not peculiar to Berne, but inherent in an aristocracy; for when half the people of the same rank, and living habitually together, are active members of the sovereign council, and the other mere expectants, condemned to hear from morning to night, at second-hand, of active pursuits to which they are strangers, to be or not to be of this council, becomes an object of the first importance, and a moral want nearly as pressing as hunger and thirst.

Society, much less numerous than at Geneva, is upon a very simple and easy footing. Strangers, well recommended, are received with cordiality and kindness, and without any ostentation; on the contrary, higher people, having suffered most by the Revolution, it is now deemed rather vulgar to be rich. Few people spend six hundred pounds sterling a year. A good house, and there are some delightfully situated, costs three thousand pounds sterling. Company of an evening generally separate at half-past nine, and a Bernese *roué* is over before eleven. The only public amusement is a very indifferent German theatre. Although the language is a dialect of the German, the German literature is less cultivated or known than the French; and the latter not much beyond the age of Louis XIV.

“Oppressed and cruelly treated as the patricians were at one time by the tyrannical agents of the French Republic, they have learnt to feel a salutary hatred for arbitrary power, and can now *speak very liberally*. They own themselves there is a great change in their opinions. Notwithstanding this liberal disposition, the population, as well as the revenue of the state, are still made a sort of secret, and it is only surmised that the one amounts to three hundred and twenty-five thousand souls, and the other to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling a year; one half of which consists of the interest of money in foreign countries, and a great part of the remainder from salt-works, &c. The sum therefore raised by taxes is very trifling. As an instance of the importance attached to secrecy in these matters, the answer of a member of the council, who, when Emperor Joseph travelled here, was appointed to attend him, is quoted as peculiarly happy. Joseph said, *Qu'els sont les revenus de votre Republic, Mr M—?* *Monsieur le Comte* (the Emperor travelled incog.), *ils excèdent nos dépenses!*” I. 457–60.

There is a very curious and entertaining account of what are called the *Sociétés de Dimanche* at Geneva—but it is too long to be extracted. These are intimate associations, formed in in-

fancy or early youth, between some twenty or thirty females of the same age, who continue in a sort of nunnish and exclusive familiarity till one of them happens to marry—upon which, not only is the husband admitted into this vestal society—but each of the sisterhood is required to name a male associate, to whom, as may be naturally supposed, she very often afterwards gives her hand. The most remarkable thing in this institution, is the preponderance of female influence which it implies—for, as the intimacy of the original associates continues for life, and is of a pretty exclusive character, it follows that a man, instead of raising or reducing his wife to his own level in society, is always transferred to her's, and in fact never attempts to struggle against this destination. M. Simond is of opinion that this usage is, on the whole, beneficial to the society in which it prevails—the association not only educating and instructing its less gifted members by the talents and affection of those who are more distinguished, but restraining, by awe of their censure, and zeal for their honour, many follies and irregularities from which their individual strength might not have been sufficient to guard them. On the other hand, he allows that it diffuses too generally the little spirit of a *click*, or party—and makes the intercourse of mere acquaintances more cold and formal than in most other places.

The way in which M. Simond speaks of Rousseau, affords a striking example of that struggle between enthusiasm and severity—romance and reason, which we noticed in the beginning as characteristic of the whole work. He talks, on the whole, with contempt, and even bitterness, of his character; but he follows his footsteps, and the vestiges and memorials even of his fictitious personages, with a spirit of devout observance—visits Clarens, and pauses at Meillerie—rows in a burning day to his island in the lake of Bienné—expatiates on the beauty of his retreat at the Charmettes—and even stops to explore his temporary abode at Moitier Travers. The following passages are remarkable.

Rousseau, from his garret, governed an empire, that of the mind; the founder of a new religion in politics, and to his enthusiastic followers a prophet, he said and they believed! The disciples of Voltaire might be more numerous, but they were bound to him by far inferior ties. Those of Rousseau made the French Revolution, and perished for it; while Voltaire's, miscalculating its chances, perished by it. Both perhaps deserved their fate; but the former certainly acted the nobler part, and went to battle with the best weapons too,—for in the deadly encounter of all the passions let loose, of the most opposite principles and irreconcilable prejudices, cold-hearted wit is of little avail. Heroes and martyrs heed not an epigram; and

he must have enthusiasm who pretends to lead the enthusiastic or cope with them. *Une intime persuasion*, Rousseau has somewhere said, *m'a toujours tenu lieu d'éloquence*; and well it might; for the first requisite to command belief, is to believe yourself. Nor is it easy to impose on mankind in this respect. There is no eloquence, no ascendancy over the minds of others, without this intimate persuasion in yourself. Rousseau's might only be a sort of poetical persuasion, lasting but as long as the occasion; yet it was thus powerful, only because it was true, even though but for a quarter of an hour, perhaps, in the heart of this inspired writer.

Mr M——, son of the friend of Rousseau, to whom he left his manuscripts, and especially his Confessions, to be published after his death, had the goodness to show them to me. I observed a fair copy written by himself, in a small hand, like print, very neat and correct; not a blot or an erasure to be seen. The most curious of these papers were several sketch-books, or memoranda half filled, where the same hand is no longer discernible; but the same genius, and the same wayward temper and perverse intellect, in every fugitive thought recorded. Rousseau's composition, like Montesquieu's, was laborious and slow; his ideas flowed rapidly, but were not readily brought into proper order; they do not appear to have come in consequence of a previous plan; but the plan itself, formed afterwards, came in aid of the ideas, and served as a sort of frame for them, instead of being a system to which they were subservient. Very possibly some of the fundamental opinions he defended so earnestly, and for which his disciples would willingly have suffered martyrdom, were originally adopted because a bright thought, caught as it flew, was entered in his commonplace book.

These loose notes of Rousseau afford a curious insight into his mode of composition. You find him perpetually retrenching epithets—reducing his thoughts to their simplest expression—giving words a peculiar energy, by the new application of their original meaning—going back to the *naïveté* of old language; and, in the artificial process of simplicity, carefully effacing the trace of each laborious footstep as he advanced; each idea, each image, coming out, at last, as if cast entire at a single throw, original, energetic, and clear. Although Mr M—— had promised that he would publish Rousseau's Confessions as they were, yet he took upon himself to suppress a passage explaining certain circumstances of his abjurations at Anneci, affording a curious, but frightfully disgusting, picture of monkish manners at that time. It is a pity that Mr M—— did not break his word in regard to some few more passages of that most admirable and most vile of all the productions of genius. I. 564–566.

The following notices of Mad. de Staël are emphatic and original.

I had seen Madame de Staël a child; and I saw her again on her deathbed. The intermediate years were spent in another hemisphere,

as far as possible from the scenes in which she lived. Mixing again, not many months since, with a world in which I am a stranger, and feel I shall remain so, I just saw this celebrated woman, and heard, as it were, her last words, as I had read her works before, uninfluenced by any local bias. Perhaps, the impressions of a man thus dropped from another world into this one, may be deemed something like those of posterity.

‘Madame de Staël lived for conversation; she was not happy out of a large circle, and a French circle, where she could be heard in her own language to the best advantage. Her extravagant admiration of the Paris society was neither more nor less than genuine admiration of herself. It was the best mirror she could get, and that was all. Ambitious of all sorts of notoriety, she would have given the world to have been born noble and a beauty. Yet there was in this excessive vanity so much honesty and frankness, it was so entirely void of affectation and trick, she made so fair and so irresistible an appeal to your own sense of her worth, that what would have been laughable in any one else, was almost respectable in her. That ambition of eloquence, so conspicuous in her writings, was much less observable in her conversation; there was more *abandon* in what she said, than in what she wrote; while speaking, the spontaneous inspiration was no labour, but all pleasure; conscious of extraordinary powers, she gave herself up to the present enjoyment of the good things, and the deep things, flowing in a full stream from her own well-stored mind and luxuriant fancy. The inspiration was pleasure—the pleasure was inspiration; and without precisely intending it, she was, every evening of her life, in a circle of company, the very Corinne she had depicted. Although in her attempts to personify that Corinne in her book, and make her speak in print, she utterly failed; the labour of the pen extinguishing the fancy.’ I. 283–286.

We must close our extracts here—and, indeed, our account of the work from which they are taken. For although we have yet said nothing of the second volume of the publication before us, which contains an historical account of ancient and modern Helvetia, with abundance of political observations, we really have not courage to engage our readers with the details of such a performance, after the large demands we have already made on their patience. There is a prodigious deal of information in this Historical part; but it is far less interesting than the Journey—and we will even venture to say, far less instructive. The extreme condensation of the earlier part of the narrative not only fatigues and bewilders the attention, but prevents us from taking any considerable interest in persons and events which pass thus hastily before us. There is no flowing or continuous narrative to hold together the different fragments of the story, and we have not time enough to get acquainted with any

of the historical persons, or to feel any concern in their fortunes. The latter part of the story, and that especially which embraces the events of the last fifty years, though too much broken and subdivided, from the separate transactions of each little community, is, on the whole, very curious and interesting; and is written not only with the most laudable precision, but with the most admirable impartiality and candour. The account which he gives of the falsehood, brutality, and daring injustice of the French reformers of 1798, is not more revolting, than the tale of the heroic resistance and cruel fate of the democratic cantons is full of sublimity and pity. M. Simond, however, is of opinion, that the old system of the Helvetic Confederation had ceased, long before its subversion, to answer any of the good ends for which it was established. The following observations, which we select chiefly as a specimen of the author's historical style, are well worthy of consideration.

' All human institutions, even those of which the abuses alone have survived, have had their period of usefulness. The hierarchy of Rome tamed the barbarians of the dark ages; deserts were cultivated by monks, whose convents were the only safe repository of human knowledge. We owe to feudal institutions the spirit of chivalry and some heroic virtues; and the aristocracy of cities protected the people against feudal tyranny. The federal form of government had likewise its advantages; it suited the simplicity of the first founders of Helvetic liberty. New auxiliaries, or rather new partners to the great league of small communities, were easier obtained by leaving them in possession of their peculiar institutions and customs, than if a sacrifice of them had been exacted. The tendency of this form of government, was, however, very soon observable, as a reference to the history of Switzerland sufficiently shows. After the first heroic period, from 1308, to the battle of Morat in 1476, the cantons became jealous and selfish, evincing towards each other that unfriendly spirit which foreign states usually entertain for their next neighbours. They learnt to calculate their individual distances from danger, before they afforded each other assistance; and were apt to seek in foreign alliances that protection of which they were not certain at home. Thence interminable quarrels among themselves. Their general diets could rarely agree upon, and seldom execute, measures of public utility; and although the Reformation might afterwards change the nature of their civil dissensions, and purify their motives, it did not put an end to them; and a long succession of religious wars left the federal bond more lax and inefficient than ever.

' The various governments of Switzerland had overlooked the changes which time, and a variety of events to which they had been strangers, had operated among their neighbours, and the alteration of manners and opinions among their own citizens or subjects them-

selves. An uninterrupted state of peace for more than three hundred years, had left them in ignorance of their present strength, which they continued to estimate by the battles of the fifteenth century. Engrossed with paltry jealousies, and divided among themselves, they heeded not the awful warning of the French Revolution; and neglected to take advantage of the six or seven years breathing time allowed them, to compromise matters with the new principles, fancying they might be stopped at the customhouse on the frontiers. And even those hoards of public money, monuments of an antiquated policy, which might so easily have been remitted *away* to England, to the United States, or to any other foreign country, out of the reach of invaders, were left to reward them.

'The system of confederate republics united under a federal head has been defined, not unaptly, the feudal system applied to democracy. The same broils, the same anarchy, the same loose dependence upon a common head, to whom they render a sort of vain homage, but whom they rarely obey; the same selfishness and want of public spirit. Buonaparte is reported to have said once, that a "federal constitution made an indifferent sort of government for the people who lived under it; but, *en revanche*, it answered a very good purpose for the neighbours of that people!"

'There is an active and vivifying principle in the division of the civilized world into independent states, which would not exist if that world were all united under one head. Nations *hold up*, as it were, the *mirror* to each other, and see abroad what would have escaped their notice at home. The Roman empire languishing in the solitude of its vastness, civilization as well as power expired at last, under the mere want of rivalry and emulation. One empire, vast and solitary, as that of Rome ever was, seems now destined to perpetuate civil infamy to the extremest old age, simply because the rest of the world is to its inhabitants as if it was not. China, divided into half a dozen empires, would not have remained thus stationary. But it may be questioned, whether China, transformed into a vast federal republic of semi-independent states, would have gained any thing but the municipal spirit of Europe, without its learning and its virtues. It does not appear that the Grisons, for instance, subdivided into sixty-three federal republics, are much better off than China in point of moral improvement. The small republics of Greece flourished under a loose federal system, and maintained their liberty by deeds of heroic valour, since equalled in Helvetia under the same system of government. But these republics flourished most when the federal bond which united them became so strong, that, to use the expression of Polybius, "nothing was wanting to the States of Peloponnesus, but the same walls, to make them one town." II. 544-547.

We have placed the titles both of the French and the English publications at the head of this article,—the latter, we understand, not being a translation from the former—but both

being originals from the hand of the author. We must say, however, that his French is much better than his English—and that his English is not nearly so good now, as it was when he published his *Tour* in this country. It is less defective, however, in idiom or diction, than in the rythm and harmony of the composition, which has often a most exotic harshness, even where all the words and their immediate construction is sufficiently correct. The English copy is also very inaccurately printed and pointed;—and though we have corrected some of the grosser blunders in our extracts, we suspect that we have left enough to justify these observations.

ART. II. 1. *An Account of the Varioloid Epidemic which has lately prevailed in Edinburgh, and other Parts of Scotland; with Observations on the Identity of Chicken-Pox with Modified Small-Pox: In a letter to Sir James M'Grigor, Director-General of the Army Medical Department, &c. &c.* By JOHN THOMSON, M.D. F.R.S.E. Surgeon to the Forces, Honorary Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, Professor of Surgery to the Royal College of Surgeons, Regius Professor of Military Surgery in the University, and Consulting Physician to the Edinburgh New-Town Dispensary. London, Longman & Co. Edinburgh, Brown. 1820.

2. *Historical Sketch of the Opinions entertained by Medical Men respecting the Varieties and the Secondary Occurrence of Small-Pox; with Observations on the Nature and Extent of the Security afforded by Vaccination against Attacks of that Disease: In a Letter to Sir James M'Grigor, Director-General of the Army Medical Department, &c.* By JOHN THOMSON, M.D. F.R.S.E. Surgeon to the Forces, Honorary Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, Regius Professor of Military Surgery in the University, and Consulting Physician to the Edinburgh New-Town Dispensary. London, Longman & Co. Edinburgh, Brown. 1822.

VACCINATION, we are perfectly persuaded, is a very great blessing to mankind; but not quite so great a blessing, nor so complete a protection, as its early defenders conceived it to be. The proof of this has been admitted with great reluctance; but it has unfortunately become too strong for denial or resistance. The first answers given to the instances of failure, with which the friends of vaccination were pressed, were, either

that the disease which had occurred after vaccination was chicken-pox, and not small-pox; or that the process of vaccination had been unskilfully or imperfectly conducted; or that it was one of those very rare cases which occurred in the times of inoculation, and from which vaccination itself did not pretend to be wholly exempt. In the Report of the Vaccine Pock Institution for 1803, the Reporters observe—

‘ It may be useful to notice, that we have been alarmed two or three times with the intelligence of the small-pox occurring several weeks or months after our patients had undergone the cow-pox. We thought it our duty to visit and examine these patients, and also to inquire into their history among their attendants, and by these means we obtained the completest satisfaction, that the pretended small-pox was generally the chicken-pox. ’—*Historical Sketch*, pp. 161, 162.

The following is an abstract of their Report for 1817.

‘ The continued investigation of the *failures* of vaccination which have taken place here, lead also to conclusions similar to those of the Directors of the Dublin Institution; and it has been found, that almost all the subjects of these cases have been vaccinated by *methods less effectual* than those which have been adopted and inculcated by the Establishment, the great success of the practice of which, since its foundation in 1808, is the strongest inducement for the plan being generally followed. For which reason, the Board printed a new and correct edition of their instructions, which contain the practice of the Establishment; and they are now distributing the copies gratuitously over the whole empire. Should these be accurately followed, and every person vaccinated be thoroughly infected with the regular vaccine, the Board are fully convinced that failures would become so rare, as *hardly* to merit the public attention. ’—*Historical Sketch*, pp. 246, 247.

In 1819, the Board admit that the testimonies of some of their correspondents in the country have been unfavourable; that *great numbers* of persons who had been vaccinated, have been subsequently seized with a disease presenting all the essential characters of small-pox; but that, in the great majority of such cases, the disease has been of short duration, and untended by symptoms of danger: they add, however, that, in several of these cases, the malady has been prolonged to its ordinary period; and that in eight, it has proved fatal. They still continue, however, to refer these cases to imperfect vaccination; and they recommend that two punctures should be made in each arm, and the greatest care taken that the vesicles run their full and destined career. In 1820, there is the following melancholy admission.

‘ It is true that we have received accounts from different parts of the country, of numerous cases of small-pox having occurred after vaccination; and we cannot doubt that the prejudices of the people

against this preventive expedient are assignable (and not altogether unreasonably, perhaps,) to this cause. These cases the Board has been industriously employed in investigating; and though it appears that many of them rest only on hearsay evidence, and that others seem to have undergone the vaccine process imperfectly, some years since, when it was less well understood, and practised less skilfully than it ought to be; yet, after every reasonable deduction, we are compelled to allow, that too many still remain on undeniable proof, to leave any doubt that the pretensions of vaccination to the merit of a perfect and exclusive security in all cases against small-pox, were admitted at first rather too unreservedly.'—*Historical Sketch*, p. 273.

And then they proceed to talk of the *controlling* power of vaccination, instead of its *protecting* power. The fact in short is, that, within these six or seven years, the small-pox has broken out in many parts of Great Britain in an epidemic shape, and nearly annihilated the pretensions of cow-pox as an *absolute* security against the disorder.

In 1818–19, there broke out a violent epidemical small-pox in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood. Of this epidemic, Dr Thomson saw 836 cases. Of this number, 281 had neither passed through small-pox nor vaccination; and of these more than *one in four* died. Dr Thomson saw, in this epidemic, 41 cases of persons who had passed through small-pox; and had an accurate account of 30 others of the same sort. Of these 71 patients, three only died, giving a proportion of *one in twenty-three*. Of the 484 vaccinated individuals affected with this epidemic, *only one* died—

—‘a result which, to me,’ says Dr Thomson, ‘appears truly astonishing, when I reflect on the general severity of the eruptive fever, on the great diversities in the state of health, and in the constitutional tendencies of the individuals attacked by it, and on the circumstances, often so very unfavourable to recovery, in which many of these individuals have been placed.

‘It has been impossible to see the general mildness of the varioloid epidemic in those who had undergone the process of vaccination, and the severity, malignity, and fatality of the same disease in the unvaccinated, and not to be convinced of the great and salutary powers of cow-pock in modifying small-pox, in those who were afterwards affected with this disease. Proofs cannot be imagined more convincing and satisfactory of the efficacy of the practice of vaccination, and of the incalculable benefits bestowed upon mankind by its discoverer, than those I have had the pleasure of witnessing. It has been very agreeable also to observe, that the terrors at first excited by the occurrence of this varioloid epidemic, in the families of those who had undergone cow-pock inoculation, have gradually given way in the progress of the disease; and that the comparison of

small-pox, in their modified and unmodified forms, has often forced a conviction of the advantages of cow-pock inoculation upon the minds even of the most ignorant and prejudiced, and induced them to seek protection for themselves and their offspring in a practice which they had formerly neglected or despised.' pp. 42-44.

Among the unprotected, either by inoculation or vaccination, the epidemic exhibited in its progress all the varieties of small-pox, from the mildest to the most malignant form. 'The mildest form in which it occurred' (says Dr Thomson), 'as well as the most malignant, were those of strictly vesicular eruptions, in which scarcely a particle of purulent matter was to be observed from the commencement to the termination.' It is well known that the mortality of variolous epidemics has, in particular years, not amounted to more than 1 in 50; whereas the mortality of this epidemic among the unprotected was 1 in 4.

Where the disease occurred in individuals who had gone through natural or inoculated small-pox, the interval between the two attacks varied from ten days to thirty years. The eruptive fever in the greater number was severe, but in some cases so mild as to be scarcely perceptible. The eruption sometimes resembled chicken-pox, either in its pustular or vesicular form; in others it resembled that of distinct small-pox; in a third class, small-pox of the confluent kind.

In this epidemic, the class of patients which excited the greatest curiosity was, of course, that which had passed through the process of vaccination; and as that process was recurred to from the general alarm in families where small-pox was prevailing, repeated opportunities occurred of observing the co-existence of these two disorders in the same individual, and the wonderful power which the cow-pox appeared to possess of mitigating the severity of small-pox, or even sometimes, in the midst of general contagion, of preventing it altogether. Instances, of course, occurred where the vaccinated individual had been so long (previously to the operation) exposed to the virus of small-pox, that the vaccine matter lost its controlling power. In a great proportion of cases in this class, the eruptive fever was severe, and frequently mistaken, at its commencement, for typhus. In many cases, however, it was so slight as to be scarcely perceptible; and, even when severe, ceased suddenly on the appearance of the eruption, so that it was seldom necessary for patients to remain in bed during the progress of the disease. In a few individuals, the fever was not followed by any eruption. In some of the severer cases, a considerable degree of secondary fever occurred, accompanied by swelling of the face,

increased inflammation of the internal fauces, hoarseness, and ptyalism; but these symptoms were almost always of short duration, and left the patient in a degree of health and vigour very different from that of those who had passed through eruptions equally copious, of natural coherent small-pox. One instance occurred of a vaccinated person who had the varioloid disease for the third time. In above forty of the vaccinated, it had occurred for the second time, after intervals, varying from a few days to several years. In some of these cases, it exhibited, in the first attack, the appearance of chicken-pox, and in the second, that of small-pox, and *vice versa*. In some, both attacks resembled chicken-pox; in others, both resembled small-pox. Of the vaccinated, as before stated, one only died out of 484. In this disease, nothing occurred to warrant the supposition that the modifying powers of vaccination are weakened by time. On the contrary, the epidemic was observed to attack those chiefly who were under ten years of age; so that increasing years appeared rather to lessen, than increase the susceptibility of small-pox contagion.

‘It is not easy to conceive’ (says Dr Thomson) ‘that the efficacy of cow-pock inoculation, in protecting against the attacks and the dangers of small-pox, is likely ever to be subjected to a severer trial than that which it has experienced in the almost universal prevalence of the late very malignant epidemic. From the best information I have been able to procure, the deaths from natural small-pox in this epidemic has in general varied from one in three to one in five—a degree of fatality from small-pox which has been but seldom observed to occur, and which has not, so far as I have been able to learn, any where taken place since the introduction of vaccination. It is to the severity of this epidemic, I am convinced, that we ought to attribute the greatness of the number of the vaccinated who have been attacked by it; and not to any deterioration in the qualities of the cow-pock virus, or to any defects in the manner in which it has been employed. Had a variolous constitution of the atmosphere, similar to that which we have lately experienced, existed at the time Dr Jenner brought forward his discovery, it may be doubted whether it ever could have obtained the confidence of the public. It is to the severity also of the epidemic, I conceive, that we must attribute the very great number of acknowledged cases of secondary small-pox which have occurred during its progress—a number certainly much greater than is recorded to have occurred during any former small-pox epidemic. The modifying effects of primary on secondary small-pox, which I have had occasion to observe, lead me to believe, that had the late epidemic been of a milder character, the secondary small-pox occurring in it would have exhibited more of a varicelloid, and less of a variolous character, than they have done, and in all pro-

bability would not have been recognised either by myself or by others as cases of secondary small-pox. The same remark is, I conceive, if possible, still more applicable to the cases of small-pox which have occurred after vaccination; for who, among the friends of this practice, would ever have allowed any varioloid eruption to be small-pox, to which he could have assigned any of the multifarious attributes of chicken-pox?—*Historical Sketch*, pp. 394–96.

In 1820, Mr Cross published ‘A Description of the Various Epidemic which occurred in Norwich in the Year 1819, and destroyed five hundred and thirty individuals: With an Estimate of the Protection afforded by Vaccination; and a Review of past and present Opinions upon Chicken-pox and modified Small-pox.’ The epidemic was introduced into that city in the end of the year 1818, and appears, from Mr Cross’s description, to have produced among the vaccinated, unvaccinated, and those who had previously had the small-pox, effects in every respect similar to those described in Dr Thomson’s epidemic. It is quite clear from these, and similar histories referred to by Dr Thomson, that where small-pox prevails epidemically, and with severity, vaccination cannot be depended upon as a preservative against its attacks; that such an immunity is not conferred by the natural small-pox, or by inoculation; but that all who have gone through this disorder in any of these forms, and particularly the young, are, when the disorder is very malignant and very general, liable to be reinfected. But it appears also, in such cases (though it does not prevent the disorder), that vaccination moderates it, and renders it comparatively harmless and insignificant; and that, though stript of those very high pretensions with which it first came into the world, it is still one of the most valuable presents which Science ever made to mankind.

‘The disappointment I felt, in common with others, in being forced to believe that vaccination, in whatever manner it may be performed, is not in all circumstances an absolute, or even a general preventive of small-pox, has been in some measure compensated for, by the increasing conviction I have received of the wonderful power which this process possesses of modifying the phenomena, and securing against the dangers of small-pox; and I cannot but believe, that the same gratifying conviction must irresistibly force itself upon the minds of every individual who may have an opportunity of observing the remarkable differences that exist in the appearances and fatality of natural small-pox, and of small-pox modified by vaccination. The results of my observation of this modifying power, have led me to regard every vaccination as being as perfect as it can be rendered, which bears the characters originally described by Dr Jenner; and I must retain this conviction till evidence, different from

any of which the public are yet in possession, shall be adduced of the existence of spurious vaccine vesicles, of the deterioration of cow-pock virus, and of the superiority of one mode of vaccination over another,—*hypotheses* which have been successively resorted to, in order to account for the occurrence of small-pox after vaccination. I have not been able to discover, after the most minute attention, that any difference of effect whatever in the modifying power of vaccination has depended upon the skill of the operator, or upon his peculiar mode of performing the operation. Indeed, I have often had occasion to see the small-pox mild in children who had been vaccinated by their parents, and severe in those who had been conducted through this process by the highest authorities in vaccination.—*Historical Sketch*, pp. 397, 398.

During the prevalence of the varioloid epidemic, Dr Thomson had great occasion to doubt whether or not the chicken-pox and the small-pox were separate diseases; and his doubt has ended in a strong conviction that they both originate from one common contagion, and that chicken-pox is nothing more than a variety of small-pox.

This conjecture Dr Thomson finds M. Geoffroy to have made in his *Memoires de la Société Royale Médecine*, for 1777.

'A child,' says M. Geoffroy, 'was attacked with chicken-pox (*petite verole volante*), which terminated in the space of four days without pitting. A few days afterwards, his eldest sister, about eight years old, and who had been constantly with her brother, was seized with the same disease, which latterly became a very abundant true small-pox, but distinct, possessing all the characters, running through all the stages, and followed by boils, as is but too frequently the case after small-pox.'—'A similar fact,' he adds, 'if it frequently took place, would prove that the chicken-pox and the small-pox are not of so different a nature as is commonly believed, but that the one is perhaps merely a diminutive of the other.'—*Historical Sketch*, p. 121.—And Mr Ring observes, 'that the similarity of the two disorders have caused them to be mistaken for each other by the first physicians in Europe.'—*Ibid.* p. 164.

Dr Bateman of London appears also to admit the common origin of small-pox and chicken-pox; and Dr Henderson, who had an opportunity of witnessing a varioloid epidemic at Perth, is of the same opinion. (*Variol. Epidem.* p. 271.) Many other testimonies in support of this opinion are quoted by Dr Thomson.

In the contagion which prevailed at Edinburgh, the disorder among the vaccinated and the inoculated exhibited many of those appearances which have been regarded as characteristic of chicken-pox; but then these cases occurred in the midst of cases of coherent and confluent small-pox. They could often be distinctly traced to small-pox infection; and they gave rise

to small-pox in all the various forms of that disease. In the same house, the same room, nay, in the same bed, were patients infected by a common origin, which could be traced with the utmost exactness; the one exhibiting all the appearances of chicken-pox, the second with mild small-pox, and the third with small-pox of the most malignant kind: and yet it is contended, that the chicken-pox is something essentially different from the small-pox. This is much the same as to say, that three men who had got drunk out of the same cask, were affected with various complaints, and from different causes, because one was a little drunk, the second very drunk, and the third roaring and raving with ebriety.

' In a house in the Canongate, where a child was dying of the most malignant small-pox, an infant had a scanty eruption of pure transparent vesicles, surrounded with superficial erythema, which came out without much fever, and faded into thin scales by the fifth day, without becoming pustular. In the Causewayside a child, of the name of Hardy, had a scanty eruption of transparent superficial vesicles, which became milky, and crusted by the fifth and sixth days, without becoming pustular, except under some of the crusts; and in the same room there was a boy with the crusts separating from his body, after a severe attack of confluent malignant small-pox, and another in whom distinct small-pox were going through their course in a regular manner. In Blackfriars Wynd, a child had an eruption of pure vesicles, which became somewhat milky, but shrivelled and scabbed by the fifth day; while, in the adjoining room, another child went through a distinct small-pox, which, though at first vesicular, became pustular, and stood out for eight days.—*Variol. Epidem.* pp. 291, 292.

The following case is still stronger, and seems to us almost irresistible. It is contained in an extract of a letter from Mr John Malloch to Dr Thomson.

' " No case of small-pox had occurred in this town for nine years till last winter, when an idle boy, who was in the habit of wandering about the country, frequenting markets, &c. happened to be at a house where some of the inmates were said to be ill of small-pox. He himself had been vaccinated some years before. On his return home, he was seized with febrile symptoms, and confined for two or three days to bed, when an eruption, similar to chicken-pox, made its appearance. Immediately the fever abated, and in a few days more he left his bed, and attended a cattle market, half a mile's distance from the town, without experiencing any bad consequences. About a week afterwards, one of his master's children was taken ill, and went through the regular stages of small-pox in a mild manner; then a second similarly; a third suffered in a very alarming degree from the confluent kind; a fourth one rather worse than the two first; and the youngest, of eight months old, had what, if the other

cases had not occurred, I would, without hesitation, have called chicken-pox; for there was little or no fever, the pustules were filled with a watery fluid, which was not converted into the purulent appearance of small-pox. None of these children had undergone vaccination."—*Variol. Epidem.* pp. 278, 279.

If these disorders are not of common origin, then two epidemics were prevalent in Edinburgh at the same time, and the same patients ought to have been infected with both; but this was not observed to be the case either there or elsewhere; for, out of 155 patients who had passed through the small-pox, not one, says Dr Thomson, has been subsequently attacked by the vesicular disease. But if there were two epidemics at the same time, and persons were not affected with both epidemics together, or consecutively, then those epidemics were mutually guarantees against each other. Small-pox, then, is a guarantee against chicken-pox, and chicken-pox against small-pox, which has not yet been asserted by physicians, and is contrary to the fact. The boy sleeping with his varicellous brother would become varicellous. The small-pox, with common appearances, would never produce varicellous appearances,—which is also contrary to the fact. If, then, there have been two coexistent epidemics in Edinburgh, they have adjusted their mutual pretensions in a much more amicable manner than any two coexistent physicians who were watching their progress. The disease enters the *flat* perhaps in a varioloid form; the eldest of the fourteen children who inhabit it is seized with what is commonly called chicken-pox; but this second epidemic, unwilling to grasp at too much, leaves the next boy to the small-pox; indulges that disorder with a third and fourth gratification, then resumes its rights on the fifth and sixth child, till both, tired with Scotch fecundity, give up the remaining members of the family to the confluent and malignant branches of the disease. To suppose this the same disorder produced by the same contagion, and modified by the particular constitution of the patients, sometimes so trifling as scarcely to be called disease, at other times rapidly hurrying its victim to a loathsome death;—to suppose this is to make a supposition consonant to fact and to reason; but to mistake a difference of intensity for a difference of genus, is to defeat the great object of scientific classification, and to multiply distinctions which do not differ. There are innumerable disorders, of which the slightest cases differ from the worst cases as much as any two generically different complaints can do from each other.

Much has been written upon Pus and Pimples;—many volumes have been employed upon Eruptions;—there are Folios on Scabs. If any man has a breaking out on his nose, he may

be sure to find it in a book. If it is not in page ten, it is in page twenty. No phlegmonous variety is unpainted, unprinted, or past over in silence by the doctors. In spite, however, of the extreme accuracy with which chicken-pox and small-pox have been described, Dr Thomson contends that, in practice, no such distinction can be adhered to.

'Prepared, as I conceived myself in some measure to have been, for the observation of such a malady as the present, by the study of cutaneous affections, and by a strict attention, for a long period, to the diagnostic symptoms of eruptive diseases, it has been often to me a source of mortification to find, that I was not able to perceive in individual varioloid cases those peculiar marks or characters by which many of my professional brethren have been enabled to satisfy themselves of a difference in the phenomena of chicken-pox and modified small-pox. Indeed, while I continued to believe in the separate and independent existence of chicken-pox, I had been repeatedly informed, that cases which I was convinced, from the symptoms, were cases of chicken-pox, were not chicken-pox, but cases of modified small-pox; and since I have begun to doubt of the independent existence of chicken-pox, I have as often been informed, that the cases which I considered to be cases of modified small-pox, were not such, but cases of chicken-pox. I have used every means in my power to acquire the information that would enable me to guess, even with tolerable certainty, at a distinction which I am told is made with little difficulty by others, but all to no purpose; for I am at this moment as far from being able to distinguish modified small-pox from the eruptions which I have been accustomed, for thirty years, to consider as chicken-pox, as I was when I first began to observe the present varioloid disease.'—*Variol. Epidem.* pp. 56–57.

It appears from the Historical Researches of Dr Thomson, that, notwithstanding the opinion that chicken-pox and small-pox are different, no satisfactory proof is to be found in our medical records of their ever having prevailed separately; but, on the contrary, there are many proofs that all the varieties of the genuine, as well as the spurious small-pox, have in the same epidemic come in and gone out together, in the same manner as they have been observed to do during the period of vaccination.

The idea, that chicken-pox arises from a different contagion from that which produces small-pox, was embodied into a regular doctrine by Dr Heberden, in 1767. His arguments were, that chicken-pox attacks those who have passed through small-pox, and *vice versa*; and that the mode of attack, appearance, progress and termination, were different; and that neither of these diseases ever attack the same person a second time. This last supposition we now know to be untrue; and every pheno-

menon of the disorders admit of a much clearer and plainer solution, by the supposition that they are both different modifications of the same contagion. Previous to the time of Dr Heberden, indeed, this was the common opinion respecting these diseases. They were supposed to be varieties of the same complaint, usually accompanying each other in their progress and appearance; though sometimes the one and sometimes the other is reported to have been first observed.

Gandoger de Foigny, and many other writers on Chicken-pox, attempt to give a very accurate diagnosis between chicken-pox and small-pox; but, if an accurate diagnosis *could* be given, it still would not prove the two disorders to be essentially different; but only, that the same disease was modified by some of those innumerable circumstances which exasperate or mitigate the infirmities of the human body. It should excite no surprise, that diseases so different as chicken-pox and small-pox are said to be, should proceed from one common origin, when we know for certain that it is quite unimportant from what sort of small-pox the inoculating matter is taken. Mild small-pox matter may produce the confluent small-pox; and matter taken from a confluent case may produce the mildest small-pox. The disease seems to depend much more upon the body that receives, than the body which communicates it.

‘ I knew one-and-twenty persons * inoculated the same day with matter taken from one who had a confluent small-pox, and died of it; yet these, notwithstanding, all had it in as favourable a way as could be wished for; and I have inoculated many more with matter of the malignant kind, without any manner of ill effect.’—*Historical Sketch*, p. 50.

Mr Bryce, evidently a sensible and judicious man, observes, in his communication to Dr Thomson, that the varicellous disorder does not prevent the regular progress of the cow-pock. But is Mr Bryce prepared to contend, that the small-pox is the same antidote against the cow-pox that the cow-pox is against the small-pox? And if not, how is the common origin of chicken-pox and small-pox disproved by the admission of his fact? Even if it were otherwise, is it absurd to suppose, that small-pox, in one state and in one degree of intensity, may effect changes in the body, and produce effects which, in another state, and under a less degree of intensity, it is not able to do?—that it may prevent cow-pox, when in its pustular, although it cannot do so in its vesicular state? Does any body doubt, that

* Dr Frewen's Essay on Inoculation, 1749.

true variolous virus may be so diluted or so putrified, that it will produce no infection at all, or an infection completely differing from small-pox in its orthodox form? If a steady diagnosis can be made between chicken-pox and secondary small-pox; if the characteristics of the first of these disorders are so clear and plain, let the following questions be answered: Are the vesicles preceded or not preceded by papulæ? What is the occurrence, degree, and duration of the eruptive fever? At what period do the vesicles appear to shrivel and burst? Do the vesicles ever become pustular? If pustular, can they be distinguished from modified small-pox and natural small-pox? How long do they continue fluid without scabbing? How long is it before the scabs fall off? Do they leave behind them hills or holes? All these questions are answered by Dr Heberden, Mr Bryce, Dr Alison, and Dr Abercrombie; but, unfortunately, their answers do not agree.

* These are the material points and reasonings in Dr Thomson's books, written diffusely, but with that sense, diligence and penetration, which have carried him to his present medical eminence. It is probable from them that, in strong variolous epidemics, cow-pox is not a preservative to be depended upon against the small-pox; but it is equally true, that it renders that disease comparatively harmless and insignificant. The difference between Dr Thomson and his antagonists upon other points seems to be one rather of reasoning than practice; but it appears to us that he is most probably right. If a disease comes into an house in the shape of A, and breaks out in one case in the shape of B, and in another in the shape of C; or if it comes in the shape of B, and produces A and C; or if C will produce the other two letters, then it seems agreeable to common sense to suppose, that A, B, and C, are not separate disorders, but modifications of the same disorder. This probability is confirmed, if the same patient has neither the three disorders at once, nor one after the other. It is still more confirmed, if these diseases, in some cases separate and distinct, are in others so blended, that it is extremely difficult (if not impossible) to determine to which class they belong.

It is always wise to extract good from evil, when it is practicable so to do. The late varioloid epidemics have put an end for ever to that laborious, though unintentional, distortion of truth, by which all cases of secondary small-pox were either determined to be chicken-pox, or referred to imperfect vaccination. If the disorder had been more mild in this last epidemic, the same explanation would have sufficed. When a variolous epidemic shall again occur of a milder description, it is probable

that the vaccinated will be more protected from its attacks, and that secondary small-pox will reassume that milder and varicellous variety of the complaint, which Dr Thomson appears to have degraded from the dignity of a separate disease to the rank and file of small-pox complaints. We are far, however, from thinking the point definitively settled; but we incline much more to the reasoning of Dr Thomson than to that of his opponents. The dispute is conducted on both sides with mutual respect, and just as we expected it would be conducted by the learned, honourable, and respectable men * whose names appear in the controversy.

ART. III. *Bracebridge Hall; or, The Humorists.* By GEOFFREY CRAYON, Gent. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 800. Murray, London. 1822.

WE have received so much pleasure from this book, that we think ourselves bound in gratitude, as well as justice, to make a public acknowledgment of it,—and seek to repay, by a little kind notice, the great obligations we shall ever feel to the author. These amiable sentiments, however, we fear, will scarcely furnish us with materials for an interesting article;—and we suspect we have not much else to say, that has not already occurred to most of our readers—or, indeed, been said by ourselves with reference to his former publication. For nothing in the world can be so complete as the identity of the author in these two productions—identity not of style merely and character, but of merit also, both in kind and degree, and in the sort and extent of popularity which that merit has created—not merely the same good sense and the same good humour, directed to the same good ends, and with the same happy selection and limited variety, but the same proportion of things that seem scarcely to depend on the individual—the same *luck*, as well as the same labour, and an equal share of felicities to enhance the fair returns of judicious industry. There are few things, we imagine, so rare as this sustained level of excellence in the works of a popular writer—or, at least, if it does exist now and then *in rerum natura*, there is scarcely any thing that is so seldom allowed. When an author has once gained a

* We were particularly pleased with a very sensible, well-written letter by Dr Abercrombie. We do not agree with the reasoning, but we were struck with its clearness, conciseness, and sense.

large share of public attention,—when his name is once up among a herd of idle readers, they can never be brought to believe that one who has risen so far can ever remain stationary. He must either rise farther, or begin immediately to descend; so that, when he ventures before these intoxicated judges with a new work, it is always discovered, either that he has infinitely surpassed himself, or, in the far greater number of cases, that there is a sad falling off, and that he is hastening to the end of his career. In this way it may in general be presumed, that an author who is admitted by the public not to have fallen off in a second work, has in reality improved upon his first, and has truly deserved a higher place, by merely maintaining that which he had formerly earned. We would not have Mr Crayon, however, plume himself too much upon this sage observation; for though we, and other great lights of public judgment, have decided that his former level has been maintained in this work with the most marvellous precision, we must whisper in his ear that the million are not exactly of that opinion; and that the common buzz among the idle and impatient critics of the drawingroom is, that, in comparison with the *Sketch Book*, it is rather monotonous and languid; that there is too little variety of characters for two thick volumes; and that the said few characters come on so often, and stay so long, that the gentlest reader at last detects himself in rejoicing at being done with them. The premises of this enthymem we do not much dispute; but the conclusion, for all that, is wrong: For, in spite of these defects, *Bracebridge Hall* is quite as good as the *Sketch Book*; and Mr C. may take comfort,—if he is humble enough to be comforted with such an assurance—and trust to us, that it will be quite as popular, and that he still holds his own with the efficient body of his English readers.

The great charm and peculiarity of his work consists now, as on former occasions, in the singular sweetness of the composition, and the mildness of the sentiments,—sicklied over perhaps a little, now and then, with that cloying heaviness into which unvaried sweetness is so apt to subside. The rhythm and melody of the sentences is certainly excessive: As it not only gives an air of mannerism from its uniformity, but raises too strong an impression of the labour that must have been bestowed, and the importance which must have been attached to that which is, after all, but a secondary attribute to good writing. It is very ill-natured in us, however, to object to what has given us so much pleasure; for we happen to be very intense and sensitive admirers of those soft harmonics of studied speech in which this author is so apt to indulge himself; and have caught ourselves, oftener than we shall con-

fess, neglecting his excellent matter, to lap ourselves in the liquid music of his periods—and letting ourselves float passively down the mellow falls and windings of his soft-flowing sentences, with a delight not inferior to that which we derive from fine versification.

We should reproach ourselves still more, however, and with better reason, if we were to persist in the objection which we were at first inclined to make to the extraordinary kindness and disarming gentleness of all this author's views and suggestions; and we only refer to it now, for the purpose of answering and discrediting it, with any of our readers to whom also it may happen to have occurred.

It first struck us as an objection to the author's courage and sincerity. It was quite unnatural, we said to ourselves, for any body to be always on such very amiable terms with his fellow-creatures; and this air of eternal philanthropy was nothing but a pretence, put on to bring himself into favour; and then we proceeded to assimilate him to those silken parasites who are in raptures with every body they meet, and ingratiate themselves in general society by an unmanly suppression of all honest indignation, and a timid avoidance of all subjects of disagreement. Upon due consideration, however, we are now satisfied that this was an unjust and unworthy interpretation. An author who comes deliberately before the public with certain select monologues of doctrine and discussion, is not at all in the condition of a man in common society, on whom various overtures of baseness and folly are daily obtruded, and to whose sense and honour appeals are perpetually made, which must be manfully answered, as honour and conscience suggest. The author, on the other hand, has no questions to answer, and no society to select: his professed object is to instruct and improve the world—and his real one, if he is tolerably honest, is nothing worse than to promote his own fame and fortune by succeeding in what he professes. Now, there are but two ways that we have ever heard of by which men may be improved—either by cultivating and encouraging their amiable propensities, or by shaming and frightening them out of those that are vicious; and there can be but little doubt, we should imagine, which of the two offices is the highest and most eligible—since the one is left in a great measure to Hell and the hangman,—and for the other, we are taught chiefly to look to Heaven, and all that is angelic upon earth. The most perfect moral discipline would be that, no doubt, in which both were combined; but one is generally as much as human energy is equal to; and, in fact, they have commonly been divided in practice, without surmise of blame. And truly, if men have been hailed as public benefactors, merely for having

beat tyrants into moderation, or coxcombs into good manners, we must be permitted to think, that one whose vocation is different may be allowed to have deserved well of his kind, although he should have confined his efforts to teaching them mutual charity and forbearance, and only sought to repress their evil passions, by strengthening the springs and enlarging the sphere of those that are generous and kindly.

The objection in this general form, therefore, we soon found could not be maintained:—but, as we still felt a little secret spite lingering within us at our author's universal affability, we set about questioning ourselves more strictly as to its true nature and tendency; and think we at last succeeded in tracing it to an eager desire to see so powerful a pen and such great popularity employed in demolishing those errors and abuses to which we had been accustomed to refer most of the unhappiness of our country. Though we love his gentleness and urbanity, on the whole, we should have been very well pleased to see him rude and surly to our particular opponents; and could not but think it showed a want of spirit and discrimination that he did not mark his sense of their demerits, by making them an exception to his general system of toleration and indulgence. Being Whigs ourselves, for example, we could not but take it a little amiss, that one born and bred a republican, and writing largely on the present condition of England, should make so little distinction between that party and its opponents—and should even choose to attach himself to a Tory family, as the proper type and emblem of the old English character. Nor could we well acquit him of being ‘pigeon-livered—and lacking gall,’ when we found that nothing could provoke him to give a palpable hit to the Ministry, or even to employ his pure and powerful eloquence in reproving the shameful scurrilities of the ministerial press. We were also a little sore, we believe, on discovering that he took no notice of Scotland, and said absolutely nothing about our Highlanders, our schools, and our poetry.

Now, though we have magnanimously chosen to illustrate this grudge at his neutrality in our own persons, it is obvious that a dissatisfaction of the same kind must have been felt by all the other great and contending parties into which this and all free countries are necessarily divided. Mr Crayon has rejected the alliance of any one of these, and resolutely refused to take part with them in the struggles to which they attach so much importance; and consequently has, to a certain extent, offended and disappointed them all. But we must carry our magnanimity a step further, and confess, for ourselves, and for others, that, upon reflection, the offence and disappointment seem to us al-

together unreasonable and unjust. The ground of complaint is, that we see talents and influence—innocently, we must admit, and even beneficially employed—but not engaged on our side, or in the particular contest which we may feel it our duty to wage against the errors or delusions of our contemporaries. Now, in the first place, is not this something like the noble indignation of a recruiting serjeant, who thinks it a scandal that any stout fellow should degrade himself by a pacific employment, and takes offence accordingly at every pair of broad shoulders and good legs which he finds in the possession of a priest or a tradesman? But the manifest absurdity of the grudge consists in this. *1st*, That it is equally reasonable in all the different parties who sincerely believe their own cause to be that which ought to prevail; while it is manifest, that, as the desired champion could only side with one, all the rest could be only worse off by the termination of his neutrality; and, *2^{dly}*, That the weight and authority, for the sake of which his assistance is so coveted, and which each party is so anxious to have thrown into its scale, having been entirely created by virtues and qualities which belong only to a state of neutrality, are, in reality, incapable of being transferred to contending parties, and must utterly perish and be annihilated in the attempt. A good part of Mr C.'s reputation, and certainly a very large share of his influence and popularity with all parties, has been acquired by the indulgence with which he has treated all, and his abstinence from all sorts of virulence and hostility; and it is no doubt chiefly on account of this influence and favour that we and others are rashly desirous to see him take part against our adversaries—forgetting that those very qualities which render his assistance valuable, would infallibly desert him the moment that he complied with our desire, and vanish in the very act of his compliance.

The question then comes to be, not merely whether there should be any neutrals in great national contentions—but whether any man should be allowed to aspire to distinction by acts not subservient to party purposes?—a question which, even in this age of party and polemics, we suppose there are not many who would have the hardihood seriously to propound. Yet *this*, we must be permitted to repeat, *is* truly the question;—for if a man may lawfully devote his talents to music, or architecture, or drawing, or metaphysics, or poetry, and lawfully challenge the *general* admiration of his age for his proficiency in these pursuits, though totally disjoined from all political application, we really do not see why he may not write prose essays on national character and the ingredients of private happiness, with the same large and pacific purposes of pleasure and

improvement. To Mr C. especially, who is not a citizen of this country, it can scarcely be proposed as a duty to take a share in our internal contentions; and though the picture which he professes to give of our country may be more imperfect, and the estimate he makes of our character less complete, from the omission of this less tractable element, the value of the parts that he has executed will not be lessened, and the beneficial effect of the representation will in all probability be increased. For our own parts, we have ventured, on former occasions, to express our doubts whether the polemical parts, even of a statesman's duty, do not hold too high a place in public esteem—and are sure, at all events, that they ought not to engross the attention of those to whom that duty has not been intrusted. It should never be forgotten, that good political institutions, the sole end and object of all our party contentions, are only valuable as means of promoting the general happiness and virtue of individuals;—and that, important as they are, there are other means, still more direct and indispensable for the attainment of that great end. The cultivation of the kind affections, we humbly conceive, is of still more importance to private happiness than the good balance of the constitution under which we live; and, if it be true, as we most firmly believe, that it is the natural effect of political freedom to fit and dispose the mind for all gentle as well as generous emotions, we hold it to be equally true, that habits of benevolence, and sentiments of philanthropy, are the surest foundations on which a love of liberty can rest. A man must love his fellows before he loves their liberty; and if he has not learned to interest himself in their enjoyments, it is impossible that he can have any genuine concern for that liberty, which, after all, is only a means of enjoyment. We consider, therefore, the writers who seek to soften and improve our social affections, not only as aiming *directly* at the same great end which politicians more circuitously pursue, but as preparing those elements out of which alone a generous and enlightened love of political freedom can ever be formed—and without which it could neither be safely trusted in the hands of individuals, nor prove fruitful of individual enjoyment. We conclude, therefore, that Mr Crayon is in reality a better friend to Whig principles than if he had openly attacked the Tories—and end this long, and perhaps needless apology for his neutrality, by discovering, that such neutrality is in effect the best nursery for partisans of all that can be shown to be clearly and unquestionably right. And now we must say a word or two more of the book before us.

There are not many of our readers to whom it can be neces-

sary to mention, that it is in substance, and almost in form, a continuation of the *Sketch Book*; and consists of a series of little descriptions and essays on matters principally touching the national character and old habits of England. The author is supposed to be resident at Bracebridge Hall, the Christmas festivities of which he has commemorated in his former publication, and among the inmates of which, most of the familiar incidents occur which he turns to account in his lucubrations. These incidents can scarcely be said to make a story in any sense, and certainly not one which would admit of being abstracted; and as we are under a vow to make but short extracts from popular books, we must see that we choose well the few passages upon which we may venture. There is a short Introduction, and a Farewell, by the author; in both which he alludes to the fact of his being a citizen of America in a way that appears to us to deserve a citation. The first we give chiefly for the beauty of the writing.

‘ England is as classic ground to an American, as Italy is to an Englishman; and old London teems with as much historical association as mighty Rome.

‘ But what more especially attracts his notice, are those peculiarities which distinguish an old country, and an old state of society, from a new one. I have never yet grown familiar enough with the crumbling monuments of past ages, to blunt the intense interest with which I at first beheld them. Accustomed always to scenes where history was, in a manner, in anticipation; where every thing in art was new and progressive, and pointed to the future rather than to the past; where, in short, the works of man gave no ideas but those of young existence, and prospective improvement; there was something inexpressibly touching in the sight of enormous piles of architecture, gray with antiquity, and sinking to decay. I cannot describe the mute but deep-felt enthusiasm with which I have contemplated a vast monastic ruin, like Tintern Abbey, buried in the bosom of a quiet valley, and shut up from the world, as though it had existed merely for itself; or a warrior pile, like Conway Castle, standing in stern loneliness, on its rocky height, a mere hollow, yet threatening phantom of departed power. They spread a grand and melancholy, and, to me, an unusual charm over the landscape. I for the first time beheld signs of national old age, and empire’s decay, and proofs of the transient and perishing glories of art, amidst the ever-springing and reviving fertility of nature.

‘ But, in fact, to me every thing was full of matter: the footsteps of history were every where to be traced; and poetry had breathed over and sanctified the land. I experienced the delightful freshness of feeling of a child, to whom every thing is new. I pictured to myself a set of inhabitants and a mode of life for every habita-

tion that I saw, from the aristocratical mansion, amidst the lordly repose of stately groves and solitary parks, to the straw-thatched cottage, with its scanty garden and its cherished woodbine. I thought I never could be sated with the sweetness and freshness of a country so completely carpeted with verdure; where every air breathed of the balmy pasture and the honeysuckled hedge. I was continually coming upon some little document of poetry, in the blossomed hawthorn, the daisy, the cowslip, the primrose, or some other simple object that has received a supernatural value from the Muse. The first time that I heard the song of the nightingale, I was intoxicated more by the delicious crowd of remembered associations, than by the melody of its notes; and I shall never forget the thrill of ecstasy with which I first saw the lark rise, almost from beneath my feet, and wing its musical flight up into the morning sky.' I. 6—9.

We know nothing more beautiful than the melody of this concluding sentence; and if the reader be not struck with its music, we think he has no right to admire the Vision of Mirza, or any of the other delicious cadences of Addison.

The Farewell we quote for the matter; and it is matter to which we shall miss no fit occasion to recur,—being persuaded not only that it is one of higher moment than almost any other to which we can apply ourselves, but one upon which the honest perseverance of such a work as ours may in time produce practical and beneficial effects. We allude to the animosity which intemperate writers on both sides are labouring to create, or exasperate, between this country and America, and which we, and the writer before us, are most anxious to allay. There is no word in the following quotation in which we do not most cordially concur. We receive with peculiar satisfaction the assurances of the accomplished author, as to the kindly disposition of the better part of his countrymen; and are disposed to place entire confidence in it, not only from our reliance on his judgment and means of information, but from the accuracy of his representation of the sort of persons to whom the fashion of abusing the Americans has now gone down on this side of the Atlantic. Nothing, we think, can be more handsome, persuasive, or grateful, than the whole following passage.

'And here let me acknowledge my warm, my thankful feelings, at the effect produced by one of my trivial lucubrations. I allude to the essay in the Sketch-Book, on the subject of the literary feuds between England and America. I cannot express the heartfelt delight I have experienced at the unexpected sympathy and approbation with which those remarks have been received on both sides of the Atlantic. I speak this not from any paltry feelings of gratified vanity; for I attribute the effect to no merit of my pen. The paper in question was brief and casual, and the ideas it conveyed were

simple and obvious. "It was the cause; it was the cause" alone. There was a predisposition on the part of my readers to be favourably affected. My countrymen responded in heart to the filial feelings I had avowed in their name towards the parent country; and there was a generous sympathy in every English bosom towards a solitary individual, lifting up his voice in a strange land, to vindicate the injured character of his nation. There are some causes so sacred as to carry with them an irresistible appeal to every virtuous bosom; and he needs but little power of eloquence, who defends the honour of his wife, his mother, or his country.

'I hail, therefore, the success of that brief paper, as showing how much good may be done by a kind word, however feeble, when spoken in season—as showing how much dormant good feeling actually exists in each country, towards the other, which only wants the slightest spark to kindle it into a genial flame—as showing, in fact, what I have all along believed and asserted, that the two nations would grow together in esteem and amity, if meddling and malignant spirits would but throw by their mischievous pens, and leave kindred hearts to the kindly impulses of nature.

'I once more assert, and I assert it with increased conviction of its truth, that there exists, among the great majority of my countrymen, a favourable feeling towards England. I repeat this assertion, because I think it a truth that cannot too often be reiterated, and because it has met with some contradiction. Among all the liberal and enlightened minds of my countrymen, among all those which eventually give a tone to national opinion, there exists a cordial desire to be on terms of courtesy and friendship. But, at the same time, there exists in those very minds a distrust of reciprocal good will on the part of England. They have been rendered morbidly sensitive by the attacks made upon their country by the English press; and their occasional irritability on this subject has been misinterpreted into a settled and unnatural hostility.

'For my part, I consider this jealous sensibility as belonging to generous natures. I should look upon my countrymen as fallen indeed from that independence of spirit which is their birth-gift; as fallen indeed from that pride of character which they inherit from the proud nation from which they sprung, could they tamely sit down under the infliction of contumely and insult. Indeed, the very impatience which they show as to the misrepresentations of the press, proves their respect for English opinion, and their desire for English amity; for there is never jealousy where there is not strong regard.

'To the magnanimous spirits of both countries must we trust to carry such a natural alliance of affection into full effect. To pens more powerful than mine I leave the noble task of promoting the cause of national amity. To the intelligent and enlightened of my own country, I address my parting voice, entreating them to show themselves superior to the petty attacks of the ignorant and the

worthless, and still to look with dispassionate and philosophic eye to the moral character of England, as the intellectual source of our rising greatness; while I appeal to every generous-minded Englishman from the slanders which disgrace the press, insult the understanding, and belie the magnanimity of his country: and I invite him to look to America, as to a kindred nation, worthy of its origin; giving, in the healthy vigour of its growth, the best of comments on its parent stock; and reflecting, in the dawning brightness of its fame, the moral effulgence of British glory.

‘I am sure that such appeal will not be made in vain. Indeed I have noticed, for some time past, an essential change in English sentiment with regard to America. In Parliament, that fountain-head of public opinion, there seems to be an emulation, on both sides of the House, in holding the language of courtesy and friendship. The same spirit is daily becoming more and more prevalent in good society. There is a growing curiosity concerning my country; a craving desire for correct information, that cannot fail to lead to a favourable understanding. The scoffer, I trust, has had his day; the time of the slanderer is gone by. The ribald jokes, the stale commonplaces, which have so long passed current when America was the theme, are now banished to the ignorant and the vulgar, or only perpetuated by the hireling scribblers and traditional jesters of the press. The intelligent and high-minded now pride themselves upon making America a study.’ II. 396-403.

From the body of the work, we must indulge ourselves with very few citations. But we cannot resist the following exquisite description of a rainy Sunday at an inn in a country town. It is part of the admirable legend of ‘the Stout Gentleman,’ of which we will not trust ourselves with saying one word more. The following, however, is perfect, independent of its connexions.

‘It was a rainy Sunday, in the gloomy month of November. I had been detained, in the course of a journey, by a slight indisposition, from which I was recovering; but I was still feverish, and was obliged to keep within doors all day, in an inn of the small town of Derby. A wet Sunday in a country inn! whoever has had the luck to experience one can alone judge of my situation. The rain pattered against the casements; the bells tolled for church with a melancholy sound. I went to the windows in quest of something to amuse the eye; but it seemed as if I had been placed completely out of the reach of all amusement. The windows of my bed-room looked out among tiled roofs and stacks of chimneys, while those of my sitting-room commanded a full view of the stable-yard. I know of nothing more calculated to make a man sick of this world than a stable-yard on a rainy day. The place was littered with wet straw that had been kicked about by travellers and stable-boys. In one corner was a stagnant pool of water, surrounding an island of muck. “There

were several half-drowned fowls crowded together under a cart, among which was a miserable, crest-fallen cock, drenched out of all life and spirit; his drooping tail matted, as it were, into a single feather, along which the water trickled from his back. Near the cart was a half-dozing cow, chewing the cud, and standing patiently to be rained on, with wreaths of vapour rising from her reeking hide. A wall-eyed horse tired of the loneliness of the stable, was poking his spectral head out of a window, with the rain dripping on it from the eaves. An unhappy cur, chained to a doghouse hard by, uttered something every now and then, between a bark and a yelp. A drab of a kitchen wench tramped backwards and forwards through the yard in pattens, looking as sulky as the weather itself. Every thing, in short, was comfortless and forlorn, excepting a crew of hard-drinking ducks, assembled like boon companions round a puddle, and making a riotous noise over their liquor.

‘I sauntered to the window and stood gazing at the people, picking their way to church, with petticoats hoisted midleg high, and dripping umbrellas. The bells ceased to toll, and the streets became silent. I then amused myself with watching the daughters of a tradesman opposite; who, being confined to the house for fear of wetting their Sunday finery, played off their charms at the front windows, to fascinate the chance tenants of the inn. They at length were summoned away by a vigilant vinegar-faced mother, and I had nothing further from without to amuse me.

‘The day continued lowering and gloomy. The slovenly, ragged, spongy clouds, drifted heavily along. There was no variety even in the rain; it was one dull, continued, monotonous patter—patter—patter, excepting that now and then I was enlivened by the idea of a brisk shower, from the rattling of the drops upon a passing umbrella. It was quite *refreshing* (if I may be allowed a hackneyed phrase of the day) when, in the course of the morning, a horn blew, and a stage coach whirled through the street, with outside passengers stuck all over it, cowering under cotton umbrellas, and seethed together, and reeking with the steams of wet box-coats and upper Benjamins. The sound brought out from their lurking-places a crew of vagabond boys, and vagabond dogs, and the carroty-headed hostler, and that non-descript animal ycleped Boots, and all the other vagabond race that infest the purlieus of an inn; but the bustle was transient. The coach again whirled on its way; and boy and dog, and hostler and Boots, all slunk back again to their holes. The street again became silent, and the rain continued to rain on.

‘The evening gradually wore away. The travellers read the papers two or three times over. Some drew round the fire, and told long stories about their horses, about their adventures, their overturns, and breakings-down. They discussed the credits of different merchants and different inns; and the two wags told several choice anecdotes of pretty chambermaids, and kind landladies. All this passed as they were quietly taking what they called their night-caps, that

is to say, strong glasses of brandy and water or sugar, or some other mixture of the kind; after which, they one after another rang for "Boots" and the chambermaid, and walked off to bed in old shoes cut down into marvellously uncomfortable slippers.

'There was only one man left; a short-legged, long-bodied, plethoric fellow, with a very large sandy head. He sat by himself with a glass of port wine negus, and a spoon; sipping and stirring, and meditating and sipping, until nothing was left but the spoon. He gradually fell asleep bolt upright in his chair, with the empty glass standing before him; and the candle seemed to fall asleep too, for the wick grew long, and black, and cabbaged at the end, and dimmed the little light that remained in the chamber. The gloom that now prevailed was contagious. Around hung the shapeless, and almost spectral box-coats of departed travellers, long since buried in deep sleep. I only heard the ticking of the clock, with the deep-drawn breathings of the sleeping toper, and the drippings of the rain, drop—drop—drop, from the eaves of the house.' I. 112—130.

The whole description of the Lady Lillycraft is equally good in its way; but we can only make room for the portraits of her canine attendants.

'She has brought two dogs with her also, out of a number of pets which she maintains at home. One is a fat spaniel, called Zephyr—though heaven defend me from such a zephyr! He is fed out of all shape and comfort; his eyes are nearly strained out of his head; he wheezes with corpulency, and cannot walk without great difficulty. The other is a little, old, gray-muzzled curmudgeon, with an unhappy eye, that kindles like a coal if you only look at him; his nose turns up; his mouth is drawn into wrinkles, so as to show his teeth; in short, he has altogether the look of a dog far gone in misanthropy, and totally sick of the world. When he walks, he has his tail curled up so tight that it seems to lift his feet from the ground; and he seldom makes use of more than three legs at a time, keeping the other drawn up as a reserve. This last wretch is called Beauty.

'These dogs are full of elegant ailments unknown to vulgar dogs; and are petted and nursed by Lady Lillycraft with the tenderest kindness. They have cushions for their express use, on which they lie before the fire, and yet are apt to shiver and moan if there is the least draught of air. When any one enters the room, they make a most tyrannical barking that is absolutely deafening. They are insolent to all the other dogs of the establishment. There is a noble stag-hound, a great favourite of the squire's, who is a privileged visitor to the parlour; but the moment he makes his appearance, these intruders fly at him with furious rage; and I have admired the sovereign indifference and contempt with which he seems to look down upon his puny assailants. When her ladyship drives out, these dogs are generally carried with her to take the air; when they look out of each window of the carriage, and bark at all vulgar pedestrian dogs.' I. 75—77.

We shall venture on but one extract more—and it shall be a specimen of the author's more pensive vein. It is from the chapter of 'Family Reliques;' and affords, especially in the latter part, another striking instance of the pathetic melody of his style.

'The place, however, which abounds most with mementos of past times, is the picture gallery; and there is something strangely pleasing, though melancholy, in considering the long rows of portraits which compose the greater part of the collection. They furnish a kind of narrative of the lives of the family worthies, which I am enabled to read with the assistance of the venerable housekeeper, who is the family chronicler, prompted occasionally by Master Simon. There is the progress of a fine lady, for instance, through a variety of portraits. One represents her as a little girl, with a long waist and hoop, holding a kitten in her arms, and ogling the spectator out of the corners of her eyes, as if she could not turn her head. In another we find her in the freshness of youthful beauty, when she was a celebrated belle, and so hard-hearted as to cause several unfortunate gentlemen to run desperate and write bad poetry. In another she is depicted as a stately dame, in the maturity of her charms; next to the portrait of her husband, a gallant colonel in full-bottomed wig and gold-laced hat, who was killed abroad; and, finally, her monument is in the church, the spire of which may be seen from the window, where her effigy is carved in marble, and represents her as a venerable dame of seventy-six.—There is one group that particularly interested me. It consisted of four sisters of nearly the same age, who flourished about a century since, and, if I may judge from their portraits, were extremely beautiful. I can imagine what a scene of gaiety and romance this old mansion must have been, when they were in the hey-day of their charms; when they passed like beautiful visions through its halls, or stepped daintily to music in the revels and dances of the cedar gallery; or printed, with delicate feet, the velvet verdure of these lawns,' &c.

'When I look at these faint records of gallantry and tenderness: when I contemplate the fading portraits of these beautiful girls, and think too that they have long since bloomed, reigned, grown old, died, and passed away, and with them all their graces, their triumphs, their rivalries, their admirers; the whole empire of love and pleasure in which they ruled—"all dead, all buried, all forgotten," I find a cloud of melancholy stealing over the present gaieties around me. I was gazing, in a musing mood, this very morning, at the portrait of the lady whose husband was killed abroad, when the fair Julia entered the gallery, leaning on the arm of the captain. The sun shone through the row of windows on her as she passed along, and she seemed to beam out each time into brightness, and relapse into shade, until the door at the bottom of the gallery closed after her. I felt a sadness of heart at the idea, that this was an emblem of her

lot : a few more years of sunshine and shade, and all this life, and loveliness, and enjoyment, will have ceased, and nothing be left to commemorate this beautiful being but one more perishable portrait ; to awaken, perhaps, the trite speculations of some future loiterer, like myself, when I and my scribblings shall have lived through our brief existence and been forgotten.' I. 64, 65.

We can scarcely afford room even to allude to the rest of this elegant miscellany. ' Ready money Jack ' is admirable throughout—and the old General very good. The lovers are, as usual, the most insipid. The Gypsies are sketched with infinite elegance as well as spirit—and Master Simon is quite delightful, in all the varieties of his ever versatile character. Perhaps the most pleasing thing about all these personages, is the perfect innocence and singleness of purpose which seems to belong to them—and which, even when it raises a gentle smile at their expense, breathes over the whole scene they inhabit an air of attraction and respect—like that which reigns in the De Coverley pictures of Addison. Of the Tales which serve to fill up the volumes, that of ' Dolph Heyliger ' is incomparably the best—and is more characteristic, perhaps, both of the author's turn of imagination and cast of humour, than any thing else in the work. ' The Student of Salamanca ' is too long, and deals rather largely in the commonplaces of romantic adventure :—while ' Annette de la Barbe,' though pretty and pathetic in some passages, is, on the whole, rather *fade* and finical—and too much in the style of the sentimental afterpieces which we have lately borrowed from the Parisian theatres.

On the whole, we are very sorry to receive Mr Crayon's farewell—and we return it with the utmost cordiality. We thank him most sincerely, for the pleasure he has given us—for the kindness he has shown to our country—and for the lessons he has taught, both here and in his native land, of good taste, good nature, and national liberality. We hope he will come back among us soon—and remember us while he is away ; and can assure him, that he is in no danger of being speedily forgotten.

ART. IV. *Trial of John Ambrose Williams, for a Libel on the Clergy, before Mr Baron Wood and a Special Jury ; tried at the Summer Assizes at Durham, on Tuesday, August 6, 1822 : To which is prefixed, a Report of the Preliminary Proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, London.* Williams, Durham. Ridgway, London. 8vo. pp. 57. 1822.

THE proceedings in this extraordinary case have attracted general attention, and excited a lively interest among per-

sons of very opposite descriptions. The best friends of the English Hierarchy, we believe, were filled with wonder when they saw some of its most vulnerable parts exposed to the rude conflict of forensic and popular warfare, without the least necessity; and those who, from whatever motive, whether with religious or with party views, seek to weaken the influence of the Establishment, could not but regard with extreme satisfaction a controversy, out of which it must inevitably retreat with diminished credit. The times seemed, indeed, eminently inauspicious for such an experiment as the movers of this prosecution were venturous enough to embark in. The conduct of the dignified Clergy must not, it seems, be made the subject of any comment; they claim an exemption from that jurisdiction which the public opinion has, for near a century and a half, exercised over all other bodies of men in this country; they are resolved to do as they please, and to answer all unpleasant observations by the compendious logic of the Crown-office. We dare not, therefore, expose our London publishers to risk, by assigning any reasons for the fact, which is however indisputable, and may still, we would fain hope, be stated historically, that, of late years, the higher classes of the Church have not been held in perfect affection and veneration by the people at large among our Southern neighbours; that pluralities and non-residence, and unequal distribution of wealth, leaving the working parish priest oftentimes to starve, while the sinecurist of the Cathedral revels in all the enjoyments of rank and fortune, have no longer the same supporters among the lay parts of the community, which they used to find in less inquiring periods; that the whole amount of the ecclesiastical revenues, as well as the vexatious methods of raising the principal branch of them, are now severely felt by those whom the difficulties of the times have well nigh overwhelmed; and that the unhappy propensity to meddle in political matters, which the Church dignitaries have displayed, always showing their zeal upon the unpopular side, and never more remarkably than during the proceedings relating to the Queen, have still further increased the alienation of the people from the chiefs of the Establishment. This was the moment so judiciously chosen for courting a solemn discussion of their claims to public favour, and an accurate estimate of the degree in which they possess it. A newspaper of merely local circulation had published a few remarks upon the factious spirit of some of the Durham Clergy, in ordering the bells not to toll at her Majesty's decease, a mark of respect invariably shown to all the members of the Royal Family. Upon this, without pretending to deny the statement, but resolved to

prove that no one should with impunity presume to criticise their conduct, those very reverend persons straightway applied to the Court of King's Bench, and their Lordships were pleased to grant a criminal information.

The application seems to have been in the first instance resisted, upon two grounds; *first*, That the constant rule of the Court had not been complied with, which requires all the matters of fact in an alleged libel to be denied upon oath, unless in certain peculiar cases, wholly different from the present, as where Parliamentary privilege, or high State immunities, created an exception to the rule; and, *secondly*, That no party came forward as the applicant, and, consequently, it was impossible to say that the extraordinary interposition of the Court might not be given to some person whose conduct had been the very reverse of that blamelessness which is always required as a necessary qualification for obtaining this aid. Thus, Mr Williams produced two most libellous pamphlets, published by members of the Body in question; in both of which he was himself grossly slandered; and many other foul and even brutal passages were cited from one of those works, reflecting upon various persons and bodies of men, on the late Queen in the most indecent terms, and on the proceedings of parts of the Legislature, in language scarcely less unmeasured. Had either of those reverend persons applied for the information, it would at once have been refused; and yet, for any thing that appeared, they might be the movers of this anonymous application. The Court, however, thought otherwise, and deemed the publication a fit matter to be sent before a Jury. The ground of this decision, in all probability, was the distinction taken between the attack upon individuals, and the supposed libel upon the body of the Clergy, either of the Church generally, or of the Durham church; and it may, no doubt, be said, that the offences of the individuals, admitting them to have been the real applicants, afforded no reason for refusing to protect, by means of an information, the body to which they belonged. But this, the only reason which can be imagined for dispensing with the usual requisites, will be found, when considered, to be any thing rather than sound. For every prosecutor acts on behalf of the publick; as well he who seeks to punish an attack upon himself, as he who would punish an attack upon some corporation to which he does or does not belong; and yet the rule is invariable with respect to all persons who apply for criminal informations on account of libels against themselves; they must be known to the Court, and they must come before it with clean hands. If the application had been disposed of according to this rule, or if, having succeeded in

obtaining the information, the Reverend Body had rested satisfied without bringing it to trial, perhaps few thinking persons will doubt that they would have been far more fortunate.

It may be fit, in illustration of a very material portion of this case, that we should here make the reader acquainted with the kind of persons for whose protection these proceedings were instituted. They are, it appears, abundantly averse to being made the subject of any remarks; but they cannot prosecute us for exhibiting them in the colours in which they have portrayed themselves. Far be it from us to call them meddling political agents, tools of party, hirelings of Government, slanderers or libellers; but we shall cite from their own publications their own words; and possibly they may feel some hesitation in going before a Grand Jury, with a charge of stirring up hatred and contempt against them, by means of giving to the world, in a manner to excite the attention of numerous readers, those writings of theirs which they have circulated within the more narrow circle of their own diocese, where their political labours are peculiarly bestowed.

One of the Durham clergy, Mr Phillpotts, lately a prebendary, but who has resigned his stall for the richest living in the diocese, and perhaps in the whole Church of England, had, it seems, published some time before the attack complained of, a pamphlet full of violent invectives against those who had taken part with the late Queen, during her unexampled persecution. He appears to be an active political agitator, upon the Government side of course. He is the author of an Address to the King, from the Clergy convened at the Archdeacon's, containing the following expressions. 'We have seen, with feelings which we forbear to express, men of exalted rank and distinguished talents, fostering and stimulating the discontents of the multitude; availing themselves of delusions which they despise, and of vices which they reprobate, to forward the miserable objects of party ambition. We have seen, in the highest places, instances of turbulence and contempt of lawful authority, which would disgrace the lowest.' In case any doubt should remain that these fierce invectives refer to the proceedings in the House of Lords, Mr Phillpotts says in his pamphlet (which assumes the form of a Letter to Earl Grey) after citing them, 'Your Lordship will hardly reckon the County Court at Durham among the highest places; and because you cannot conceive yourself, when indeed sitting in the highest places, as justly chargeable with the turbulent and outrageous behaviour which has been witnessed there,—because you never threaten to throw the Liturgy in your Sovereign's face, nor

‘join in open resistance to one of his highest prerogatives,—it therefore does not occur to you that this part of our address bears any application to yourself. And yet, my Lord, bating the very important difference in your Lordship’s consciousness respecting those different occasions, you have just as good a right to appropriate the latter passage to your own case, as the former.’* Respecting Mr Williams, the defendant, this meek and Christian pastor is pleased to say, that he is ‘a miserable mercenary, who eats the bread of prostitution, and panders to the low appetites of those who cannot, and who dare not, cater for their own malignity.’ Mr Williams defends himself, and asserts that such language, and the conduct which accompanies it, are not befitting the sacred character of the Clergy. But he is met by a criminal information; and when he alleges that such virulent invectives as he had been exposed to, gave him a right to retaliate, he is told that Mr Phillpotts is not his prosecutor, but some other dignitaries of the Church. So that one dignitary defames him, and his brethren join in bearing down, by the intolerable oppressions of the law, the defamed man for retorting upon his calumniator.

Another of the Durham Clergy prints a pamphlet upon the same subject, in which Mr Williams is termed ‘*a hireling and fulsome panegyrist*’ ‘an odious character, doubtless,’ (as Mr Brougham observes in his argument in the Court of King’s Bench), ‘and worthy of all contempt; but not more hateful nor more despicable than the man who combines with it, in his own person, the part of an hireling calumniator; earning a portion of his wages by fulsome flattery to his rich and powerful employers, and working out the residue in foul slanders of those who cannot, or who will not, buy him.’ The regard for truth which marks this reverend author’s pages, may be learnt from two samples. He asserts that her late Majesty was, ‘according to Lord Grey’s own assertions, *indelibly stigmatized* ;’ and that she was ‘surrounded by a set of persons whom she and her friends proclaimed to be unworthy of credit in a Court of Justice, but very fit to be Chamberlains and Ladies of Honour.’ (p. 7.) Now, we desire to know when and where Lord Grey ever asserted the Queen to be indelibly stigmatized; when and where the Queen, or any of her friends, ever proclaimed

* We may note in passing, the strict regard to truth which marks this passage. That truly virtuous, pious, and enlightened supporter of the constitution, Lord Grosvenor, one of the most undaunted friends to liberty and good government who are yet preserved to us, is here alluded to, as if he had *actually* insulted the King, and been guilty, moreover, of *rebellion*.

any of the Household to be unworthy of credit? Again, the reverend Minister of the Gospel of Truth, has the prodigious assurance to add, ‘ Was she not reprimanded by the late King, and left under a CLOUD, * with a reputation impaired; and without having had an opportunity of explaining her conduct and asserting her innocence? Did she not from that time remain excluded from public attendance at Court, and therefore proclaimed to the world as one under grievous and deserved suspicion? Did not this continue without your Lordship’s opposition or interference in her behalf, until in 1814 circumstances occurred which made her situation an object requiring consideration?’ Now the utter falsehood of all this is so perfectly notorious, that no charity is sufficient to make us believe the mistatement could be otherwise than wilful. Every one knows that the Queen was, by the unanimous remonstrances of the present Ministers, received at Court immediately after they came into office in 1807; and that, so far from their allowing her to remain under any cloud, or any suspicion, they insisted on a more unqualified acquittal being pronounced, than had been given by the Commission of 1806. The same reverend author thus proceeds, in the true spirit, and almost in the words which have consigned the Reverend Mr Blacow to prison as a libeller. ‘ With all this displayed and recorded in the Lords’ journals, there stands her Majesty in Brandenburgh House the idol, which only *some* of her votaries dare yet approach, but to which the majority, at a very cautious distance, render the same beastly tribute as was formerly paid to the sensual and depraved divinities of the heathen world.’

No one can read these passages in the writings of two dignitaries of the Church, and not call to mind sundry other passages in books of a somewhat higher authority. We will not cite those Scriptures touching charity, which are familiar to most men; but we may inform the reader of the two pamphlets, and remind the writers, of what the former may not suspect from their contents, and the latter seem to have forgotten, that there was once the following dialogue between themselves and their spiritual overseer, touching the conditions of obtaining that holy character which forms their title to the enormous temporal wealth now enjoyed by them. ‘ BISHOP. Will you be diligent in prayers, and in reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in *such studies* as help to the knowledge of the same; *laying aside the study of the world*, and the flesh? ANSW. I will endeavour myself so to do, the Lord being my helper. BISHOP. Will you maintain and set forward, *as much as lieth in you*, quiet-

* Sic in Orig.

‘*ness, peace, and love among all Christian people, and especially among them that are, or shall be committed to your charge?*’
 ‘ANSW. I will do so, the Lord being my helper.’ We read of a certain Bishop Martianus, at Constantinople, who having ordained a man whom he afterwards found to be turbulent, exclaimed,—‘Oh, would to God I had laid my hands on thorns (or briars) rather than on such a man’s head!’ And it is to be feared (as J. Spencer says in his *Καὶνὰ καὶ παλαιὰ*, 86.), ‘that many now in these days have just cause to beshrew their fingers for ordaining them, whom they have no sooner put into the ministry but they become the ringleaders of faction.’ Archbishop Tillotson may possibly have felt the truth of this remark in his time; for he zealously holds up to imitation, the meekness of St Michael in his disputation with the Devil—when St Jude says, ‘he durst not bring a railing accusation.’ One reason for which forbearance, his Grace somewhat archly remarks, may have been this, that ‘the devil would have been too hard for him at railing; being better skilled at that weapon, and more expert at that kind of dispute.’ *Serm. vi.* 185.

The proceedings in the Court of King’s Bench ended in sending the alleged libel to be tried before a Special Jury of the county of Durham. It is fit, therefore, that we should state the circumstances which more immediately occasioned its publication. That the Durham Clergy, and more especially those connected with the cathedral, have long taken a very forward part in all the contentions of local politics, is not denied by themselves and their supporters. That in electioneering especially, they have been most active, every one allows; and that those who espouse liberal principles, who resist the progress of corruption, and defend the rights of the subject, are exposed to their peculiar hostility, is sworn by Mr Williams in his affidavit, confirmed by the specimens already cited from some of their political writings. Their indignation appears to have been roused in a remarkable degree by the proceedings, not against the Queen, but in her behalf, both by the free-spirited people of this country, always enemies to oppression when they plainly perceive it, and by the large bodies of both Houses of Parliament, the majority of those out of place, who, on this occasion, joined the nation in strongly reprobating the most cruel and profligate attempt that has been witnessed in modern times, or in Christian monarchies. The triumph of her Majesty’s cause was more than they could well bear; and, not daring to show any open marks of hostility to her and to the country which took her part, they contented themselves with addresses complaining of what was going on, and with writing, and encouraging others to write, those foul slanders on her Majesty, and

all who stood by her, which have so signally disgraced the press of this country, and have, in some instances, led to such lamentable consequences. In pursuance of this system, when the news of her lamented death reached Durham, they forbade the bells to toll, thus withholding that decent mark of respect which was due to her as a member of the Royal Family, and could not be refused without offering an affront to that Illustrious House, and especially to its august Head. This notable piece of vulgar sycophancy, as disgusting, beyond all doubt, to the Prince whom it was clumsily intended to flatter, as to the people whose honest and genuine feelings it was meant to outrage, naturally called for observation from Mr William, as the conductor of an independent journal published in Durham. His remarks, which have exposed him to this prosecution, are strong, and indicate some warmth of indignation, such as probably every unbiassed mind felt upon the occasion. He states the fact; contrasts the silence of the bells at Durham with the almost universal tribute of respect rendered by other cathedrals and churches; and comments upon such proceedings, as indicative of an implacable spirit in those who had done their utmost to embitter the Queen's existence, and whom even her mournful end had not been able to soften. He, not unnaturally, exclaims upon the marked inconsistency of such conduct with the precepts of our religion, and the example of its humane and charitable founder; and asserts, that such men are the worst enemies to the Establishment, making its temples be deserted, and filling the tabernacles of the sectaries. Such is the substance of the remarks, which the clergy found it easier (possibly it may not in the end prove safer) to prosecute than to answer, and sent before a Jury, with the several allegations, first, that they were meant to bring the whole Established Church into contempt; and next, that they were meant to bring into contempt the whole Church, but especially the Durham Ecclesiastics. After a long investigation which lasted the whole day, and during which the Jury retired for nearly six hours, a verdict was returned, in substance, acquitting the defendant of the charge of libelling the Established Church, but finding him guilty of a libel upon the Clergy of Durham and its suburbs. The Tract before us, after giving at length the arguments in the King's Bench, and the affidavits for and against the Rule, with a list of the Jurymen, contains a minute account of this most interesting trial, which appears to have excited the liveliest feelings in all parts of the neighbouring kingdom, and is calculated to produce effects probably as little in the contemplation, as they may be to the liking, of its promoters. The very able and skillful speech of Mr Scarlett,

who, as Attorney-General of the County Palatine, conducted the prosecution, appears before the publick with all the unavoidable disadvantages of a report, manifestly never revised by himself, and accordingly full of errors, which the most eminent reporter cannot escape. Nevertheless, it displays consummate talent and address; betokening, however, an extreme degree of anxiety for the result, and distinguished, beyond any such address that we can recollect, by the extraordinary pains taken to anticipate and disarm the defence. The report of Mr Brougham's speech bears the marks of having been, in great part at least, carefully revised, a precaution, perhaps, necessary for a professional man defending publications respecting the Church and its members; and, for this reason, as well as because its topics raise the greater portion of the questions to which we design to direct the reader's attention, we shall hesitate the less in making our extracts from it, accompanying these with such commentary as the subject-matter appears to require.*

After disposing of the usual admission made by prosecutors, that there should, on every subject, be as much freedom of discussion as is consistent with a calm and temperate demeanour in the disputants, and which Mr B. interprets, from long experience, he says, of Attornies-General, to mean such free discussion 'as may leave the subject untouched, and the reader 'unmoved; may satisfy the publick prosecutor, and please the 'persons attacked,'—he proceeds to deal with the proposition on which the prosecution rests, viz. that the Church is established by law; and he admits this of course; but denies that it is more established, or its members more protected by law, than all the other institutions of the country, and those who administer them; all the lay officers, civil and military; we

* Of the rhetorical merits of this Speech, we can scarcely afford to say any thing in an article directed to the graver questions which gave occasion to it. But it is impossible to refer to it at all without observing, that, in point of vehemence, energy and power, we are acquainted with few specimens of forensic eloquence with which it need shun a comparison. Though delivered in support of a Defence, it contains nothing at all apologetical, and not much that can be represented as even conciliatory. It is criminative, contemptuous, and defying. The tone throughout is that of proud superiority and command; and its general strain and character may be compendiously described by the single word, *terrible*. It is terrible in its irony—terrible in its invective—and terrible in its history and predictions. The style is suitable to the matter—varied, copious, and impassioned;—but our present business is with its substance.

presume he means the political and household servants of the Crown; the provincial and parochial servants of the public. To all of these, from the Primate of all England, the Lord Chief Justice of all England, the Great Officers of State, the Commanders in Chief of both branches of the military service, down to the humblest curate who does the duty of the Church, and starves upon less wages, and far worse fare, than the Prelate's menial servants grow rich and fat upon; nay, down to the parish clerk, and overseer of the poor, and constable, the law extends its protection alike; they are publick functionaries, and one is quite as much a part of the system as the other. To all of them equally, then, the remark applies—'The Church is not more established, nor more protected, than those institutions, officers and office-bearers, each of which is recognised and favoured by the law as much as the Church; but I never yet have heard, and I trust I never shall, least of all do I expect in the lesson which your verdict this day will read, to hear, that those officers and office-bearers, and all those institutions, sacred and secular, and the conduct of all, whether laymen or priests, who administer them, are not the fair subjects of open, untrammelled, manly, zealous, and even vehement discussion, as long as this country pretends to liberty, and prides herself on the possession of a free press.'

A most eminent philosopher and divine, to whom more than to any other, perhaps, since the age of the Reformers, the Church and the Christian religion itself is indebted, and who, notwithstanding his supreme deserts, and an orthodoxy never questioned, and political opinions most inoffensive even to the ruling powers, was refused access to the dignities of the Establishment, through the groundless prejudices of the Monarch, the hateful and interested bigotry of the high Tory party, and the disreputable compliances of the minister, contrary to his avowed sentiments—we need not name Dr Paley—in showing the true foundations of Royal prerogative, justly but somewhat jocosely observes, that 'the divine right of Kings is like the divine right of Constables.' Than this sagacious theologian, there never was any man more firmly attached to the Church establishment, or greater stickler for all its privileges; nor is there any where to be found an abler argument in its defence, than his exposition of the grounds of expediency upon which it rests. But he cannot object to our applying his own remark on the rights of monarchs, to those of prelates; and we must therefore be permitted to place the title of the primate and the sexton, upon the self-same grounds; nay, the right of the whole Church establishment, and of every, even the humblest part of the secular constitutions of the State, upon the same

grounds ; and to express our utter inability to discover any thing more sacred or inviolable in the one than in the other. If, indeed, a man wantonly and falsely attack the foundations of the hierarchy, in such a manner as to show mere malice, and not the love of useful and free inquiry, more especially if he revile, without any truth, the conduct of its individual members, and by such weapons of malignant falsehood as some of themselves may have taught him how to wield—then the law ought to interpose and punish, not the freedom, or even the vehemence of the discussion, but the wilful falsehood of the charges ; and possibly greater punishment may be due to him, if he thus slanders the higher branches of the system, than if he had only attacked the less important parts. But this is very far indeed from the measure of protection which the clergy demand from the civil power. They are attacked ; facts are distinctly stated against them ; their political conduct is exposed ; their lives, as ministers of the gospel, are criticised ; and they neither deny the statements, nor adopt such a mode of proceeding as will allow those who make them to prove them ; and they then desire that all objectors may be put to silence, because the Church and its members are sacred ; the law upholds them ; and it is the duty of the people to reverence them, in silent acquiescence, with that ‘ prostration of the understanding and the will,’ which a right reverend prelate has openly prescribed as the best frame of mind upon all ecclesiastical subjects. This is combated at length by Mr B., who observes, that the publication in question having made no attack whatever upon the Church generally, no necessity is imposed on the defendant to grapple with such positions ; yet, that the danger of suffering such extravagant claims ever to pass unresisted, makes it the duty of all against whom they are urged instantly to oppose them. His argument is this. All the institutions of the country may lawfully be discussed ; not only the conduct of those who administer them, but the fitness of the institutions themselves. But if there is any one of those institutions, in discussing which a peculiar degree of freedom and even of violence may be expected, and ought to be permitted, it is the ecclesiastical system, which, ‘ because it is ‘ sacred ; because it bears connexion with higher principles than ‘ any involved in the mere management of worldly concerns, for ‘ that very reason, entwines itself with deeper feelings, and must ‘ needs be discussed, if discussed at all, with more warmth and ‘ zeal, than any other part of our system is fitted to rouse. But of all churches, the Protestant ought the most to challenge full discussion, because it is the very creature of free inquiry, the offspring of repeated revolutions ; and of all Protestant churches, that of England should be the most anxious for discussion,

and the least jealous of free remarks upon its title or conduct, because, he says, she is 'the most reformed of the reformed churches of Europe;' and because, in this United Kingdom, the diversity in the ecclesiastical polity is so great, as to make any nice watching over the manner in which men may speak of any one of the forms of Church government, worse than absurd. But, finally, from the peculiar wealth and privileges of the Durham Church, it is contended, that in the county palatine, and touching such an endowment, the largest possible measure of license ought, not only in justice to the laity, but for the safety of the clergy themselves, to be, especially in these times, permitted without a murmur.

Such is the substance of this argument, to which we have, in the main, no objection whatever; but we must, as good Presbyterians, take an exception to one of its parts, if indeed, it be not an error in the report, we mean the assertion, that the Anglican is the most reformed of the reformed churches. We deny this entirely; and we maintain, that it is, in discipline at least, if not in doctrine, and certainly in its constitution, the least reformed of those which have thrown off the gross errors, and grosser abuses, of Popery. It is from no invidious desire of exalting the pure Presbyterian system over the Episcopalian, that we are induced to dwell upon the near approaches of the latter towards the Romish; on the contrary, we freely admit, that the English Church has some very eminent advantages, even in theory; and that in practice it is, for one quality, above all praise—it has never been a persecuting hierarchy in the worst sense of the word, at least at home; for both in Scotland and Ireland, it has, at different times, carried intolerance to the uttermost excesses. But it is chiefly for the purpose of showing the folly of what remains of that intolerance, in the treatment of the Catholics, that we are inclined to pause a little upon the passage which (possibly from some mistatement) insinuates that our English brethren have departed further from the Romanists than other reformers.

Now, upon Doctrine we shall say little. Much controversy is known to exist respecting the degree in which Transubstantiation itself is rejected by the Catechism of the Church. Certain it is, that the tenor of it would be far enough from leading any one to expect the distinct and unequivocal repudiation of the real presence, which we find in the Thirty-Nine Articles, and which forms so prominent a part of the Tests against Popery; and, indeed, would rather seem to bring the abhorrence felt or affected towards the Romanists, within the scope of a law laid down in the speech before us as regulating theological controversy, 'that the mutual rancour of conflicting sects is inversely

‘ as their distance from each other.’ But the power of giving Absolution seems to be in very distinct terms assumed, not perhaps in the daily service, in which the priest only declares that God absolves, but certainly in the more solemn ceremonial for the visitation of the sick, in which the priest, with respect to the individual person, after having received from him a specifick confession of his sins, says, ‘ By the authority of Christ committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ Nor will it avail to contend, as Dean Milner and others have done, that this is to be taken with the rest of the Liturgy, and interpreted according to the tenor of the absolution in the daily service; for, *first*, there is no reason whatever for limiting the absolution in question by that, any more than for extending that by the absolution in question; and, *next*, the difference between the two is perfectly clear, and the reason is obvious, the one being only a general declaration according to the generality of the preceding confession by the whole congregation; the other being a specifick and actual absolution following a specifick confession by the individual on his sickbed. This assumption of the English clergy, then, is undeniable; and it is only the good sense of the people that has prevented it from leading to the same abuses which spring from the same service in the Catholic hierarchy. That it is wholly without warrant in Scripture, and in reason glaringly absurd, no man can doubt. *

* Being desirous of avoiding any matter of lengthened controversy, we shall add, in the form of a Note, some particulars respecting this subject. In the ordination of Deacons, no power is given in any way respecting confession or absolution; and therefore, according to the best authorities, even the general absolution in the morning and evening service cannot be read by one in Deacon's orders; and so it was held at the Conference, at the Savoy. It is perhaps not generally known, that this part of the Liturgy was not in the Form of Prayer as at first settled in Edward the Sixth's reign, but was among the very few additions made a short time afterwards in the same reign, upon the Conferences with Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr; and no better warrant can be desired of its containing nothing approaching to the Romish doctrines of absolution, than that it was suggested by those stout, and, as we should now say, *ultra* champions of the Reformation. To Priests there is conveyed, or pretended to be conveyed, a power of absolution in the same words, and grounded on the same text of Scripture, we believe, as in the Romish church. ‘ Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.’ *St. Mat. xx. 23.* Theologians give two senses to these words; one, that of exclusion from, and restoration to, the rites of the Church, that is,

That a human being should pretend to have the power of forgiving sins conferred upon him by the Deity, is an extravagance quite equal to any which priestcraft hath ever, in any country or age, been guilty of. As for the Liturgy, we believe that all rational men, of every persuasion, are pretty well agreed with respect both to its beauties and defects. The eloquence of many parts, the purity of the English everywhere, cannot be denied. Neither can we refuse it the merit of as great variety as the nature of the subject-matter will permit, and of a very skilful distribution of the parts and the pauses, with a view to the command of the hearer's attention. On the other hand, its warmest advocates have allowed, that the length and the repetitions have an extremely bad effect; that the selections from the Scriptures are made with little care or skill; and that the number of the prayers for the Royal Family, and persons of high station, with the heraldic style in which these are couched, cannot be too severely reprobated, as leading either to hypocrisy or profanity. Such were the declared opinions of Bishop Watson; such the deliberate judgment of Dr Paley, who expresses his earnest hope that these glaring defects may be reformed, 'notwithstanding that dread of innovations in religion which seems to have become the panic of the age.' (*Moral Philosophy*, book v. chap. 5.) We may add, the contradictions which political violence has frequently introduced; as, in the conjoint service for the Gun-powder Plot and King William's Landing, in which Whig and Tory feelings are so curiously blended, that, while some of the prayers return thanks for the preservation of our liberties by King William's instrumentality, the Homily against Rebellion is appointed to be read, in order to denounce the whole proceedings by which King William was

infliction or removal of Church censures, construing them with *St Matthew* xxviii. 18.; the other, a power of absolving. But, in either sense, they prove nothing in favour of the power as assumed by the Romish and Episcopalian clergy; for they contained the commission given to the Apostles, who had also the power of working miracles given to them; and a greater imposture cannot be imagined, than the pretence of conveying the same power, through imposition of hands, to priests in these times. He who will maintain that it thus comes, through the succession of the Bishops, from the Apostles, must show how they were empowered to convey it from themselves; and must also be prepared to allow, that the gift of tongues, and power of working miracles, have descended in the same channel. The primitive Church never pretended to have any absolving power. See, on one side, *Hammond and Marshall—Wheatly, contra.*

brought over and raised to the throne. These things are obvious enough; but it is more to our present purpose that this fine service (for such we may call it, when Grotius preferred it to all the rituals of the other churches, and Calvin himself will only charge it with certain *tolerabiles ineptiæ*), is almost all Romish. The fathers of the Anglican church, who prepared it, were merely compilers, abridgers, and translators; which gave that staunch reformer occasion to marvel, ‘how any persons should be so fond of the leavings of Popish dross.’ (*Ep. Calv.* ix. 98.). When, to all this, we add the exorbitant wealth, the political functions and connexions of the Church; its pluralities and non-residence, in a degree unknown even to the Romish scheme; the unequal distribution of its endowments, exhibited in the poverty of the labourer, and the luxury of the sinecurist; we shall probably see reason to hold, that its approach towards the Church of Rome is far too close to justify that repugnance with which it regards the parent establishment—far too close not to call for congratulations among Presbyterians upon the superior purity of their more reformed system. This leads us naturally back to the portion of Mr Brougham’s speech from which we digressed; for we left him beginning a parallel between the English and Scotch hierarchies, which forms a remarkable portion of his argument in favour of a peculiar latitude of discussion being of necessity allowed upon such subjects in this kingdom. We extract this passage, in illustration of all that we have advanced.

‘But surely, if there is any one corner of Protestant Europe where men ought not to be rigorously judged in Ecclesiastical controversy—where a large allowance should be made for the conflict of irreconcilable opinions—where the harshness of jarring tenets should be patiently borne, and strong, or even violent language, be not too narrowly watched—it is this very realm, in which we live under three different Ecclesiastical orders, and owe allegiance to a Sovereign, who, in one of his kingdoms, is the head of the Church, acknowledged as such by all men; while, in another, neither he, nor any earthly being, is allowed to assume that name—a realm composed of three great divisions, in one of which Prelacy is favoured by law, and approved in practice by an Episcopalian people; while, in another, it is protected indeed by law, but abjured in practice by a nation of sectaries, Catholic and Presbyterian; and, in a third, it is abhorred alike by law and in practice, repudiated by the whole institutions, scorned and detested by the whole inhabitants. His Majesty, almost at the time in which I am speaking, is about to make a progress through the Northern provinces of this island, accompanied by certain of his chosen counsellors, a portion of men who enjoy, unenvied, and in an equal degree, the admiration of other countries

and the wonder of their own—and there the Prince will see much loyalty, great learning, some splendour, the remains of an ancient monarchy, and of the institutions which made it flourish. But one thing he will not see. Strange as it may seem, and to many who hear me incredible, from one end of the country to the other he will see no such thing as a Bishop—not such a thing is to be found from the Tweed to John o’Groat’s: not a Mitre; no, nor so much as a Minor Canon, or even a rural Dean—and in all the land not one single Curate—so entirely rude and barbarous are they in Scotland—in such utter darkness do they sit, that they support no Cathedrals, maintain no Pluralists, suffer no non-residence; nay, the poor benighted creatures are ignorant even of tithes. Not a sheaf, or a lamb, or a pig, or the value of a plough-penny, do the hapless mortals render from year’s end to year’s end! Piteous as their lot is, what makes it infinitely more touching, is to witness the return of good for evil in the demeanour of this wretched race. Under all this cruel neglect of their spiritual concerns, they are actually the most loyal, contented, moral and religious people any where, perhaps, to be found in the world. Let us hope (many indeed there are, not afar off, who will with unfeigned devotion pray) that his Majesty may return safe from the dangers of his excursion into such a country; an excursion most perilous to a certain portion of the Church, should his Royal mind be infected with a taste for cheap establishments, a working clergy, and a pious congregation! But compassion for our brethren in the North has drawn me aside from my purpose, which was merely to remind you how preposterous it is in a country of which the Ecclesiastical polity is framed upon plans so discordant, and the religious tenets themselves are so various, to require any very measured expression of men’s opinions upon questions of Church government.” pp. 43, 44.

To be sure, nothing can be figured more glaringly absurd than the notion of restraining men’s opinions upon questions of ecclesiastical policy, in an Island so governed as Great Britain, and so parcelled out between two opposite establishments. If, north of the Tweed, there were a pure democracy, founded upon such solid foundations in law that the King of England solemnly engaged, on receiving his crown, never to permit any monarchical institution there to spring up, and so secure in the people’s affections that such a thing as a royalist could hardly be met with over all the country; would it be very easy to say that the Tweed should form the boundary of republican doctrines, and to require that all men in England should reverence monarchy and hold democracy in abhorrence? It is even more hopeless to expect unanimity of opinion, or suppression of dissent upon the clerical constitution, while the Scotch every where to be found in England are bound in conscience to hate Prelacy; and the English Sovereign’s first act on coming to the

throne is to swear perpetual friendship to the Presbyterian scheme.

It is no less difficult, we presume, for our fellow-subjects in England to contemplate the cheap and pure ecclesiastical establishment which we enjoy, without murmuring and repining. Has any man yet existed adventurous enough to deny the gross abuses to which we have now and on former occasions adverted in the Churches of England and Ireland? Who can pretend to doubt that religious instruction might be afforded far cheaper to the people than in either of those countries? There is not a human being, we will venture to affirm, beyond the body of the Irish Clergy and their immediate connexions, who feels any thing but indignation when he reflects upon the enormous revenues devoted to teach a handful of the community—wrung from those who believe in another religion, and, most especially, by the iniquitous vote against Agistment tithe, afterwards incorporated with the Act of Union, wrung from the poorer classes of the people. We do not except the political zealots of the Protestant establishment; for even they, in their hearts, must feel ashamed of the scandalous enormity. But though Ireland displays by far the most crying instance of abuse, the English Church is by no means built upon the model which habit has rendered familiar and pleasing to our Presbyterian eyes. It may not have lands, or rather territories, worth nearly two millions a year, if out of lease, appropriated to its prelates alone, beside what they receive in tithe; it may not exhibit instances of bishops spending their lives and revenues abroad, and others amassing hundreds of thousands for their families; yet does it show a prudent regard for the things of this world, and a successful attention to them, which is well fitted to astonish those who take their ideas of a priesthood either from what they see around them in Scotland, or from what they have read in the Scriptures. Prelates with twenty and twenty-five thousand pounds a year, living sumptuously in vast and splendid palaces, attended by bodies of serving men gorgeously attired, and of priests to wait upon their persons, ranking among the proudest nobles in the land, nay, taking precedence of them in all the perfect follies of heraldry—crowds of inferior clergy richly provided with worldly goods, the wealthiest not even obliged to reside among their flocks, and those who do reside not compelled to do any one act of duty beyond providing and paying a deputy just enough to keep him from starving—still greater crowds of poor, laborious ministers, doing all the work, and receiving none, or next to none, of the wages—but the whole body, rich and poor, paid so as to be a perpetual burthen upon the people, and to wage, of necessity, a ceaseless

strife with those whom they ought to comfort, to cherish and to teach—such an establishment may be, as every part of the English system undoubtedly is, the very perfection of human reason; but no man, untutored, could have discovered it to be so; and certainly no man, by studying the Scriptures, would be much the nearer finding it out: it seems, indeed, to be rather of the ‘many inventions of man’ therein spoken of, than of the works which God ‘made perfect.’ The Speech before us refers particularly to the Diocese of Durham as illustrating these things, and showing how especially its inhabitants may be expected to enter keenly into discussions touching ecclesiastical abuses.

‘And if there is any part of England, in which an ample license ought more especially to be admitted in handling such matters, I say without hesitation, it is this very Bishopric, where, in the 19th century, you live under a Palatine Prince, the Lord of Durham; where the endowment of the hierarchy, I may not call it enormous, but I trust I shall be permitted without offence to term splendid; where the Establishment, I dare not whisper proves grinding to the people, but I will rather say is an incalculable, an inscrutable blessing—only it is prodigiously large; showered down in a profusion somewhat overpowering, and laying the inhabitants under a load of obligation overwhelming by its weight. It is in Durham, where the Church is endowed with a splendour and a power unknown in Monkish times and Popish countries, and the Clergy swarm in every corner, an’ it were the Patrimony of Saint Peter—it is here where all manner of conflicts are at each moment inevitable between the people and the priests, that I feel myself warranted on *their* behalf, and for *their* protection—for the sake of the Establishment, and as the discreet advocate of that Church and that Clergy,—for the defence of their very existence—to demand the most unrestrained discussion of their title, and their actings under it. For them, in this age, to screen their conduct from investigation, is to stand self-convicted; to shrink from the discussion of their title, is to confess a flaw. He must be the most shallow, the most blind of mortals, who does not at once perceive, that if that title is protected only by the strong arm of the law, it becomes not worth the parchment on which it is engrossed, or the wax that dangles to it for a seal. I have hitherto all along assumed, that there is nothing impure in the practice under the system. I am admitting that every person engaged in its administration does every one act which he ought, and which the law expects him to do; I am supposing that, up to this hour, not one unworthy member has entered within its pale. I am even presuming that, up to this moment, not one of those individuals has stepped beyond the strict line of his sacred functions, or given the slightest offence or annoyance to any human being: I am taking it for granted that they all act the part of good shepherds, making the welfare of the flock their first care—

and only occasionally bethinking them of shearing, in order to prevent the too luxuriant growth of the fleece proving an incumbrance, or to eradicate disease. If, however, those operations be so constant that the flock actually live under the knife—if the shepherds are so numerous, and employ so large a troop of the watchful and eager animals that attend them (some of them too with a cross of the fox, or even the wolf, in their breed)—can it be wondered at, if the poor creatures, thus fleeced, and hunted, and barked at, and snapped at, and from time to time worried, should now and then bleat, dream of preferring the rot to the shears, and draw invidious, possibly disadvantageous, comparisons between the wolf without, and the shepherd within, the fold? It cannot be helped; it is in the nature of things that suffering should beget complaint; but for those who have caused the pain, to complain of the outcry and seek to punish it—for those who have goaded to scourge and to gag, is the meanest of all injustice. It is, moreover, the most pitiful folly for the Clergy to think of retaining their power, privileges, and enormous wealth, without allowing free vent for complaints against abuses in the Establishment and delinquency in its members; and in this prosecution they have displayed that folly in its supreme degree.’ pp. 44, 45.

A variety of ‘*scriptures*’ crowd into the mind upon reading this passage; all of them confirmatory of the saying, that ‘*rebellion brought forth wealth, and the daughter devoured the mother;*’ and of the tradition which bears, that, on the day when the Emperor Constantine endowed the Church, a voice was heard from Heaven—‘*This day is poison poured into her.*’ A bishop (says St Paul, i. *Tim.* 3.) must be blameless, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to filthy lucre, not covetous’ (αφιλαργυρον, * no lover of money); and he insists on deacons also being free from this taint. Yet the Apostle seems to have foreseen that his injunctions would be in vain. ‘For I know this (saith he) that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock, (*Acts*, xx. 29.); teaching things which they ought not (he elsewhere says) for filthy lucre’s sake.’ (*Tit.* i. 11.) St Peter, too, foretells the same catastrophe, and the punishment of them that bring it about. ‘And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the truth shall be evil spoken of; and through covetousness (πλεονεξια—desire of aggrandizement) shall they

* The Apostles insist upon their successors being careless of wealth, with an earnestness and frequency that should seem to indicate a foresight of what afterwards happened among them at Rome and elsewhere.

‘*La dove Cristo ogni dì si merca.*’

‘*Where God the Son is daily bought and sold.*’

‘ with feigned words *make* merchandise of you, whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.’ (2 *Pet.* ii.) But very different were the lives of those holy men themselves,—those whose successors are the Popes and Prelates of modern days. ‘ I have—(said St Paul, in taking leave of the Ephesian Elders)—I have coveted no man’s silver or gold, or apparel; yea, you yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me.’ And the last words which he spake to them, were to remind them of ‘ the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.’ (*Acts*, xx. 33.) The service for the consecration of Bishops puts them in mind of some of these things in a striking manner, but with some homeliness, if not bluntness of expression. Beside the chapter of the *Acts*, from which we have just been citing, and which is, for greater certainty, read over to the Bishop elect, the Archbishop, in delivering to him the Bible, desires him to ‘ think on the things contained in this book;’ and says, ‘ Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf; feed them, devour them not.’

These considerations, doubtless, have been the motives with pious men in other times, to deter them from making a profit of their rich endowments, but rather to regard themselves as stewards for the poor. The venerable Bishop Burnet, though he left a family of five children, yet gave them only his wife’s fortune; always declaring, that were he to raise fortunes for his children out of the revenues of his bishoprick, he should think himself guilty of the greatest crime. This is the unexceptionable testimony of a bitter political adversary, Dr King, Principal of St Mary Hall, Oxford, who inveighs severely against the covetous habits of the hierarchy in later times. (*Anecdotes of his own Times*, 183.) Dr Butler, the celebrated author of the *Analogy* (one of the ablest Treatises on Metaphysical, as well as Theological science) was first Bishop of Bristol, where he expended on the repairs of the cathedral more than he received from his sec. He then was made Dean of St Paul’s, and immediately gave up the rich rectory of Stanhope, then as now one of the largest, if not the largest, in England, and held, as appears from the affidavits in the trial before us, by Mr Phillips. He was afterwards made Bishop of Durham; and being one day applied to for charity, he asked his steward what money there was in the house? and was told ‘ five hundred pounds.’ ‘ I live hundred pounds!’ exclaimed the good Prelate: ‘ what a shame for a Bishop to have such a sum in his

‘possession!’ and therewithal ordered it to be immediately given away to the poor.*

It was chiefly the contemplation of prelatical wealth and pomp that fired our great Reformers of the seventeenth century. ‘They are not Bishops; God and all good men know that they are not’ (said Milton, in his *Letters on Reformation*); ‘but a tyrannical crew and corporation of impostors, that have blinded and abused the world so long under that name.’—‘When’ (he adds, a little lower down) ‘he steps up into a chair of pontifical pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary house for a misgoverned and haughty palace, spiritual dignity for carnal precedence, and secular high office and employment for the high negotiations of his heavenly embassy, then he degrades, then he unbishops himself.’ And in the conclusion of his ‘*Reasons of Church Government*,’ after observing that Churchmen should be ‘a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, teaching us to condemn this world and the gaudy things thereof,’ he inveighs against their ‘outrageous desire of filthy lucre, which’ (says he) ‘the Prelates make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and, if it lay in their power, to massacre all good Christians under the name of horrid schismatics, for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their carnal authority over their brethren that labour in the word, while they snore in their luxurious excess; openly proclaiming themselves now, in the sight of all men, to be those which, for a while, they sought to cover under sheeps’ clothing; ravenous, savage wolves, threatening inroads and bloody incursions upon the flocks of Christ, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their prey.’ In the ‘*Apology*,’ he sums up his attack in these words. ‘Thus ye have heard, readers, how many shifts and evils the Prelates have invented, to save their ill-got booty; and if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetousness are the sure marks of those false prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude these to be as great seducers as any of the latter times. For between this and the judgment day, do not look for any arch-deceivers, who, in spite of reformation, will use more craft and less shame to defend their love of the world and their ambition, than these prelates have done.’ In a political view, he regards

* See also the characters of Bishop Benson, Archbishop Secker, and other amiable and disinterested prelates, in Bishop Porteous’s edition of Secker’s Sermons.

them as equally dangerous. 'Indeed' (says he, in *Reasons of Church Government*), 'they stand so opportunely for the disturbing or the destroying of a state, being a knot of creatures, whose dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the Gospel, as they themselves acknowledge, but only in the Prince's favour; whence it must needs be, they should bend all their intentions and services to no other ends but to his; that if it should happen that a tyrant (God turn such a scourge from us to our enemies!) should come to grasp the sceptre, here were his spearmen and his lances; here were his firelocks ready; he should need no other pretorian band nor pensionary than these, if they could once, with their perfidious preachments, awe the people.'

It may be desirable, however, to see what the zealous friends of the Episcopalian establishment say upon the same topics; and no one has a better right to be reverently heard than Bishop Burnet. He indeed may well preach against the wealth and self-indulgence of the Clergy, who even educated his children out of his private fortune, and so strictly expended the whole of his episcopal revenues upon his see, that, at his death, he left no balance whatever in his accounts. (*Life by his Nephew.*) 'The more abstracted' (says he) 'that Bishops live from the world, from courts, from cabals, and from parties, they will have the more quiet within themselves, and they will, in conclusion, be the more respected by all, especially if an integrity and a just freedom appear among them in the House of Lords, where they will be much observed, and judgments will be made of them there that will follow them home to their dioceses. Nothing will alienate the nation more from them than their becoming tools to a court, and giving up the liberties of their country, and advancing arbitrary designs.' (*Hist. of his own Times*, II. 644.) What would this venerable Prelate have said, had he lived to see one of the highest dignitaries of that Church for whose stability and honour he cherished so warm an anxiety, proclaim, in his place in the House of Lords, that, by the constitution of this country, the King is exempt from all moral blame; thus, by an excess of adulation unknown in the most despotic reigns, perverting the maxim which protects the Sovereign from personal responsibility, into the monstrous doctrine, that nothing which he does, as an individual, can actually be wrong? 'It is in the power of a Bishop' (says Burnet) 'to let no man despise him.'* After reminding them that they ought 'to

* Lord Clarendon must have had some such courtly sycophants in his eye, when he said, speaking of the mischiefs caused by some

‘ preach in season and out of season, to exhort, admonish, and rebuke with all authority ’ (not certainly in the tone of the reverend father just now cited), he thus proceeds. ‘ But if they abandon themselves to sloth and idleness; if they neglect their proper function, and follow a secular, a vain, a covetous, or a luxurious course of life; if they are not content with educating their children well, and with such a competency as may set them afloat in the world; but think of building up their own houses, and raising up great estates, they will put the world on many unacceptable inquiries. Wherefore is this waste made? Why are these revenues continued to men who make such an ill use of them? And why is an order kept up that does the Church so little good, and gives it so much scandal?’ (*Ibid.*) It seems he did not think the dignitaries of his own time liable to such imputations; but he severely inveighs against non-residence and pluralities. ‘ These scandalous practices ’ (he says) ‘ are sheltered among us by many colours of law; whereas the Church of Rome, from whence we had those and many other abuses, has freed herself from this under which we labour, to our great and just reproach. This is so shameful a profanation of holy things, that it ought to be treated with detestation and horror. Do such men think on the vows they made on their ordination, on the rules in the Scriptures, or on the nature of their function, or that it is a care of souls? How long, how long shall this be the peculiar disgrace of our Church, which, for ought I know, is the only church in the world that tolerates it?’ (*Ib.* 646.) Since Bishop Burnet’s time, acts have been passed to compel residence, but full of partiality and inconsistency,—the highest members of the Establishment, those who are best provided for, being carefully exempted from their operation. Indeed, the saying of Luther is wholly disregarded—‘ *Religio maxime periclitatur inter reverendissimos* ;’ and the conduct of the Romanists themselves might teach a better lesson. When they found that they had carried matters too far, as well by their preaching as by their living, they endeavoured to stem the tide of reformation by amending both; and the Council of

fawning Whitehall preachers at the beginning of the troubles, ‘ It cannot be denied but there was sometimes preached there matter very unfit for the place, and very scandalous for the persons who presumed to determine things out of the range of their own profession, and, in ordine ad spiritualia, gave unto Caesar what Caesar refused to receive, as not belonging to him.’—*Hist. of the Rebellion*, I. 60.

Trent was assembled for this purpose. Much opposition was made to the express mention of Cardinals in the provisions of the Decree of Reformation; but it was answered, that the corruptions of the inferior orders were as nothing to those of the higher dignitaries. (*Polano. Hist. Council of Trent, Lib. 2.*) Accordingly, the decree was ultimately passed, and signed by 293 Archbishops and Bishops, beside other dignitaries, enjoining to Bishops as strict a residence as to other Priests.

The name of Burnet recalls that of Swift, one of his most persevering, virulent, and uncandid detractors; and one who was by no means so much his superior in wit, as he was below him in all the best qualities of the heart. It is remarkable, that, within the wide range of his satire, hardly a single clerical character or abuse is to be found assailed; but constant lamentations over the declining fortunes and favour of the Church may be observed. A fragment remains concerning 'that universal hatred which prevails against the Clergy.' From the introduction, which is a bitter invective against 'that detestable tyrant'—'that insatiable monster'—'that infernal beast' * Henry VIII. and his successors, except Queen Mary, for their spoiliations of the Church; it should seem that the design of the piece was to explain the 'great disgust against the Clergy beyond what was ever before known,' by their loss of worldly substance; and yet we believe there are few that contemplate their patrimonial state, and would not rather agree with a predecessor and namesake of the '*monster*,' namely Henry II., of whom Matthew Paris relates, that a certain idle monk of Winchester having complained of three of their dishes being taken away, and only ten left, the King replied, 'it were well if ten had been taken, and three left.' Swift's habitual, and, to him, most painful self-control upon the subject of the Hierarchy, appears once or twice to have been overcome—as in his Letter to the Bishop of Clogher (*Works, xiii. 117*), where he thus writes concerning the highest order in the Church. 'Upon this open avowed attempt in almost the whole Bench of Bishops to destroy the Church, I resolved to have no more commerce with persons of such prodigious grandeur, who, I feared, in a little time, would expect me to kiss their slipper. It is happy for

* Granville Sharp in his learned and ingenious Treatise upon the Greek Article, p. 147. does not so designate Henry; but deems him one of the Horns of the Beast. 'A judgment,' says he, (referring to *Revs.* xvii. 16.), 'first begun by our English Horn, King Henry VIII.'

‘ me that I know the persons of very few Bishops, and it is my ‘ constant rule never to look into a coach; by which I avoid ‘ the terror that such a sight would strike me with.’ The motives which he imputes to those Right Reverend persons, he thus, as it were, swears to. ‘ I call God to witness that I did ‘ then, and do now, and shall for ever, firmly believe, that every ‘ Bishop who gave his vote for either of these bills,’ (*i. e.* ‘ almost the whole Bench,’) ‘ did it with no other view, *bating* ‘ *further promotion*, than a premeditated design, from the spirit ‘ of ambition and love of arbitrary power, to make the whole ‘ body of the Clergy their slaves and vassals until the day of ‘ judgment, under the load of poverty and contempt. I have ‘ no room for more charitable thoughts, except for those who ‘ will answer now, as they must at that dreadful day, that what ‘ they did was out of perfect ignorance, want of consideration, ‘ *hope of future promotion*, an *argument not to be conquered*, ‘ or the persuasion of cunninger brethren than themselves.’ Thus, in an unguarded moment, he suffers a fit of the spleen to remove the restrictions under which he had at almost all the periods of his life maintained silence upon the subject of the Church, broken only by his invectives against those, who, it appears, only gave vent to the feelings suppressed by him from a deference to the ‘ *argument not to be conquered*.’ Among others, his kinsman Dryden had been severely handled by him, for the freedom of his expression regarding what he calls his ‘ just resentment against that degenerate order.’* (*Works*, xviii. 133.)

We shall close these extracts with the recorded opinions of three zealous Churchmen—of Mr Burke and Bishop Watson, upon the reforms absolutely necessary in the Establishment; and of Dr Paley upon the evils of that political subserviency for which alone our statesmen appear to value it. Mr Burke strenuously supported the Bill of 1772, for quieting possessions against the dormant claims of the Church; and concluded a speech marked by a warm attachment to its just rights, with these striking expressions, which we earnestly recommend to the attention of all Churchmen, as spoken by a warning voice, and as applicable to far more extensive and more necessary reformatations, than those immediately in the speaker’s contemplation. ‘ I heartily wish to see the Church secure in such possessions

* Swift’s zeal was, however, in this instance, much inflamed by the great Poet’s frank opinion upon the Dean’s odds, ‘ *Cousin, you will never be a poet.*’

‘as will not only enable her Ministers to preach the Gospel with ease, but of such a kind as will enable them to preach it with its full effect,—so that the Pastor shall not have the inauspicious appearance of a Tax-gatherer—such a maintenance as is compatible with the civil prosperity and improvement of their country.’ (*Works*, x. 146.)

‘A reformer’ (says Bishop Watson) ‘of Luther’s temper and talents, would, in five years, persuade the people to compel the Parliament to abolish tithes, to extinguish pluralities, to enforce residence, to confine Episcopacy to the overseeing of dioceses, to expunge the Athanasian Creed from our Liturgy, to free Dissenters from Test Acts, and the ministers of the Establishment from subscription to human articles of faith. These, and other matters respecting the Church, ought to be done.’ (*Letter to the Duke of Grafton*.) Dr Paley’s opinions upon some of these subjects, particularly on Toleration and Tithes, are well known; but the following general observation upon Church polity, ought never to be absent from the memory of those who meddle with publick affairs, and have the true interests of religion at heart. ‘The single view under which we ought to consider any Establishment, is that of a scheme of instruction; the single end we ought to propose by it, is the preservation and communication of religious knowledge. Every other idea, and every other end that have been mixed with this, as the making the Church an engine, or even an ally, of the State; converting it into the means of strengthening or of diffusing influence; or regarding it as a support of regal, in opposition to popular, forms of government, have served only to debase the institution, and to introduce into it numerous corruptions and abuses.’ (*Mor. and Pol. Phil.* vi. 10.)

It is well known, that the defence of the Durham Clergy against the charge of having stood single among their countrymen, in withholding from the late Queen the accustomed marks of respect, consisted in saying, that though they said less than others, they might feel as much. So prodigious a reach of *assertion* is thus commented upon by Mr B.; and we much fear that more of the Church than the Cathedral of Durham fall within the scope of his concluding observations.

‘It is necessary for me to set before you the picture my Learned Friend was pleased to draw of the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, and I shall recast it to your minds almost in his own words. According to him, they stand in a peculiarly unfortunate situation; they are, in truth, the most injured of men. They all, it seems, entertained the same generous sentiments with the rest of their countrymen, though they did not express them in the old, free, English

manner, by openly condemning the proceedings against the late Queen; and, after the course of unexampled injustice against which she victoriously struggled had been followed by the needless infliction of inhuman torture, to undermine a frame whose spirit no open hostility could daunt, and extinguish the life so long imbittered by the same foul arts—after that great Princess had ceased to harass her enemies (if I may be allowed thus to speak, applying, as they did, by the perversion of all language, those names to the victim which belong to the tormentor)—after her glorious but unhappy life had closed, and that Princely head was at last laid low by death, which, living, all oppression had only the more illustriously exalted—the venerable the Clergy of Durham, I am now told for the first time, though less forward in giving vent to their feelings than the rest of their fellow-citizens—though not so vehement in their indignation at the matchless and unmanly persecution of the Queen—though not so unbridled in their joy at her immortal triumph, nor so loud in their lamentations over her mournful and untimely end—did, nevertheless, in reality, all the while, deeply sympathize with her sufferings, in the bottom of their reverend hearts! When all the resources of the most ingenious cruelty hurried her to a fate without parallel—if not so clamorous, they did not feel the least of all the members of the community—their grief was in truth too deep for utterance—sorrow clung round their bosoms, weighed upon their tongues, stifled every sound—and, when all the rest of mankind, of all sects and of all nations, freely gave vent to the feelings of our common nature, *THEIR* silence, the contrast which *THEY* displayed to the rest of their species, proceeded from the greater depth of their affliction; they said the less because they felt the more!—Oh! talk of hypocrisy after this! Most consummate of all the hypocrites! After instructing your chosen official advocate to stand forward with such a defence—such an exposition of your motives—to dare utter the word hypocrisy, and complain of those who charged you with it! This is indeed to insult common sense, and outrage the feelings of the whole human race! If you were hypocrites before, you were downright, frank, honest hypocrites to what you have now made yourselves—and surely, for all you have ever done, or ever been charged with, your worst enemies must be satiated with the humiliation of this day, its just atonement, and ample retribution!

‘If Mr Williams had known the hundredth part of this at the time of her Majesty’s demise; if he had desisted the least twinkling of the light which has now broke upon us, as to the real motives of their actions, I am sure ~~this~~ cause would never have been tried; because, to have made any one of his strictures upon their conduct, would have been not only an act of the blackest injustice, it would have been perfectly senseless. But can he be blamed for his ignorance, when such pains were taken to keep him in the dark? Can it be wondered at that he was led astray, when he had only so false

a guide to their motives as their conduct, unexplained, afforded? When they were so anxious to mislead, by facts and deeds, is his mistake to be so severely criticised? Had he known the real truth, he must have fraternised with them; embraced them cordially; looked up with admiration to their superior sensibility; admitted, that he who feels most, by an eternal law of our nature, is least disposed to express his feelings; and lamented that his own zeal was less glowing than theirs. But, ignorant and misguided as he was, it is no great marvel that he did not rightly know the real history of their conduct, until about three quarters of an hour ago, when the truth burst in upon us, that all the while they were generously attached to the cause of weakness and misfortune.

Gentlemen, if the country, as well as Mr Williams, has been all along so deceived, it must be admitted that it is not from the probabilities of the case. Judging before hand, no doubt, any one must have expected the Durham Clergy, of all men, to feel exactly as they are now, for the first time, ascertained to have felt. They are Christians; outwardly, at least, they profess the gospel of charity and peace. They beheld oppression in its foulest shape; malignity and all uncharitableness putting on their most hideous forms; measures pursued to gratify prejudices in a particular quarter, in defiance of the wishes of the people, and the declared opinions of the soundest judges of each party; and all with the certain tendency to plunge the nation in civil discord. If, for a moment, they had been led away by a dislike of cruelty and of civil war, to express disapproval at such perilous doings, no man would have charged them with political meddling; and when they beheld truth and innocence triumph over power, they might, as Christian Ministers, calling to mind the original of their own Church, have indulged without offence in some little appearance of gladness; a calm, placid satisfaction, on so happy an event, would not have been unbecoming their sacred station. When they found that her sufferings were to have no end; that new pains were inflicted in revenge for her escape from destruction, and new tortures devised to exhaust the vital powers of her whom open, lawless violence, had failed to subdue—we might have expected some slight manifestation of disapproval from holy men, who, professing to inculcate loving-kindness, tender mercy, and good will to all, offer up their daily prayers for those who are desolate and oppressed. When at last the scene closed, and there was an end of that persecution which death alone could stay; but when not even her unhappy fate could glut the revenge of her enemies; and they who had harassed her to death, now exhausted their malice in reviling the memory of their victim; if among them had been found, during her life, some miscreant under the garb of a Priest, who, to pay his court to power, had joined in trampling upon the defenceless; even such a one, bare he the form of a man, with a man's heart throbbing in his bosom, might have felt even *his* fawning, sordid, calculating malignity assuaged by the hand of death; even *he* might

have left the tomb to close upon the sufferings of his victim. All probability certainly favoured the supposition that the Clergy of Durham would not take part against the injured, because the oppressor was powerful; and that the prospect of emolument would not make witness with dry eyes and hardened hearts the close of a life which they had contributed to imbitter and destroy. But I am compelled to say that their whole conduct has falsified those expectations. They sided openly, strenuously, forwardly, officiously with power, in the oppression of a woman whose wrongs this day they for the first time pretend to bewail, in their attempt to cozen you out of a verdict, behind which they may skulk from the inquiring eyes of the people. Silent, and subdued in their tone as they were, on the demise of the unhappy Queen, they could make every bell in all their chimes peal when gain was to be expected by flattering present greatness. Then they could send up addresses, flock to public meetings, and fill the press with their libels, and make the pulpit ring with their sycophancy, filling up to the brim the measure of their adulation to the reigning monarch, Head of the Church and Dispenser of its Patronage. pp. 50-52.

To support the unjust claims, and all the abuses of our establishments, in despite of all reason and all policy, by mere force, would be a hopeless attempt, even if made by able men, and not counteracted by such gross misconduct in its members as that which has of late turned the feelings of the country so strongly against them. But for men, such as they have shown themselves, to stand upon the uttermost verge of their ancient rights in times like these; to shelter themselves under the strict letter of the law, seek protection from power at the hands of those who now wield it, and endeavour to stifle all discussion of their system and their conduct, may fairly be pronounced among the wildest of human projects. Truly does Mr B. say, in the conclusion of his Speech, that the Church's worst enemies are they who, to hide their own misdeeds, would veil her solid foundations in darkness; and that no one who does not design her surest destruction, can seek to hinder the continual light of day from visiting all the recesses of the sanctuary, and exploring all its abuses. A pious votary of the religion we profess may well use, in these days, the sublime prayer with which Milton concludes one of his Tractates; and the scholar will not fail also to recognise in it the diction, and even imagery, of his immortal poem. 'Thou that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of Angels and Men! Next thee, I implore, Omnipotent King, Redeemer of the lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! And thou, the third substance of divine infinitude, Mumin'g Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! One Tri-

‘ personal Godhead ! Look upon this thy poor and almost
 ‘ spent and expiring Church ; leave her not thus a prey to
 ‘ these importunate wolves that wait and think long till they
 ‘ devour thy tender flock ! O, let them not bring about their
 ‘ damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bot-
 ‘ tomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out
 ‘ those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that
 ‘ pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more
 ‘ see the sun of thy holy truth again, never more hope for the
 ‘ cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing ! ’

ART. V. *The Speeches of the Right Honourable George Canning, at Liverpool, on Friday the 23d and Friday the 30th of August, 1822.* Liverpool, Kaye. 1822.

IT is with the design of calling the attention of our readers to the subjects handled in these Speeches, and not with any view of discussing the conduct of the speaker, or even of criticising his oratorical merits, that we have laid this pamphlet before us. Without any disrespect towards Mr Canning, we may be allowed to say, that, how interesting soever to his personal friends, and to his implacable enemies both among the Courtiers and the Reformers, his late proceedings may have proved, they are likely to be of very little importance to the course of public affairs, which will go on in pretty much the same way, whoever may make the show speeches for the ministers in either House, until some change of system shall give the people a more adequate share in the representation ; and that event, becoming daily more necessary, is not likely to be either retarded or very much accelerated by the incident of the gentleman in question having once more got a place. Of his merits as a rhetorician we have already had occasion to speak with the commendation which they deserve. (Vol. xxviii. p. 60.) He is a most able and entertaining speaker ; with much acuteness and even subtlety, but apt to sacrifice his argument to that point for which indeed he seems content to sacrifice every thing ; with a great deal of address in shaping his case, but very little fairness in stating the arguments or propositions he is contending against ; with considerable power of declamation, but of the second-rate kind, which resides in the mouth, or rather, we ought to say, being the work of the head, and not coming warm from the heart, addresses the understanding, and does not go to the heart ; with very admirable ingenuity, and

powers of fancy not often surpassed, though not chastened by a severe taste; and, more particularly, with a copiousness and sprightliness of wit, or rather drollery, which would be nearly perfect in that kind, if under more control, and somewhat more varied. How high a place among modern orators he might have attained had he pursued another plan, regarding his subject more than himself and his audience, we presume not to conjecture. That he has sacrificed the higher eminences cannot be doubted; and, as far as the mere style and composition are concerned, he has done so by preferring to the Greek, or even the best Roman models, such clever and difficult, but certainly very inferior ones, as Sallust, Tacitus, and Seneca. The late change in his plans has probably removed the only chance that he had of retracing his steps, and gaining the heights from which he had been seduced, possibly by the taste of the age as much as by his own. As Cicero changed the manner of his oratory when he went into the East, he also might have employed his absence in occasionally reflecting upon the beauties of those pure models with which he is so well acquainted, not indeed as the Roman did, to mitigate any harshness by a mixture of the Asian style, but to reclaim himself from the defects of that Asian style into which he has fallen, and of which the complaint used to be, that it wanted '*judicium et modum*;' and showed the '*Asiana gens*' to be '*tumidior et jactantior, vaniore etiam dicendi gloria inflata.*' (*Quint.* xii. 10.)

But, beside its inconsistency with our design, nothing could be more unfair than to comment, with any severity of criticism, upon even the most accurate reports of speeches delivered after dinner at a tavern, to a party convivial as well as political, and all the chosen friends of the speaker. If he had acquitted himself but very moderately on such an occasion, he clearly would have done far better than was necessary; and a speech half as clever or lively as the worst of those before us, would have been, beyond all comparison, the very finest of which his hearers could, from experience, form any idea.

Before proceeding to the topic of Reform handled in his principal performance, we must refer shortly to the only matter of any importance in the shorter one—the allusion to the distresses of the times. These, he thinks, prevail no longer in the humble classes of society, but in 'quarters where education and intelligence may be expected to counteract intemperance of feeling, to correct prejudice, and to discountenance faction.' Formerly, it seems, those were affected in whom suffering begets impatience, and delivers over the sufferer a prey to every designing demagogue who points out resistance as a

‘remedy.’ But he appeals to those who now feel the pressure, the landed interest, the aristocracy, with much confidence; and, reminding them of the zeal which they showed in preaching patience to the poor, when they had no opportunity to practise it themselves, he hints in somewhat plain, and, we take it, in no very palatable terms, that it might be just as well if they were now to avail themselves of the very favourable occasion which offers itself for practising what they used so freely to preach.

So notable a piece of indiscretion as to make merry with the country gentlemen in their extremity, or at least to sneer broadly at their conduct, with the most philosophic indifference towards their sufferings, could hardly have been expected in one who was at the moment a candidate for place, and for the place of leader of the House of Commons, and indeed in the act of advertizing for the situation. It may be fit, therefore, to give the words, lest any one should find it impossible to believe that their substance has been correctly stated. ‘I am confident, that having, during a great struggle of so many years, *preached patience* to the humbler classes of the community, the higher will not now desert their duty, by refusing, *in their turn, to practise the same degree of patience* which has been generally displayed by those beneath them.’ Now, this is precisely the advice, so exactly do extremes oftentimes meet, which those plain-spoken gentlemen, whom Mr Canning calls Radicals, and whom he used to call Jacobins, are every day tendering to the ‘higher classes,’ and which the latter receive with very little gratitude, or indeed civility. The meaning of both Mr Canning and those other writers and orators is the very same, and their language is nearly so. “You, say they, who used to show so edifying a degree of resignation to our distresses; you who so glibly lectured us on the duty of submission to the will of Providence, that is, to your own arbitrary measures, while we were starving, and enforced your instructions with the Bastille and the bayonet; you who deemed nothing so easy as patience under the miseries your own impolicy had loaded us with, and nothing so criminal as repining at the pressure, and murmuring at the hands that inflicted it—come now and show us somewhat of that patience in your own case! edify us with applying to your own use the lessons you so lavishly bestowed on us; and try if the remedy you dispensed so freely to others will not suit yourselves. We were starving in 1812—you gave us an American war and new gagging bills. We were starving in 1817—you sent us to solitary dungeons, and barred the courts of justice to our suits. We were starving in 1819—you laid on millions of new taxes, cut us down with cavalry when we met

to complain, and made new laws to stifle our complaints. We are still distressed, but now you are our fellow-sufferers; we recommend you to say nothing about the matter, but to reflect, that when we cried out, it was at our peril, although no man could charge *us* with having caused any of the evils that afflicted us."

But Mr Canning finds it very convenient to assume (as all reasoners on his side do), that the present distresses are 'such as neither laws nor governments can cure.' We flatly deny it. Let a large amount of taxes be taken off, and a great relief will be given; a great step be made towards a cure. It is obvious to every one who can count ten upon his fingers, that whether you diminish the cost of production or increase the price of produce, the relief is precisely the same as far as regards the primary interest of the producer; and it is equally plain, that ultimately he, in common with others, will gain much more by a reduction which makes the balance upon his transactions more favourable, while it leaves the market price of his commodity lower. Now, the glaring deception of the argument we are grappling with is this; it regards the rise of price as *the only remedy* to which the farmer can look; and because 'neither laws nor governments' can raise the price of produce, it concludes, that the distress is 'such as neither laws nor governments can cure.' If, on the other hand, it is said that no further diminution of the public burthens can be effected, we answer, *first*, that the same objection has been made in nearly the same terms to each succeeding proposition for reducing the expenditure of the country, and has as uniformly been found, by those who urged it, easily overcome when the loss of some vote compelled them in good earnest to bethink them of economy; and *next*, that such an assertion never can be borne as long as salaries are double and treble and quadruple what they were the last time that wheat sold for 40s. a quarter. Much may undoubtedly be still taken from the burthens of the people; but if ten millions more were spared, by retrenchments and the abandonment of the sinking fund, admitted on all hands to be a delusion, we should contend, that common decency required all objectors to a still further reduction to be silent, if the public distresses were still intolerable, and these very objectors themselves held or coveted places of overgrown emolument. In a country, suffering as this now is, it is indecent to speak of the malady as incurable, while large salaries are paid for mere convenience, or luxury or pomp. Even the most efficient places under the Crown could be filled by the very men who now hold them with a third of the emolu-

ments, and they would be as well paid as in many other countries. But it seems to be always assumed, that every part of the community must be exhausted by sufferings, and endure every species of privations, rather than that those who have occasioned all those calamities should have a single rose leaf turned beneath them to disturb their repose; and to make this doctrine the more complete, whosoever shall make bold to hint that place may peradventure be desired by the place-hunter, among other things, because of its profits, must lay his account with being reviled and ridiculed, as if he had uttered something shocking to human nature, or utterly abhorrent to reason and the nature of things. No one holds so high a tone on this topic as Mr Canning has done upon all occasions. To hear him, you would suppose the emoluments of place to be not only the very last thing that any one dreams of, but rather that they are wholly out of the question; and, indeed, that men take office in spite of the salary, and not because of it. We know not whether, in his instance, this may be called canting; but we are sure, that, with most publick men, it is outrageously so. The bulk of the present ministers and their adherents are notoriously men to whom the loss of salary would be so inconvenient as hardly to be bearable. Being a year or two now and then in place is not very lucrative, but half a lifetime of it is extremely profitable; and, at any rate, nothing can be more grossly inconsistent than the bitter resistance to every reduction of their salaries which these very men offer, who so constantly proclaim the pay to be no part of their motives in seeking place.

We have been led into this train of reflexion by Mr Canning's general assertion of the convenient doctrine, that 'nothing at all can be done for us.' And a curious passage in these Speeches, affords a striking illustration of the principles to which we have been alluding as presiding over the conduct of the place-loving portion of the community. We refer to his explanation of the reason why he allowed himself to be made Governor-General, and sent to India for a period not less than seven years. His account of this matter is really exceeded by nothing in Bubb Dodington. We must therefore give it in his own words.

'When called to office in 1816, I was called to a department perfectly alien from my official habits, and with the business of which I had no previous acquaintance; but, in the course of nearly five years' diligent administration of that department, *it has so happened* (1), that I am supposed, by those in whom the law has vested the power of appointing to the Government of India, to have qualified myself for the more immediate direction of that government, over

the concerns of which it has been my duty to exercise a distant superintendence.

‘ *Many obvious circumstances*, undoubtedly, would make it more agreeable to me (2) to remain in this country—(*Loud cheers.*) I see around me more than one hundred and sixty motives for so wishing to remain—(*Renewed cheers.*) But, Gentlemen, *I hold that a public man is*, unless he can show cause of honour or duty to the contrary, bound to accept a trust which he is selected (3) as competent to administer, FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST (4).

‘ Gentlemen, those in whom the law, as I have said, vests the power of appointment (subject to the approbation of the Crown) have done me the honour to think, that I may be the humble instrument of conferring some benefit on the population of an extensive empire. I fear they overrate my capacity for the task which they impose upon me, as your kindness has overrated my services to you—(*Cries of “No! No!”*) But *I have not felt myself at liberty* (5) to decline a task at once so difficult and so honourable; I MUST EXECUTE IT TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY.’ pp. 9, 10.

We recommend the gentle reader to try an experiment on this passage. Let him compose his muscles as carefully as he can; let him drive every witness away from his presence, and lock his room-door; let him then try to read aloud, with a grave face, the above extraordinary lines; and if he can get through them without laughter, we have underrated his powers of countenance. How prodigious, then, must have been those of the Speaker! As for the fate of any ordinary reader we can have no doubt. We have marked certain words in Italics; and we will hold him a wager, that if he gets over the first, or the two first of them,—if he passes these distance-posts, he still is thrown out before the third. But as to his passing the fourth, there are hardly any odds we should not offer; and we take for granted that no one but Mr C. himself ever dreamt of passing the fifth.

Why, positively, it should seem as if, in this free country, the home of ‘rational liberty,’—the ‘model’ for others which are in quest of a constitution, (p. 36)—where, ‘God be praised,’ we have long ago arrived at all the blessings’ which free-men can enjoy; it should seem as if, notwithstanding all severe penalties against forcibly sending persons out of the realm, there were a sort of pressgang suffered to roam our streets, and carry off the liege subjects of the King, to parts beyond the seas to make them Governors. It should seem as if the act renewing the Honourable Company’s charter had, by a side-wind, repealed the Habeas Corpus Act, and enabled them to spread their Asiatick despotism abroad from Leadenhall-street. We had thought that there was only one remnant of this kind of

slavery among us in modern times, and that it had been recently abolished; we mean, the forcing the Speaker of the House of Commons into the Chair, after he had been elected by dint of an assiduous canvass on the part of himself and his friends: unless, indeed, the unseemly violence with which Deans and Chapters exercise the sacrilege which they term an election, in forcing men to be Bishops, may seem to furnish another instance. Possibly, from hence may have arisen the rumours, that the present Speaker was destined to be seized upon, and exported to India, after Mr Canning's escape. The Directors having found the last man they caught so refractory and slippery, may have thought of trying one better broken in to such acts of forcible appointment, by having undergone the process of compulsory elevation to the Chair of the House.

When we perceive the reluctance with which he yields to the gentle violence that sentenced him to banishment, and mark how painful the infliction is, notwithstanding the consolation afforded by the prospect of benefiting the Hindoos; when we note, moreover, the hundred and sixty reasons for wishing to remain at home—a very small allowance, compared with those which the hearers probably hoped to have for joining in the wish—it is really some relief to learn, that, in the course of a few days, he obtained protection against the Honourable Company, whether by a writ of privilege, or by application to a Judge at Chambers; for at the next dinner we find him speaking more as a free agent, and as one who actually had some voice in the question of what was to become of him. He begins with an odd kind of joke, somewhat akin to that familiar one which consists in answering a request for information, by asking, ‘*Can you keep a secret?*’—and on the curious inquirer saying ‘*Yes,*’ replying, ‘*So can I.*’ For after stating at some length the difficulties which beset him, and the misconstructions he is exposed to whichever line he takes, whether that of maintaining silence as to his negotiation with the Government, or of telling his friends the whole, he informs them, that ‘after doubting much and long,’ and ‘on full reflection,’ he has ‘determined to brave the danger’ of telling all; and then he says, ‘Upon my honour I have nothing to tell;’ (p. 38.); in short, he has had no communication whatever made to him; and this he declares, because his select body of confidential friends, assembled in a place, and at a period of the day consecrated to delicate disclosures, 160 in number, including newspaper reporters, have a clear right to know it, inasmuch as their fidelity and attachment ‘to him gave them *an interest* in ‘whatever concerns him,’ (p. 39.) Then, justly foreseeing

that those dear and *interested* friends (as he will probably soon feel them to be, if he has not already) might naturally carry their anxious inquiries one step further; and having learnt from him all he knew touching the part of the business of which he was wholly ignorant, might desire to be informed respecting the only thing which must have been known to him, his intention of taking office, if allowed,—he adds—that he will tell them nothing at all about it:—and that he hopes they will not expect it! ‘This only he can *frankly* declare, that his ‘decision will be founded upon—’ what does the reader think?—‘upon—an honest and impartial view of public considerations *alone*, and that it will be determined, not by a ‘calculation of interests, but by a balance and comparison of ‘duties.’ That is to say, he will, in one scale, put the interests of the Indian subjects, and, in the other, the great object of resisting reform, and defending the constitution; and according as the one or the other scale preponderates, he goes or stays! Regard for his own interest, of course, is wholly out of the question; that of his political friends is equally to be neglected; his family is to be put entirely on one side, as well as his personal friends; he is only occupied with ‘that diffusive ‘benevolence which neglects the circle immediately around it,’ (p. 30.), and of which he had, a few moments before, ‘confessed ‘some little suspicion,’ (ib.) But suppose he should, after accurately balancing his conflicting duties, find that he was better fitted for the European than the Hindostanee department, an obstacle must be removed, namely, the Catholic Question. The difficulty, to be sure, is great; and so long as it exists, there is little chance that the Court of St James’s will cast upon him the same longing eyes which had so bewitched him in the Court of Directors. But what will not the ardent and disinterested love of our country effect? What sacrifices of interest (nay, of principle too) will it not prepare us for? This zeal to serve our native land in her need (never, of course, in our own), is, it should seem, above the most powerful propensity of our nature. It masters all the rest, and survives them all—tenacity of place being to ‘public men’ what tenacity of life is to reptiles. Therefore, the Catholic question is got rid of with very little ceremony, in a passage which we will not cite, because it varies materially from the first newspaper reports of this Speech; and though either edition is humiliating enough for Mr Canning, and must be sufficiently grateful to the Lord Chancellor and the Orange party, yet we might, by giving the one, misrepresent him unfavourably; and by adopting the ~~other~~, we might weaken the sort of recantation which he unquestionably *intended* to make.

How the Court has been propitiated, and how Mr Canning has settled his balance of duties to the Empire, we all know. He has suffered the interests of India to kick the beam. With the mysteries of this calculation we profess not to be acquainted. Report assigns but a few hours' time to the operation of calculating. But one thing we should think those who are curious in such *calculus* might desire to have explained. How happens it that a strict sense of publick duty prevented him from hesitating about leaving the Constitution a prey to Reformers, because he had been thought fit for the Government of India, while his fitness continues the same, and the dangers of the Constitution having in nowise increased, he now hesitates as little about remaining at home? How happened it, that he had all but embarked, and left the Constitution to its fate, *when no place* at home was offered him; and that the instant one is within his reach, he takes it, and leaves India to its fate? Is it that, beside publick *duties*, there must be publick *employments* to weigh, else he will fling none of them into either scale of his balance—that they must have the stamp of *office*, otherwise he deems them not standard, and cares not what may be their weight? One should have thought that the Reformers might be opposed in Parliament quite as advantageously as in the Foreign Office; and yet he never dreamt of delaying his shipment outwards until the doors of Downing-Street were unfolded, although the House of Commons 'threw open its doors wide' as usual. Not even when Lord Castlereagh's death left the enemies of reform without a leader, did this nice balancer of publick duties *alone*, hesitate about his flight to the East, any more than he did when Lord Castlereagh, of whose capacity and views he was the recorded derider, managed both the foreign and domestic concerns of the country. He could leave the sum of affairs in his hands during the crisis of the war, after pronouncing him incompetent to their management in a season of comparative ease, and go to Lisbon, because, we suppose, his publick duty required *him*, of all men, to receive the King of Portugal on his landing; he could leave all in his incapable hands when the Radicals had become so much more formidable, and hie him away to the Tropics, because the Court of Directors, over whom he had been placed for five years, had discovered in him a knack at Indian matters. He could persist in abandoning his place in Parliament, when no man could tell in whose hands the reins of Government might be left. The fear of reform, the love of our ancient order of things, could, it seems, avail nothing, unless *place* was superadded to the calls of duty: But the instant that this graceful and convenient union is formed, he is all ear to

those claims to which he had been so often and so obstinately deaf,—and, after ridding himself of the Catholic Question, he steps unincumbered into his situation, indignant that any one should be found uncharitable enough to imagine the possibility of any personal or private motives having been regarded in the whole course of his calculations. We expect that Mr Canning will henceforth express himself with more forbearance towards the enthusiasm of Reformers, and the credulity to which it sometimes may give rise; that he will no longer laugh at the theoretical and impracticable publick virtue which some of them recommend; that he will carefully shun all sneers at pitches of unattainable purity; and even avoid any allusion to cant, but little of which has ever been discovered in *their* professions, and that little, comparatively speaking, of an ordinary and not very revolting cast.

For some years past, Mr Canning has taken upon himself to act as champion of the present system, against all Reform whatsoever. We state the nature of his assumed office thus generally, because no other description is fitted to represent it. He may tell us, that he is only combating Parliamentary Reform: but his whole reasonings, all his topics and all his appeals, are equally applicable to any proposed alteration of any existing portion of the Institutions of the country. In vain will he profess that it is against wholesale and violent changes in the representation that he warns the country: For there is not an abuse in it so flagrant that he would suffer to be removed by an amendment the most cautious and gentle. He may protest as he pleases against being supposed to defend every thing; and cry out for specifications of corrupt practices, which, when detected, may be separately and piecemeal corrected. Not one of his arguments will admit of any qualification. They are uncompromising, and of universal application; they will do as well to defend or to attack one position as another, skreening alike all established evils, assailing equally every proposed improvement, as indifferently as the redoubt or the artillery act with respect to the merits of those whom they shelter or annoy. Indeed, not only is this the nature of his arguments and declamations, but he has throughout pretty distinctly showed that he was aware of it, and has never proved, except perhaps in one instance, very prone to baulk their genius. Save on the Catholic Question, where is the amendment of our Law that he has not resisted, and always with the same general appeals to the alarms of the Aristocracy? He was pleased, indeed, to sneer, and even to laugh pretty loud, at the '*Wisdom of our Ancestors*,' on the late debates upon his Bill. You would have thought

that this was some favourite phrase of the Orange faction, invented to stifle all inquiry, and supersede the use of reason upon the subject of the Penal Code. No such thing. To stifle inquiry and supersede reason, was indeed the purpose of its invention; but the inventor was Mr Canning himself, and the occasion, was Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill to prevent men of landed property from defrauding their creditors, and to make *every* member of that class do, what every *honest* member of it does as a matter of course, pay his debts out of his estate, and not enrich his family by the ruin of his tradesmen. No matter how plain the justice of the measure was, how degrading to the landed interest the supposition, that they were desirous of resisting it;—no matter how glaring the iniquity of the present law, and how intolerable the practical evils which it was shown to have produced; such is the law, was the only answer; you seek to change *that which is*,—therefore you are in the wrong. A better instance needs not be produced, to demonstrate that his perpetual application of his doctrines to Parliamentary Reform is accidental, and that, in truth, they equally exclude every change. At present, however, we are to view them chiefly in their connexion with this most important question.

His first argument in favour of the present system of election, is drawn from the circumstance of his own success at Liverpool. His grand answer to every thing that can be urged against the existing abuses is always, that practically, 'the system works well;' and he considers, oddly enough, his own return for that borough to be a striking illustration of this. 'Let those,' says he, 'who doubt the practical excellence of our political institutions look at the scene which this assembly exhibits; and when they see how far an humble individual, without personal distinction, or personal claims of any kind, on the consideration or good-will of a great community, can earn their good opinions,—I may venture to say, their affection, simply by the performance of his public duty as their representative. Let them consider,'—and so forth. 'Hence,' he adds, 'can such a country sink under the vainly apprehended dangers of despotism?' Translated into plain English, this passage should be read thus:—'Here is a man who had the whole weight of the Government to support him; who had been half his life in office; was expected to be restored to it again before the Parliament met; who was backed by a set of rich merchants, eager for the good things which ministers have to bestow. When you see how he obtained a majority of the votes, notoriously under the influence of those traders in produce and politics, and still retains the confidence of his sup-

‘ porters, even at the moment when he is about to have either the whole government of India, or half the government of England, can you doubt that elections are, in practice, pure and disinterested proceedings, or feel an apprehension lest they should be prostituted to support a corrupt administration?’ To be sure, it must have required some command of countenance in both the speaker and the audience to go gravely through this elaborate and curious misrepresentation of his claims upon them; but his connexion with Liverpool is a favourite topic in illustration of his general argument, and he really appears to labour under some delusion respecting the right of election there. He is always appealing to his own situation as that of a person representing a place where no reform can be desired—a perfectly open and free borough. This seems so extraordinary a mistake, that we must give the words in which he states it.

‘ So far from my situation as representative of the second town in the empire, stifling my voice on this subject, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that if I were member for Old Sarum, I should more probably hold my tongue upon it. It is because I am member for Liverpool; because *I can have no shadow of personal interest in maintaining that more imperfect species of representation, which I do, nevertheless, conscientiously maintain; it is because my opinion cannot be questioned, as influenced by motives of individual convenience, that I feel a confidence, which I otherwise might not feel, in exposing what I think the fallacy of those doctrines which push the principle of direct personal representation to an extent such as, if adopted, must change the Constitution.*’ pp. 25, 26.

Now, where did Mr Canning ever find a Parliamentary Reformer who was satisfied with such a right of election as that of Liverpool, where freemen only, and they, whether resident or not, return the members? Is not this as much a close corporation as if it were a borough one twentieth or one hundredth of the size? Does the mere difference of extent change the nature of the franchise? If a corporation of thirty, in a town of 1200 inhabitants, save their fellow-citizens the trouble of choosing their representative, it is termed a close or rotten borough; and the member so chosen may, it seems, be taunted with having some interest in defending the existence of such limited franchises. But extend the same preposterous right of voting to ‘ the second town in the empire;’ suffer two or three thousand corporators to chuse for 120,000 inhabitants, and no matter in what way the select and privileged body is composed, although it may consist of the very individuals most unfit to exercise the franchise, to the exclusion of all who might most worthily be

intrusted with it; yet this extension of the size, and therefore of the mischief, is to be the cure! the place is to be called an open borough, the choice a popular election, and the person chosen by a handful of corporators and their immediate dependents, with every contamination of bribery and treating and threatening that can taint still more a proceeding grounded in corruption, is to vapour as if he were returned by the inhabitants at large, in the purest manner, and to take for granted, that no mortal can suspect him of any interest in maintaining of exclusive corporate rights, and opposing all attempts to make elections really pure. Upon a little reflection, we presume, he will allow this, with several other matters, to be classed under the head of those '*exaggerations*' which, he tells us (p. 16.), are 'freely and frankly allowed in the celebration of municipal '*victories*.' Another exaggeration, however, occurs, so very gross, that we trust there is some error in the report. A deputation of the chairmen of different trading associations presented an address, thanking him for 'his zealous attention to their '*interests*,' and 'his kindness and impartiality' in doing the business of the town as their member. In this piece of civility, at a moment when he was resigning his seat, and going to the other side of the globe, some of those joined who had been, and were well known still to be, his warm political opponents; and every allusion to the points of irreconcilable difference which separated them, was, of course, carefully avoided. Yet he is made (p. 16.), in speaking of this flattering piece of personal courtesy, to construe it into a cessation of political hostility, and to say, in consequence of it, that 'he stands in the peculiar circumstances of not knowing that he has even a political enemy' left in the place. So ungenerous a use never was made of such a kindness. We really believe Mr Canning to be incapable of it; possibly he never said so—at any rate, he may have thought it allowable to exaggerate this kindness, when on the point of leaving them for ever. As he is destined to remain, we can have little doubt that his ignorance will be removed, on the question, 'Whether or not he has a political enemy left,' as soon as the new writ for Liverpool is issued.* Having now cleared away the ground, we may come more conveniently to the bulk of his arguments against all reform of the representation.

Those arguments may be reduced to the two following pro-

* A Pamphlet, entitled '*Matters of Fact, by a Political Enemy*,' may already have cleared up this point.

positions, of which one is the speaker's most hackneyed topic in all debates on this question, and the other is, as far as we recollect, now for the first time brought forward by him, and dwelt upon with the kind of preference usually given to novelties, by those who think more of the popular effect than the solidity of their positions. The *first* is, that the Crown has no more influence in Parliament than is sufficient for maintaining its independent existence as a branch of the Constitution; the *second*, that all the mischiefs now traced to the state of the representation, and especially the support of corrupt practices and ruinous measures, cannot be ascribed to the House of Commons *alone*, inasmuch as *the Lords* have concurred in every act of the Legislature; as a corollary to which, it is added, that the reform really desired would either do nothing, or destroy the House of Lords. Upon these views of the other two branches, the Crown and the Lords, rests his whole argument against any alteration in the construction of the Commons House; and we purpose shortly to examine them in their order.

I. The anxiety betrayed for the influence of the Crown, and the belief that it has not, upon the whole, increased, Mr Canning shares with the late Mr Rose, who put forth a tractate upon this matter. The fundamental views are precisely the same in the Speech and in the Book,—that the power of the Crown has only in name and appearance been augmented since the American war; that while the country has been increasing in 'strength, wealth and population,' the Crown, 'if it be good for any thing at all in the Constitution,' must keep some sort of pace with the growth of the community; and that its increased influence is more than counteracted by the increased power of public opinion. These things are handled differently, no doubt, by the two artists, each working in his peculiar manner; the one deals in calculations, the other in metaphors; and yet, upon a closer view, there will perhaps be found a nearer approach than might at first be suspected, between the pamphleteer's figures of arithmetick, and the speaker's figures of rhetoric; for fancy is the principal agent in conjuring with them both. We certainly do not intend to enter into any detail of the facts, almost equally misrepresented by the accountant and the poet; but the case must be stated; and though unhappily it is too plain to leave any doubt, yet it lies in too narrow a compass to require many words.

The influence of the Crown must necessarily be in proportion to the direct power which it possesses by the force at its disposal, and the funds under its control for defraying the whole expenses of the State. Before the war, it had an army of

about 53,000 men ; at present, that force is nearly doubled. Before the war, the expenditure was 18 millions ; it is now nearly quadrupled. Part of the increased regular force is no doubt employed in new colonies ; but even the army within the realm is augmented in nearly the same proportion ; and the operation of the increased expenditure is evidently the same, in augmenting the influence of the Crown, whether it be occasioned by extended dominions or not. During the war, too, the extravagance of the Government reached a pitch wholly unparalleled, and beyond measure criminal in its agents. In three years 400 millions were spent or squandered ; the average of the charges for these years, exclusive of the cost of the national debt, was 83 millions ; including that cost (which is not to be deducted with a reference to the creation of influence) it exceeded 132 millions. Nor let it be imagined that the effects of such enormous establishments in favour of the Crown's power, cease with their reduction. For many years men's minds were trained to the contemplation of this system, and their plans were adapted to it. The habit of looking to Government for work, at least for pay, was engendered ; the calculations of families were founded in part upon the easy access which they had to the public purse ; and, in this intimate union of national and individual finances, most men relied for part of their ways and means upon the budget of the year. This habit is not by any means destroyed ; it is not even sensibly weakened. How many persons who ought to be independent in their conduct, are afraid of giving their votes for the only measures that can relieve the pressure of the present distresses, because they have a vague, ill-defined notion, that if they keep well with the Government something may turn up in their favour, some sinecure for themselves, some provision for a son ? How much more powerful is this feeling among persons of superior rank, and whom the present system of election makes the depositaries of that portion of the franchise which is not monopolized by the individual owners of boroughs, or the public boards ?

Now, against all these mighty realities we are desired to set the force of public opinion. But this is an unpardonable mistatement of the question. The complaint is, that the Crown has so much power through the force at its command, and so much influence through the patronage at its disposal, that the independence of Parliament is become an expression only calculated to excite merriment. But is all the power and all the influence exhausted directly upon the members of Parliament ? Is it not an inseparable part of the same increase, that it must have augmented the sway of the Crown over public opinion also ? Such reasoners as Mr Can-

ning argue as if the influence of the Crown were something kept altogether apart from the community; as if it were a weapon placed in store, and only to be used defensively when some crisis should bring the Crown and the people in contact; as if it were a weight in one scale of the balance,—the weight of public opinion being placed in the other, and all communication cut off between the two, and all interchange prevented; whereas in fact there is not an atom of that influence which is not constantly exerted in bending the public opinion, and preparing the people as well as their unauthorized representatives for the surrender of liberty. Even the press, of which so much is said, works for the established system with all its abuses. The dispensers of wealth and honours can use it, and do employ it, to promote their corrupt views, and we doubt if, at any period of our history, a greater abundance of venal writers was ever known to receive protection and encouragement from the rulers of the country and their immediate dependants.

We are very far from asserting that these attempts are successful. We do not apprehend, God be thanked, any thing like a subjugation of public opinion, either by force or seduction, so as to make the voice of the people approve of the profligacy of their governors, and the gross mismanagement of their affairs. But what does this prove, admitted as it is by us, and asserted as the ground of their argument by those with whom we are contending? What, but that all the weight of Government is insufficient to give falsehood the currency of truth; that the misconduct of the public servants is so great as to set the people against them, in spite of all the means in their employ to blind and to overawe the country? In the Houses of Parliament, constituted as they now are, the same means of seduction are employed with very different results. Among those select personages, the success of the dispensers of patronage is tolerably well assured. There they can rely upon a ready approval of all their proceedings, at the very moment when the same means of influence have been in vain tried to procure assent out of doors.

The argument, then, stands exactly thus. The increased influence is too powerful for the independence of Parliament. It operates sensibly upon public opinion also, but generally fails to stifle or beguile it. Sometimes it succeeds even in seducing the people from their duty, and making them blind to their best interests. But generally it occasions a wide difference between the sense of the country, and the deliberations of those who ought to be its representatives. Therefore, the only rational expedient for rendering the Parliament once more a true representation of the nation, and preventing the overgrown influ-

ence of the Crown from perpetuating the misgovernment of the many for the benefit of the few, is to restore to the people the choice of their members. The Crown would still have as much hold over the public councils as the soundness and honesty of its measures could give it, with a great leaning towards it, occasioned by the patronage necessarily in its hands, and sufficient to ensure the adoption of its plans, unless where they were manifestly vicious or unwise.

The argument with which we are grappling, is only a skilfully disguised edition of the portentous doctrine broached by some of the Ministers, and so revolting, even to the Tory Members of the House of Commons, that it was retracted or explained away almost as soon as it was promulgated. *Knowledge*, said they, is increasing; *discussion* is frequent; the people busy themselves *more and more* with publick affairs; *therefore*, to counteract the tendency of this progressive improvement in the community, towards an invasion of the Crown's authority, patronage must be conferred on the Executive Government, and places, otherwise useless, kept up! Nothing can exceed the folly, not to say the wickedness, of such a scheme, which is, in truth, preaching corruption for the sake of despotism. It was too boldly and nakedly brought forth,—too little veiled in decent covering, for the prudish society among whom it was made known; and accordingly, its reception was any thing but flattering. And yet it is a most logical inference from the doctrines of Messrs George Rose and Canning. It is, if not the direct converse of their propositions, at least an easy corollary from them; nor can any one consistently refuse his consent to it, who agrees with those zealous advocates of the Crown, and enemies of Reform. For surely, if the progress of publick opinion has been so great as to counteract the effect of so many legions and so many millions, and if the sound view of a happy government is that which represents the people as naturally in a conflict with their rulers, a disbanding of legions, or retrenching of millions, would upset the *beauteous* balance; and all who deem 'the Crown good for any thing in our Constitution,' are bound in consistence to uphold both the army and the treasury, without stopping to inquire what enemies there may be to fight, or what services to pay,—since the most important purpose to which any establishment can be subservient is the protection of the Constitution. The extravagance of these positions cannot easily be palliated; but perhaps it has been surpassed by the Prelate who has lately promulgated to his clergy the doctrine of the necessary conflict between the progress of knowledge, and the cause of morals and religion.

It is strange to see a man of acuteness like Mr Canning fall into so many glaring inconsistencies; the rather, that they occur not only in his reasoning, but, what is worse, in his feelings. Thus, he is a passionate admirer of our Constitution as established;—he ‘owes allegiance to the monarchy under which he was ‘born;’—it is ‘quite sufficient for him to find these things so;’ just in the same way that ‘Providence has ordained Great Britain to be an island, our ancestors have, from immemorial time, ‘ascertained to be a monarchy!’ and yet he feels an equal reverence for the imperfections which are of yesterday, the rottenness which time has engendered, and the excrescences which, within the last thirty years, have, from a mere accident, grown upon the system. Nay, he is thoroughly persuaded that all these adventitious parts are essentially necessary to its existence; and he seems to conclude with the comfortable assurance, that the most venerable of possible governments could not go on for an hour without the aid of the most flagrant of possible abuses. But for the Crown, his reverence is in an especial manner exemplary; and yet he shows it forth by asserting (and it is a favourite topic with him), that, to destroy the monarchy, and at once convert it into a republic, we have only to make the Representatives of the people really speak the sense of the country! ‘Against a popular assembly so constituted,’ he says, ‘no monarchy could stand: such a government must be practically, ‘whatever it be in name, a republic.’ Is not this distinctly to admit, that the people of this country abhor Kingly government? Is it not to allege, that the Throne is upheld by fear and by corruption, by bayonet and bribe? Yet, what is there in the history of this people, either heretofore or in our own days, which gives any countenance to such a whim? So fond of Kings were they, that Charles II. was taken back without any securities, from mere hatred of commonwealths, and cherished, in spite of a life, both public and private, the most revolting to every principle and prejudice of the nation;—that his brother, hated as heir-presumptive, was no sooner associated with the magical sound of ‘King,’ than he became every thing but all-powerful; and might have established a despotism, if he would only have made it a Protestant one; that the exiled family retained vast popularity, notwithstanding all their follies and crimes, merely because they had the elder title of descent, and maintained more strictly Royalist maxims; nay, that in these times, after all the rude shocks to which this love of Kings, and Queens, and Princesses, has been exposed, we have witnessed the interest excited by Royal sufferings more than once absorb every strong feeling of a private or selfish nature, to a degree

which they who best know foreign nations, pronounce inconceivable any where but in England. We allude to the sickness of a King, the persecution of a Queen, and the death of a Princess.

Not less amazing than the inconsistency which we have just been remarking, is the blindness of Mr Canning to the obvious and irresistible answer with which a moment's reflection must enable every one to meet his favourite topic. If it proves any thing, it proves by far too much. If a reformed House of Commons and a Monarchy cannot stand together, the doom of the Constitution is at all events sealed. For two things are quite certain; *first*, the pure representation of the people, by men speaking their entire sense, and acting, to use Mr Canning's phrase, as the organs of their volition, not as a deliberative body appointed to consult respecting their interests, can only destroy the Kingly branch of the government, by fully representing a *republican people*, speaking the sense of men hostile to monarchy, and making effectual a volition to pull it down; therefore the nation must be supposed utterly republican in its principles and feelings, otherwise the argument entirely fails. *Next*, If the people are so bent upon a change, and so resolute to get rid of the monarchical form as the argument supposes, the only question is concerning the precise time when they will accomplish their desire; for no one doubts, that when a determinate purpose like this exists, sooner or later it must be accomplished; and least of all can Mr Canning dispute the proposition,—he who has given us a whole allegory about steam,—to illustrate the omnipotence of public opinion, which he admits 'governs every thing in the last resort.' Did it never strike him, that if the exact expression of public opinion by a reformed Parliament would be fatal to the existing order of things, it can only be so because public opinion is irreconcilably hostile to the system; and that, if it be so, and he cannot pretend to show any barrier against its force, the process of sap or of storm is the only choice left for the garrison; in one way or the other, they must surrender?

Our own belief, upon both these points, is diametrically opposite to his. We are convinced, that the freest representation of all classes,—of the property, the talents, and the numbers of the people,—would only increase the basis on which the Monarchy rests, and make it more secure, by planting its foundation in the interests and in the affections of the whole community. To fancy that men would all at once become mere creatures of politics—wholly absorbed in contemplations of a speculative kind—careless of every selfish and social feeling—deaf to the suggestions of individual advantage—changed in their whole habits

of thinking respecting men and things; in other words, to suppose that rank, and wealth, and learning, and talents, and worth, would suddenly lose their influence either among the electors, or those whom their voice might delegate to consult for them, or, if you will, faithfully to tell their minds, is indulging in an extravagance of the imagination which carries one back to Swift's Flying Island and Academy of Projectors. The convenient assumption by which the reasoners with whom we are arguing always help themselves along, is nothing less than this—they take for granted that, when Parliament is reformed, no one will interfere in elections but the mere rabble, or, which comes to the same thing, that men of respectability and property will be so few in number as to have no direct weight, and will wholly lose their influence over the voices of others. That their indirect influence will be great, no thinking man can doubt; but the direct influence of their numbers is far greater than those thoughtless and dogmatical talkers are apt to suppose. Do they know that above half a million of individuals have property in the funds, many of them, of course, being also heads of families? How much more than a million of men does this connect with the established order of things, possibly with the most vulnerable part of it? If we suppose landed and trading capital to be only half as much subdivided, it will follow, that a million and a half are in like manner proprietors of the soil and stock of the country, or immediately connected with proprietors. But two millions and a half of men * are nearly one half of those whom, upon any plan, the most extensive that has been suggested, it would be possible to make voters at elections. Again, there were, in 1811, about two millions and a half of families in the island, and considerably more than two millions of inhabited houses; a tolerably good ground for believing, that there are much fewer than half the adult males of the community who are not connected with its security by some kind of property, at least, either as owners, or their sons. These are among our reasons for thinking, that the direct universal force of properties is much underrated by the enemies of reform; but the individual influence of property on which we rest, as our topic of chief consolation to such alarmists, is that which has always proved effectual to secure every established system of polity whose corruptions were not too deeply rooted to admit of a cure, or

* These calculations are upon the Population Returns of 1811, and the Income Tax Returns of 1815. The increase in the numbers cannot vary the proportions; nor can the diminution of Income materially affect the argument.

whose rulers were not so deluded as to prefer the risk of destruction to the certainty of well-timed reform.

II. We shall give the second and most novel of the arguments now brought forward by Mr Canning in his own words.

‘What are the general arguments by which we are urged to admit a change in the constitution of the House of Commons? These arguments are derived from expensive wars, from heavy taxes, and from severe enactments, constituting, as is affirmed, so many outrageous inroads upon the Constitution. Granted, for argument’s sake, that all these charges are true. Granted that all the proceedings of Parliament, for many years past, have been reprehensible. But were they the proceedings of the *House of Commons* alone? Does the British Constitution act by a *single* organ? Has there been no concurrence in the maintenance of those wars, no consent to the imposition of those taxes, no cooperation in the passing of those enactments? Is there no other assembly in existence which partook of the opinions on which the House of Commons has proceeded, and which would make, therefore, the reform of the House of Commons nugatory for the professed purposes, unless the co-ordinate authority were also reformed? If you reform the House of Commons, on the grounds of past misconduct, what will you do with the *House of Lords*? If the House of Commons is to be reformed because it sanctioned the war with America; if it is to be reformed, because it maintained the war with France—(sinking, for a moment, the undoubted fact, that the war with America was a favourite measure with the people of this country as much as with the Government; sinking, for a moment, the undoubted fact, that the war with France was emphatically the war of the nation)—if the House of Commons, I ask, is to be reformed, because it approved and supported those wars; if it is to be reformed, because it passed laws for the suppression of internal disturbance, is the House of Lords to go free, which consented to those wars, and of those acts consented to all, while some of them, and those not the least severe, it originated? If no such reform is to be applied to the House of Lords, what is the supposed effect upon that House of a reform of the House of Commons? Let us fairly speak out: Is the unreformed House of Lords to continue in full vigour to counteract the will of the reformed House of Commons? Where, then, is the use of the reform? Or, is the reformed House of Commons to act upon the House of Lords by intimidation and compulsion? Aye! *that*, to be sure, is what *must be meant*, if there be truth in the argument; but that is what no man will say.

‘My quarrel, then, with this course of argument is, not that it aims at an alteration, at an improvement, if you please, in the House of Commons; but, that it aims at quite another thing than a House of Commons as *part* of a Legislature. The legislative authority of the State, according to the Constitution as it stands, is shared between two Houses of Parliament. The suggested reform goes to

provide a single instrument, which shall not only do its own work, but inevitably control the working of the other ; which, if the object of the reform is obtained, must act so powerfully, that it must, in the very nature of things, reject any co-ordinate power, and speedily act alone.' pp. 21-23.

Now, to this plausible and shallow argumentation, we first of all give the same answer that we urged against the similar reasoning applied to the risk of the reformed House of Commons overwhelming the Crown. What preserves the Lords at present? Not surely their numerical strength—not the force of the Commons, added to theirs—not the army itself, at their joint disposal, nor even the publick purse, alike in their hands—but the influence which rank, property and accomplishments, give them in the country,—and the opinion of the people, upon the whole, favourable to the existing constitution, with all its blemishes, and willing to bear with abuses, in the hope and expectation of their reformation. Now, this security would only be augmented by reform. But further ; had the Commons spoken more exactly the sense of the country, the Lords would have yielded to the same impression in most instances, and would only have been able to hold out against sudden gusts of popular feeling, and perhaps against one or two more fixed opinions in which the people were clearly wrong. But it is only in such cases that the Lords *ought* to control the opinions or wishes of the community, by the direct interposition of their negative. And the government could neither be conducted more beneficially, nor the rights of its several members placed on more solid foundations, than they would be, if the voice of the community were always expressed by men freely chosen to give it effect, and only counteracted by a body more independent of the people, when there was room for a calm revision and correction. Great part of the dilemma into which Mr Canning thinks he has driven his adversaries, consists merely in the nature of the thing ; it arises from the coexistence of two independent legislative bodies, and is classed, if we rightly remember, as one instance of political paradox in an Essay of Mr Hume's. Did Mr C. never hear of compromise by mutual concession? Did he never know two arbitrators, chosen by opposite parties, come to an agreement without either calling in the umpire, or the stronger knocking the weaker down? Can any reform be seriously thought of, which would return a perfectly different class of men to Parliament? Would the admixture of some others, not now there, and the more intimate union between the whole body and their constituents, at once deprive *all* aristocracy of all sway, and plant in the midst of a people, perhaps too prone

to respect birth and wealth, a vulgar democracy, unadorned and insecure?

It is unfair to assert, that the advocates of a reformed House of Commons mean it to act by 'intimidation or compulsion on the unreformed House of Lords.' Indeed, some reform in the House of Lords itself seems desirable for *the increase* of its own dignity and importance in the system; and perhaps that reform would do more than can ever be wanting to secure its influence in the legislature. If the right of voting by proxy were abandoned, its sittings would be better attended, and its deliberations would command more respect. A minister could never ensure the acquiescence of a majority, by bringing in his pockets the votes of men necessarily ignorant of the matter upon which they are deciding; and the indirect influence of the body upon popular opinion would be extended, by the frequency of discussions in an assembly peculiarly fitted to attract public attention. But this is not our only objection to the statement. We maintain, that there would be far less 'intimidation and compulsion,' were the public voice peacefully echoed by their chosen delegates, than at present, when, to make themselves heard at all, the people must speak in the thundering voice of menace, and in the fierce attitude of resistance. Are the noble natures of the Lords never swayed by the influence of such accents and such gestures, in the unreformed state of the Commons? We suspect some of them could name the occasions when they felt there was both 'intimidation and compulsion,' not indeed from the sister Assembly, but from those whom that Assembly oftentimes ill represents. But can any man breathing, or at least thinking, have a doubt that such conflicts expose the existence of the whole system to infinitely greater hazards than could attend the regular and peaceful indication of popular opinion by the assembled delegates of the community? Or can that be said, without the grossest abuses of language, to be a representative government, and a popular government, in which the firm and almost unanimous determination of the people, wholly disregarded by those who call themselves their deputies, only becomes known and felt through the slow and roundabout operation of its influence upon those who have no connexion with the people, and are known to the constitution only as a check upon them and their delegates? The precise difference between a despotic and a free government, is, not that the people exercise no control over the former, but that they control it regularly and peacefully under the latter. In Turkey, the fear of revolt imposes restraints upon the Sultan and his viziers: in England, the worst of mi-

ministers, and the ^{most} submissive of Parliaments, dare not go beyond certain limits. But the difference ought, by the genius of our free constitution, to be far wider in practice than it actually is. The avowed representatives and authorized attorneys of the people, ought to exercise a direct and legal superintendence, as a matter of acknowledged right, and not leave to the people themselves the office of preventing misgovernment, by threatening convulsion.

They who oppose all reform because it is innovation, and, among the foremost, Mr Canning, are themselves, as has often been remarked, the greatest patrons of change; for, as every thing decays in the progress of ages, and they would prevent all interference to stay its ravages, they are the real abettors of innovation. But they pretend that to one kind of improvement they have no objection—that which is effected slowly, to use their own trite and figurative language, by the gentle hand of time. Nothing can be more absurd than their conduct with reference to this maxim; it is really grounded on the delusion of a metaphor. They wait for improvements as if *Time* were a substantive agent, and could work of itself; and as often as any change is proposed, however gentle, they resist it because it is attempted by man, and not by this metaphysical being. Ask them to name any improvement brought about by *Time*, and see how they will be puzzled! For they must either admit that none is to be found, or they must point to some measure of reform actually devised by human heads, and executed by the hands of men. The Feudal system, for instance, was gradually destroyed in this country by a series of changes, ending with the abolition of military tenures after the Restoration. This happy improvement is among the foremost in importance of all those which are ascribed to the safe and gentle and healing hand of the loyal and orthodox reformer in question. The anti-reformers, then, approve of so excellent a consummation? Of the result possibly they may, now that the process is complete; but, to be consistent, they must disapprove of every one of the series of changes through which it was brought about; for every one of them, from the statute of *Quia Emptores* to the statute of Charles II., was, when adopted, a great alteration of the existing order of things, brought about by the direct agency of reforming legislation. If they had had their wish, then, with all their praises of *Time* as a reformer, not one of his improvements could have been accomplished. In a word, whatever abuses may be slowly engendered in the course of ages, they will suffer no interference to check or to remedy them; whatever salutary changes are suggested by the enlargement of knowledge, or the events that occur in the ever-varying scene

of mortal existence, they resist with all their might. Their wise policy ends in securing to us all the evils which Time can create, and excluding us from the benefit of all the good which it brings.

Hitherto of Mr Canning's arguments against Reform. Before proceeding very shortly to state our own view of the question, a few words may be expected upon the subject of his Jests; and we must take leave to express our surprise, that he should have condescended, apparently for no other reason than to introduce some extremely misplaced merriment, to make so gross a misrepresentation of the Reformers, as to allege that Reform was the cure proposed in 1817 for high prices, and now for cheapness of provisions. He ought to know, that no Reformer—no one but his own colleagues—ever deemed the low prices arising from abundance, any thing less than a blessing. The *high* price of *production*, not the *low* price of *produce*, is the evil complained of; and that is, in great part, caused by the taxes mercilessly laid upon the people by a Parliament, in choosing which, the people had little or no share—laid upon them in order to support profligate and senseless measures, principally intruded to prevent the people from ever acquiring their just share in that election, and to keep Mr Canning's friends in place—burthens, which, however unbearable they may prove, will never be taken off until the people obtain that just share; in other words, until the Parliament is Reformed. The other great source of our calamities has been the profligate conduct of the same statesmen, Mr Canning among the number, with respect to the currency; and as none but a corrupt House of Commons, representing interests opposite to those of the people, could ever have become the tools by which such measures were carried on, so the only security against a repetition of the same crimes, is to be found in giving their full share of the Government to the people, whose interest is ever of necessity opposed to the commission of them. But what cares Mr Canning for these things? What signifies it to him whether these be the real doctrines of Reformers? He had a story to tell about a red lion, and he must make, if he could not find, a way to let it into his Speech. We shall not extract this fable, as the reader has, in all probability, already seen it; but we will remind its author of an old maxim connected with the subject of *Lions*, the substance of which, though not in the same language, his new colleagues will, doubtless, oftentimes have in their minds during the limited period of their connexion with him.

οὐ χρεὶ λαιῶλος σκυμνον ἐν πολλοῖς ἱερφεῖν

μαλιστα δὲ λαιῶνα μὴν πολλοὶ τρεφεῖν

ἐν δ' ἐκτραφὴ τις, τοῖς τροποῖς ὑπηρεῖσιν.—*Aristophan. Ran.*

—which, for the benefit of those hapless objects of his ridicule, the Country Gentlemen, may be thus shortly expressed,—‘If you choose to take up one of this breed, and make much of him, you must lay your account with having to bear with his tricks,’ (literally his ‘tropes.’)

We are now anxious to obtain for a moment, the attention of all sober thinking men, alike incapable of being misled by wild and visionary schemes of honest enthusiasts, as of being deterred by the indecent ridicule of the thoughtless, and those jesters who cater for them, from adopting plans of rational improvement. First of all, let them reflect how impossible it is, that the people of this country should much longer submit to be excluded from their just share in the management of their own affairs. Every kind of knowledge is now diffusing itself with a rapidity unexampled in former times among all classes of the community; but political information, and all that is connected with it, has become of all other branches the most universally spread. Since the French Revolution, all ranks, even to the humblest, have learnt much of it, and have taken an interest in the practical matters connected with it, still greater than their knowledge. An increase of their attainments is evidently for the benefit of the State, and must tend to its tranquillity as well as improvement; for as nothing can ever hereafter wean the people from their habits of political discussion, and from their firm resolution to make their opinions felt and respected by their rulers, so the more maturely those opinions are formed, the less danger is likely to arise from their expression. Can a nation thus circumstanced, rest satisfied with the same share in the direct administration of its government, as when nearly all were uninformed, except the highest classes, and no one out of Parliament presumed to have an opinion of his own? We appeal to any one who has mixed at all with the middle, and even the inferior ranks of society. The most respectable opinions, both as to honesty and sound sense, are to be found among the former; but the latter, too, have their own notions, and are daily becoming more enlightened, as well as independent in their views. It is a monstrous state of things which would exclude all the latter, and by far the greater part of the former; that is, the great strength of the nation, both in numbers and in real respectability both of character and understanding, from a direct share in the representation. We go further; the time is approaching, if it be not arrived, when a considerable number of the middle classes must be admitted within the walls of the Legislature. We must see some yeomen and some tradesmen in the House of Commons. That Asscm-

bly must soon be more popular both in its origin and in its composition. We cannot much longer expect to have, as it were, a caste of statesmen, a privileged order of politicians, from among whom all representatives must be chosen, and all persons selected to fill the offices of the State. Let high rank, greater wealth, and superior accomplishments have still their large share in the direction of affairs; nothing can ever deprive them of it; but to a monopoly *they* are not entitled; and justice as well as the good government and tranquillity of the State require that they should share the task, in some degree at least, with those whose numbers are far greater, and whose respectability is in no one particular less.

We earnestly entreat those whom we are addressing, further to observe, that both the stability of the Government would be incalculably augmented by such a Reform as would give to the voice of the people its due weight, and the administration of our affairs would be improved in an equal degree. No one denies that this voice, sooner or later, makes itself heard and obeyed, even as the Parliament is now constituted. But the difference is prodigious between its irregular, and oftentimes violent operation, and the regulated and prompt action which it ought to have in the system—it is like the difference between steam acting in spite of us by explosions, when violently pent up, and by uniform pressure when employed as a mechanical power. So the effects produced by public opinion at present, are always too late, and often dangerously violent. Instances of the latter evil we need hardly give. The former is the most important; and a full illustration of it would comprise at once the history of all the maladministration of our affairs for the last half century, and the clearest demonstration of the policy, nay, the necessity, of Reform. Scarce any of the calamities which have visited this country—scarce any of the barbarisms in policy and in jurisprudence which have disgraced our system, but may be traced to the long intervals that have always elapsed before the voice of the community could produce its effect in changing the councils of the Government, or improving our legislative system. Had the popular desire of peace been listened to in the American and French wars; nay, had the dislike of extravagance been felt by the Government, as it always was by the nation, what millions would have been saved of the debt that now oppresses us, and of the wasteful expenditure that has displaced all capital and convulsed the State! How many abuses of the grossest kind, from the Slave Trade to the severity of the Criminal Law, have been borne withal for a series of years, alter the loud and general voice of public indignation had pro-

nounced their condemnation ! What miseries have not these criminal delays occasioned ! what wounds to humanity ! what dishonour to the English name ! Nay, at this hour, are we not persevering in the same course, and permitting the Government to hold fast by many of the most ruinous abuses and blunders, while the time is passing never to be recalled, and mischiefs are made perpetual and remediless by the delay—and all because the universal opinion of the country has not yet penetrated to the Government, through the Parliament—that opinion which Parliament ought to represent faithfully, and give effect to speedily, with no more modification or check than is necessary to prevent the accidents of a hasty and tumultuous decision ! This is a long chapter, to the contents of which, we shall again solicit the reader's serious attention. For the present, it may suffice to have indicated them generally, as of extreme importance in the practical discussion of Parliamentary Reform—and, to our apprehension, quite decisive, in its favour.

It is impossible to conclude this Article, without expressing, more distinctly, the astonishment with which we have been stricken at the prodigious assurance with which Mr Canning ventures to treat the subject of the country's distresses. His levity we say nothing more of ; but it required the evidence of our senses to make us believe that any man *in his situation* could have the audacity to come forth and tell the ruined land-owners of England, that the only thing he could recommend to them was PATIENCE. Patience enough, indeed, they had shown, before he had obtruded his advice ; and if they can endure that advice, they will prove that they have no need of it ; for to be patient under such an outrage, is more hard than to bear all the other buffetings of their cruel fortune. *He*, indeed, to tell them so ! and in the body of his advertisement for the place which he has since gotten—the very *constitutional* office of leading those same land-owners, as manager of the House of Commons ! He to recommend patience as the only remedy ! the coadjutor of those Ministers whose blundering and profligate courses have brought the land-owners to ruin ! For which of all the schemes that have sunk them to the earth, did not this talker support ? Which of all the men that have stript them of their revenues, did not this place-hunter league with ? And when he sees staring him in the face, the countless miseries which he has occasioned, he can coolly stop the current of his mirth to give them a bit of serious advice—it is all he can do for them, after what he has done to them. ‘ Take my word for it (says he), we have undone you so completely, that no power on earth can mend your lot, and all you have

‘for it, is to bear with patience what we have brought upon ‘you.’ Such experiments upon the temper of the country, could only be attempted in the present state of its representation; and we may venture to fortel, that the House of Commons will practise the cardinal virtue thus recommended to the land-owners, in a manner as exemplary as Mr Canning could desire. They will bear even *him*, and his gibes, and his councils.—that is to say, as long as the Court pleases.

Since this Article was written, and just as we are going to press, the county of York has been put in motion;—fulfilling many of our predictions, and giving to Mr Canning’s arguments and jokes the best practical refutation. In an evil hour it was that he bethought him of turning his sentences upon ‘*dying embers* ;’ and with even less than his wonted discretion, did he at this crisis make Parliamentary Reform the subject of his merriment. Those speeches, and the knowledge that the person who professes to be the Champion against Reform was brought into office, appear to have been at least the proximate causes of the great measure by which all Reformers, in all parts of the country, are now engaged in cooperating to ensure the success of their plans. The principles which we have explained in these pages, would have led, no doubt, to a similar effort, sooner or later; but for its being made now, and with extraordinary unanimity and zeal, the cause and its well-wishers have to thank the jibes and the promotion of Mr Canning. Possibly the Spanish proverb respecting *friends* may already be in the mouths of sincere Anti-reformers.

ART. VI. 1. *Meditations Poétiques*. Par ALPHONSE DE LA MARTINE. Quatrième Edition. Paris. 1821.

2. *Trois Messeniennes. Elegies sur les Malheurs de la France. Deux Messeniennes sur la Vie et la Mort de Jeanne D’Arc*. Par CASIMIR DE LA VIGNE. Quatrième Edition. Paris. 1821.

3. *Chansons &c.* Par J. B. DE BERANGER. Paris. 1821.

THERE is nothing in which the opinions of the French and English differ so irreconcilably as in Poetry,—and therefore, perhaps, the critics of the one nation ought not to pass judgment on the poets of the other. We can exchange our cottons for their wines—our cut-steel for their *or moulu*—our blankets for their cambrics, and find ground for mutual satisfaction in the bargain;—but the *prices current of Poetry* are so out-

rageously different in the two countries, that we would not part with a scene of Shakespeare for the whole body of their dramatists;—nor would they give up a canto of Voltaire—Hénaire, or Pucelle either—for the whole of our Spencer, and Milton into the bargain.

Now, it will not do to account for this contradiction of sentiment by the mere effect of national partiality, or the habit of considering the same substantial excellences as exclusively connected with certain external accompaniments;—for both nations admit the merit of *other* foreign competitors. There is, in truth, a radical difference in the excellences at which they respectively aim—and each admires its own for qualities, which the other disdains. There are some points of contact undoubtedly—but not many. The admirers of our Pope, in his satirical and didactic parts at least, cannot but admire their Boileau; and those who are captivated with the tragedy of Addison, must admit, we should think, his inferiority to Racine. But we really cannot carry the parallel any farther. What is most poetical in our poetry, has no counterpart in theirs—nor have we any thing at all akin to what they chiefly boast of, and value in their favourites.

If we were called upon to state, in a few words, the grand distinction of the two schools, we should probably say, that our poetry derives its materials chiefly from nature, and theirs from art—that our images are borrowed for the most part from the country, and theirs from the town—that we deal fearlessly with the primitive and universal passions of our kind, and they almost exclusively with the pretensions and prejudices of persons of rank and condition—that their great dread is to be ignoble, and ours to be insipid—their triumph to surmount difficulties, and ours to give emotion.

The grand difference is the deeper sympathy we have with Nature—and the greater veneration they pay to Art:—and this requires a word of explanation—for all civilization, it may be said, is art; and no nation has pursued it so far, or carried it into so many departments, as the English. And this in some sense is true. But the leading distinction we take to be this: The English employ art to *improve* and imitate nature—the French to *correct* and supersede her. The one approach her with veneration, as humble ministrants to her energies, or dutiful observers of her course; the other with contempt, and as pitying her rudeness, or distrustful of her power. This is most conspicuous, perhaps, in the way in which they respectively seek to embellish their country residences. An English park is a reverend and feeling imitation of what is most beautiful in the

landscapes which Nature herself has contrived in similar situations—and is effected, in truth, rather by removing the accidental obstructions that are opposed to her development, than by subjecting her to any degree of force or constraint—by giving the trees room to assume their natural proportions—letting the grass be equally cropped by the flocks, and opening up the glades and distances in their natural gradations. A French park, on the other hand, is throughout, and in every part, an ostentatious and presumptuous attempt to supersede and expel Nature altogether, and to raise a triumph on her complete subjugation—the trees planted in square masses and pruned into regular alleys,—the banks notched into terraces—the streams built into canals or forced up into jets—and the shrubs paraded in rows of painted boxes! Among the middling and lower orders of the people, there is the same remarkable want of sympathy with nature, or respect for her. They cultivate their fields, but never adorn them—they plant, or spare, no trees for beauty—but for fuel only, or carpentry—and around their cottages, you see no more blossoms and verdure without, than cleanliness or neatness within.

They have treated the human form very much as they have the landscape. It is to France we owe the horrible invention, or at least the general introduction, of such abominations as wigs, hair-powder, coats, waistcoats, and breeches, tight stays, hooped petticoats, and high-heeled shoes—of all, in short, that makes us laugh or shudder at the pictures of our progenitors, in the last century, and that still continues to give such meanness and deformity, at least to our male figures, as to render them unfit for sculpture, and perilous even for painting. Compared with these characteristic French inventions, the ancient dress of all the European nations, was both graceful and expressive—the Celtic and Sarmatian—the Spanish, the Polish—the Venetian—the Russian, the Norwegian. It was either ample and flowing, to give dignity and grace to the figure, or tight and succinct, to express its form and favour its activity. The French, by which it has been unluckily superseded, has no character at all, but that of heaviness, meanness, and constraint. The same antipathy to nature led them to repress and overwhelm her with their helps and ornaments, almost from the first moment of birth. Infants were manacled in swaddling clothes, and scarcely allowed to walk, till they were taught to dance. The lectures of Rousseau, and their recent passion for having every thing ‘*à la Grecque*,’ have at last produced some relenting; but we can ourselves remember, when every well-born male of seven years old, had a tail fastened to the hinder part of its

head, and a toupet on its front, with rows of stiff curls *en ailes de pigeon* on each side,—while every female form of the same age, was compressed in whalebone stays and iron busks, to the danger of suffocation; and all these little wretches, with the manners, language, and gestures of persons of sixty, paid set compliments to the company, in the second and fourth positions!

It was, of course, impossible that this contempt for nature should not appear in their poetry, and their delineations of passion and character. Accordingly, their love is not love, but gallantry—their heroism not much better than ostentation—and the chief concern of their poetical personages, in all their agitations, is rather to maintain their consideration among people of their own condition, than to express those emotions which level all conditions, and overwhelm all vanities in the tide of impetuous feeling.

These considerations go far to explain why French poetry should be different from ours—and, we must add, inferior to it—and that from causes that belong to the general character and habits of the nation. We must be permitted to say farther, that they appear, in this as in every thing else, to have less force of Imagination, and a less elevated Taste, than most other polished nations—incredible as these imputations must appear in their ears.

That the French lay claim to a greater portion of imagination than has been bestowed on any other people, may be learned from the gentle accusations they prefer against themselves in certain emergencies; for, in truth, nothing ever goes amiss with them but by an *excess* of this quality! When they draw too hasty conclusions in argument, or venture imprudently in battle—when they linger under despotism out of love to their Sovereign, or overshoot the boundaries of human liberty out of philanthropy—when they exterminate a rival sect, or deny the existence of a God—when, in a single moment, they become all or any thing to excess, they lay it to the account of that uncontrollable vivacity which hurries them away. ‘*Nous autres François nous avons des têtes si vives! nous avons tant d’imagination!*’—that they cannot submit to the rule and compass, like the dull races around them. In short, the only defect in their character is too lavish a proportion of the highest faculty with which creative genius is endowed! The regularity with which *we* conduct the common concerns of life; the guardian *forms* with which we surround the dearest of our public blessings, are, in their opinion, but so many proofs that the English have no imagination; though, in their most indulgent humour, they allow we are good *mu-*

chines ourselves, and have produced some that are not altogether contemptible. This, however, is of less consequence; but it is quite necessary to observe, that imagination may be predominant in two different cases. The one is when it really is very abundant; the other, when its antagonist faculty is so weak as to be easily subdued. Now, the antagonist faculty of imagination is judgment, or the vulgar thing called common sense. A very little imagination, therefore, joined to a very little common sense, may, in many respects, produce the same derangement of balance as a large portion of imagination, with a large portion of common sense; and we suspect it would not be difficult to refer to instances in which imagination seems to act too great a part in French affairs, only because reason acts too little.

The language of common life abounds in small metaphors, suited to its small occasions; and *we* should think it ridiculous either to increase their number, or to exchange them for loftier tropes. Yet, one great exercise of French imagination is in this department. The story which Sterne relates of his French barber, who proposed *immersing his periwig in the ocean!* to show that damp could not uncurl it, is not a bad specimen of such grandiloquism. Dipping it in a pail of water would have been more natural; but there would have been no fancy in that—and this, it seems, was a case for fancy! Even in sober reasoning, the French are too apt to take a figure of speech for an argument; to assume similitude upon too slight grounds; and then to confound this similitude with identity. Even in science, the common language is more figurative in France than in England; and less vigour, both of thought and of expression, is by them deemed necessary in those very branches the perfection of which depends upon the accuracy of language. Neither is this precipitancy confined to their thoughts alone; it influences their most serious actions; and they are always ready to enter into any project which promises fair to fancy, without reflecting upon its real probability or advantages. As a Frenchman once said, ‘*C’est toujours l’impossible qu’il faut demander au Français—et il l’exécutera.*’ They treat the great affairs of life, in short, with levity, the smaller concerns with importance. On the other hand, there are cases in which a little more imagination would be acceptable; and the most remarkable of these perhaps is the subject of our present consideration, Poetry. Of all the nations of the globe, ancient and modern, Hebrews, Hindoos, Greeks, Romans, Scandinavians, Italians, Spaniards, Germans, English, there is not one that, having any poetry at all, does not surpass the French in strength, origi-

nality, sublimity, invention; in a word, in all the qualities which are dependent upon reach and grandeur of imagination. But, if this faculty were as abundant among them as they pretend, should we not find it bursting out in poetry, rather than in things which are essentially under the dominion of sound judgment and common sense; in Epic poems rather than in declarations of the rights of man; in dithyrambic odes, rather than in election laws: among dramatic authors rather than deliberative assemblies? In France, however, the place of these faculties seems long to have been confounded—and this dislocation of their imagination is produced as a proof of its actual strength and abundance! In what other country would a national academy propose the institution of *Jury Trial* as the subject of a *prize poem* in the nineteenth century?

Upon the delicate chapter of Taste we have but little to say, after what we have already ventured to remark as to their contempt for nature, and the way in which they have treated the landscape and the *costumi* of their country. In sculpture, and in music, their taste has always been pitiable; and though their country has given birth to some admirable painters, they have always been formed, and generally resided abroad—while, for nearly a century, the race appears to have been extinct. To make amends, however, we do not mean to deny, that they have a good taste in millinery, in jewellery, in ornamental furniture, in fireworks, processions, dances, ceremonies, and grand entertainments—that is to say, in all things that belong to parade, rather than passion, or to the gratification of vanity, rather than the suggestion of lofty emotion. In all the nobler arts, we deny that their taste is respectable.

The last characteristic of French poetry we shall mention is that which it derives from the defects of the language: And here we do not allude so much to its want of sonorousness or melody, as to the poorness of its idiom, and the unpoetical character of the metaphors which enter into its structure. Languages, though they at last react upon the intellects of those who use them, were originally formed by men; and always bear the impress of the spirit from which they proceeded. Among an ardent and imaginative people, the commonest expressions savour of passion and of fancy, and the idiom itself breathes of poetry. In a colder and more courtly tribe, it takes a tinge of precision and politeness, and grows up into an apt instrument for flattery or facetiousness. It was the lot of French poetry, from the beginning, to be under the patronage of courtiers. The madrigals and ballads in which the Muse there made her essay, were composed for Princesses, and sung in the

courts of kings. From the time of Louis XII., there are the clearest traces of this; and the fashion was continued through the whole reign of Louis XIV. The judge whose opinion Boileau and Racine courted the most, was the Monarch; and, next to him, the Princes of the Blood; and then, in succession, the Ducs et Pairs de France, and the gentlemen of his court and household. Such was *their* public; and the language which was not current there, could not be used in poetry! But is it not better that a thousand exuberances, nay, that some glaring improprieties should occasionally disfigure speech, than that passion should be deprived of half its eloquence; or that a language should be prescribed to the soul, by cold academics and heartless courts? Our neighbours, however, judge so very differently, that there are few things of which they are more vain than the *courtliness* of their poetical diction. Whenever a stranger happens not to feel as much rapture as they express for their poets, he is told that a foreigner cannot feel the beauties and the *finesses* of the French language. Now, nothing, we think, can be so certain, as that the poetry which consists chiefly in the beauties and *finesses* of language must be the lowest of all poetry—and the language of which the beauties are the most difficult to discover, the most unpoetical of languages. The essence of poetry consists in sentiment, passion, imagery, and the universal feelings which are dependent upon no turns of expression; and which, in whatever garb they may be disguised, are instantly recognised as the *disjecta membra* of the poet. How comes it, we would ask, that Homer is admired by all nations? Are there no *finesses* in the language of that poetical patriarch which a stranger cannot feel? Have Sophocles, Eschylus, Virgil, Horace, none of these?—or the inspired strains of the Hebrews, although they had no academy? Certainly it appears to us, that a residence of a year or two in any country, with a good will to learn its dialect, must do more to let us into these mysteries, than twice the time employed among dead authors. Neither do we conceive the French language to be so much more atticised than that of Athens, that its beauties and *finesses* are inscrutable to all whose first breath was not drawn in the atmosphere of Paris.

Upon those principles relating to imagination, taste and language, the heartlessness of French poetry, and its want of originality, sublimity, invention, force, are easily explained. Twenty-seven millions of men could not be found in Europe, who, in proportion to the antiquity and the degree of their civilization, have produced so small a number of poets,—and whose poets have received so small a share of inspiration. Be-

fore Corneille, very few had given proof of strong and true genius, or have left any durable and still admired monuments of their art: while, long before that period, we had poets in Britain, one of whom never was equalled, and many have not yet been excelled.

It is owing to these circumstances, we believe, and is a new proof of the truth with which they are alleged, that great poetical genius has indicated itself both among the *uneducated* and among the *very young*, much more frequently in England than in the neighbouring country. The inspiration with us is too strong to be repressed by the want of due utterance—or, rather, the utterance which is prompted from such a source, has always commanded *our* admiration. *There*, it would seem, that, to please academies, one must have studied in academies—and that no knowledge of the heart could atone for the want of familiarity with the tone of good company. They have, indeed, one, *La Grand Chancel*, who is famous for having written some trash called a comedy, at nine years of age—and one carpenter, *Adam Billaut*, who wrote vulgar verses, with some applause, in the time of Louis XIV. But what are these to our instances of Cowley, Pope, Chatterton, and Kirke White, for precocity—or SHAKESPEARE himself, Burns, Hogg, or Bloomfield, for genius, in the humblest condition? The progress of refinement with us has been so far from either repressing the feelings of the peasant, or making the polite fastidious, that it has produced just the opposite effects—as, in truth, it ought always to do.

The remarks which we have made apply to the French poetry of the two last centuries—to the only poetry, in short, which the French themselves now read, or call upon others to admire. Yet, it would be unjust not to acknowledge, that it was to them that all Europe was indebted for its first poetical impulse—and that the *romantic* literature which distinguishes the genius of modern Europe from that of classical antiquity, originated with the *Trouvours* and *Conteurs*—the *Jongleurs* and *Menestrels* of Provence.

We cannot stop now to give any history of this gay science—which proceeded with such brilliant success, that a regular academy was established for its cultivation in Toulouse, before the end of the 12th century, and its spirit transmitted, almost at the same time, into all the kingdoms of Europe. Sarmiento* has indeed attempted to show, that this new kind of poetry,

* *Memorias para la Historia de la Poesia Espagnola.* Madrid, 1775.

having been introduced into Spain by the Moors, first passed through Catalonia into Provence, where, meeting no doubt with singular success, it soon spread over all France, and afterwards returned by way of Toulouse to Barcelona—and thence to Andalusia, where it had begun. We do not think, however, that there is any evidence of this Moorish origin, sufficient to impeach the originality of the Provençal poets—and, though it is not less true than remarkable, that, so early as the 12th century, the *Romançero General*, and other collections, exhibit an incredible quantity of Spanish poems of the new school, yet the very name of *La Gaia Ciencia*, by which it is there distinguished, seems sufficiently to attest its origin—and it is recorded by Sarmiento himself, that the King of Arragon, in the 14th century, procured from the King of France two professors of poetry from Toulouse, who were settled at Barcelona for the better encouragement of the poetical art, at that time considered of such national importance.

It would be useless, for any purpose we have now in view, to trace the progress or decline, whichever it may be called, of French poetry, from the age of the Troubadours down to that of Corneille and Racine, with whom it is supposed to have attained its perfection. It seems to have been in the reign of Louis XII., when Octavien de St Gelais translated the *Odyssey* and the *Epistles* of Ovid, that it took a decided turn towards classical themes and models; and in the time of Henry II., Jodelle obtained such honour for his tragedies in the taste of the ancients, that he was hailed as a second *Æschylus*, and presented, in the true style of academic pedantry, with a goat and garlands! The reign of Henri IV. seems to have been the most prolific of French poetry. It was then that Du Bartas published his poem on the Creation, entitled ‘*La Premiere Semaine*,’ which, it is said, went through thirty editions in six years,—though no one, we suppose, has had courage to read it through for the last century. Then also flourished the most fertile of all the French poets, Hardy, who is said to have written not less than six hundred plays. We do not pretend to know much about them: But we find Lacroix, in the true spirit of his nation, congratulating them upon the fact, which we certainly do not question, that Hardy never reached any of the fine flights of Shakespeare,—since such an elevation, he observes, with his great popularity, might have prevented the French drama from asserting its present glorious analogy to that of Greece! Malherbe, who follows close on this era, brings us down at once to Racan, Meunier, and Voiture, who were the immediate precursors of Corneille.

Corneille was undoubtedly a great and original genius; and, in what we have ventured to say of the general want of nature and of genuine and varied passion in French poetry, we must not be understood as wishing to deal unjustly either by him or his illustrious successors. They were men of taste and talent unquestionably; and fine and accomplished writers in the best sense of the words; and, though we can never allow them to be beings of the same order with the great master-spirits of our own land, or fit to be set in comparison with our Shakespeares, our Miltons, our Spensers, or even our Drydens, we readily admit, that they would be bright ornaments in the literature of any country, and that they fully rival, and even outshine, some of the greatest lights of our own. The peculiarities of their notions of dramatic excellence form too large a theme to be entered upon here; we may probably take it up separately on some future occasion; but, at present, we shall merely say, that the plays of Corneille, Racine and Voltaire, are decidedly superior to any English plays that have been written in imitation of them. Boileau, we think, is at least equal to Pope in his satires, his criticisms, his imitations of the polite writers of antiquity, and the graces and pregnant brevity of his style. He was also the master and model of Pope in all these particulars; and is therefore entitled to be considered as his superior. But he could not have written the epistle of Eloisa to Abelard—nor the grander passages in the Essay on Man—nor have made such a splendid and lofty poem as Pope has of the translation of the Iliad. The task of rivalling, and perhaps excelling, that great undertaking, was reserved for De Lille. We have nothing to set against La Fontaine, the most *unique*; and, with the exception perhaps of Moliere, the most original, of all French poets. Nor can we honestly pretend to find, in the lighter pieces of Prior, Pope and Swift, any adequate counterpart to that great treasure of light and graceful poetry, *poésies légères*, which is to be found in Chaulieu, Gresset, Gentil Bernard, Dorat, Bouffler, Parny, and the more careless productions of Voltaire. In short, we are not much disposed to deny, that the French poets of Louis XIV. are fully equal to the English poets of Queen Anne. But that was by no means the golden age of our poetry; on the contrary, we have always maintained, that the turn it then took to the French models was an aberration from its natural course of advancement, and, in reality, a deprivation of its purity, produced by the temporary ascendancy of the foreign taste of the Court after the Restoration. It was the occasion, however, of adding an additional province to the domain of English talent. But in less than a century, this comparatively narrow district was completely occupied and explored; and, after

having carried that sort of excellence which depends on purity of diction and precision and fineness of thought, to the limited height which it is ever destined to attain, the aspiring and progressive Genius of our poetry fell back upon its native models of the 17th century,—where alone it could find a boundless field of adventure, and an inexhaustible harvest of glory. In France, when the same narrow limits had once been reached, in the days of Racine and Voltaire, they had no richer or sweeter models to fall back upon—no perennial springs of melodious passion and fancy in their earlier poets, to which they might recur, when the schoolboy task of classical imitation was done: But finding themselves at once at the end of their career, they had nothing for it but to declare that they had attained perfection! and that their only remaining care must be to degenerate as little as possible from the unprecedented elevation they had gained!

In this condition, accordingly, their poetry remained for the better part of a century—stationary at the best, even in the hands of Voltaire, and, since his death, confessedly declining or extinct—and fated, according to the universal creed of the nation, never, by any possibility, to advance beyond the bounds which had been assigned to it by the wits and critics of Louis XIV. The mighty agitation produced by the Revolution—the passions it set loose—the premium which it seemed to set upon talents of all descriptions—and the vast additional numbers to whom it opened the career of ambition, might have been expected to break this ‘numbing spell’ upon the genius of the nation, and to have excited its poets to new topics and new flights of inspiration. Unfortunately, however, no such effect has followed. The atrocious days of the Revolution were too full of suffering and terror to allow much scope to the pleasing emotions which form the springs and the food of poetry—and, under Bonaparté, the active duties of war engrossed all the aspiring talent of the country; while the sternness of his military sway repressed all those noble and enthusiastic feelings with which the Muse might otherwise have pursued the triumphs of a free people. It is chiefly since his downfall—since the restoration of peace has forced ambitious and ardent spirits into other contentions than those of arms, and the divided state of public opinion has given exaggerated sentiments a power of inflammation that they never before possessed, that poetry has again become an object of national attention, and regained a part of its fire at least, if not of its elegance, in being made subservient to the views of contending factions.

It is chiefly in the form of dramatic pieces that the new race

of poets make their appeal to the feelings or prejudices of the public—and that for very obvious reasons. The stage, indeed, has always been the favourite haunt of the French Muse—partly, perhaps, because she was conscious that the strains she inspired required all the aid of scenic pomp, graceful declamation, and the concentrated enthusiasm of assembled multitudes—but chiefly, we believe, because no French author who can possibly obtain it, will ever forego the delight of hearing himself declaimed before a crowded audience, and inhaling, in his own proper person, the intoxicating vapours of his glory, warm as they rise from the hearts and voices of his admirers. In the present situation of the country, however, there are strong additional reasons for this predilection. At Paris, the stage has always been the mouthpiece of popular feeling—and every allusion, however faint or remote, to passing events, or discussions of national importance, is seized upon with a furious vehemence, and made the oracle of opinion. Nay, this is often done without any wish or purpose in the author; and applications are made, and allusions fastened upon him by his hearers, which never entered into his imagination. In a recent instance (at the representation of the *Vêpres Siciliennes* of M. Delavigne), a single phrase, which the author solemnly protested to have been purely casual, was in this manner interpreted into a political insinuation, and at once raised him and his play to a height of glory which they could never otherwise have reached. It is not often, however, that the authors are thus innocent of the factions into the service of which their writings are pressed:—on the contrary, it is to this ready and perilous course of popularity that the greater part of them direct the whole force of their talents. Sharing, as he generally does, in no common degree, in the violent heats and exasperations by which their country is now unhappily divided, the Poet naturally takes a more exaggerated, or, it may be, a more exalted view of them. A passion for independence, love of country, and hatred of foreign influence, are the consequent topics of his verses. Politics, in short, have now usurped the place once occupied by Love, and, like that tender passion, appear *en première ligne*:—though with infinitely more hazard of leading to pernicious effects. It is right that patriotic principles should be inculcated from the stage; but when the theatre is made a forum for the display of national antipathies, it is degraded from its most noble purposes. Yet such appears its chief use at present. ‘To improve our virtuous sensibility’—Blair’s happy definition of the object of tragedy—is no longer the aim of the French stage. The old system and the old pieces are, comparatively speaking, thrown

aside. Subjects chosen from ancient history are now altogether abandoned; * and the example of their best authors is in this respect disregarded. Corneille and Racine both rejected their national history; and even Voltaire cannot be said to have written a national tragedy; for though French names are to be found in *Adelaide du Guesclin* and *Zaire*, all beyond them is fabulous. La Harpe and Ducis followed the ancient models; and it was left to a far inferior person to make the first experiment of the style, which has now superseded every other. The incoherent and complicated plots and inelegant style of Dubelloy, were pardoned for the sake of the patriotic feeling excited by *The Siege of Calais* and *Gaston de Bayard*. The progress of discontent opened the way still wider for the advancement of this national style; and the name of Country, so full of inspiration at all times, but most in the days of contention for national rights, was once more destined to exercise its magical influence in France. It is not, however, our intention to discuss either the dramatic or the political merits of the tragedies to which we have alluded, but rather to give our readers a general notion of the present state of Poetry among our neighbours—abstracted as far as possible both from the peculiarities of their dramatic system, and the perturbations of their political dissensions.

* Sylla and Regulus, two recent tragedies, may seem exceptions to this rule. But even these pieces come, in some measure, within it; for their object—at least the audience will have it so—is merely to represent the late Emperor under two remarkable aspects—his abdication and his banishment. In Sylla, Talma carries the resemblance even to his wig! and the effect is prodigious! It is a fact, scarcely credible, that the Government ordered this performer, after the first night's representation, to abstain from the action of carrying his hands behind his back, an occasional habit of the late Emperor! A more rational, or at least less ludicrous consideration, induced the Censors to suppress the following passages, in the part of Sylla.

‘ C’était trop peu pour moi des lauriers de la guerre,
Je voulais une gloire et plus rare et plus chère;
Rome, en proie aux fureurs des partis triomphans,
Mourante sous les coups de ses propres enfans,
Invoquait à la fois mon bras et mon génie;
Je me fis Dictateur : Je sauvai la patrie. ’

* * * *

‘ J’ai gouverné le monde à mes ordres soumis,
Et j’impose silence à tous mes ennemis;
Leur haine ne saurait atteindre ma mémoire
J’ai mis entre eux et moi l’abîme de ma gloire. ’

Upon this principle, we have selected the three works named at the head of this article, as the representatives of the different modifications of that genus to which they all belong. It might not, perhaps, be altogether fanciful to consider them also as epitomes of the three great political sects, into which France is now divided; and which, at this moment, extend their influence, and give their tone and colouring to every branch of literature and science. The Aristocratical, the Constitutional, the Republican, have their followers alike in metaphysics and morals, medicine and mechanics, philosophy and poetry. The pervading spirit of all is *party* spirit; and the common object, political purpose. The fierceness of opinion on the relative merits of the candidates for literary fame, in whatever walk they may choose, is only equalled by its obstinacy; and it is but in the three cases of extraordinary merit which we have selected, that merit has been universally felt and acknowledged. All parties allow the elevation of De Lamartine, the energy of Delavigne, the gaiety and wit of Beranger. The first may be considered as the poetical representative of the high Aristocracy—the Church-and-State class—the Throne-and-Altar set—the *Ultras* in fact. The second is looked on as the oracle of independence—the champion of nationality—the bard of the *Liberals*;—and the third is by every one regarded as the poet of the *People*. In all these nominations, the first is the only one which is perhaps arbitrary and gratuitous on the part of the public. For certainly we can discover nothing in M. de Lamartine's writings in sympathy with the exaggerated tone of the party that has identified him with themselves. But his rivals in popularity bear the impress, in every line, of the fitness of their respective allotments.

The 'Méditations poétiques' consist of about twenty short pieces, the reflections of the poet on various subjects of metaphysical discussion. The general character of these effusions is a pious melancholy; and they are evidently emanations from a mind deeply imbued with religious enthusiasm, the most elevated and overflowing fount of poetry. But his enthusiasm, though often running into excess, is always free from violence or fury; and resembles more the solemn tone of feeling, which prompted the Choruses of *Athalie* and *Esther*—those streams of purest piety pouring itself forth in verse---than the turbid inspiration which found utterance in the ravings of *Le Brun*. But the leading distinction of M. De Lamartine's poetry in France is the boldness of its versification, which has not a little startled the worshippers of the old school, and has never before been tolerated to so great an extent. There is a frequent and

happy incorrectness in the arrangement of his rhymes; and in place of the lucid insipidity, which characterizes the poetry of his country, that which he has given us, is tinged with the vague intensity, so effective in this kind of composition, when (to use the expression of a French writer) it makes itself felt as the soul, and not as the body, of the verse.

We place high also on the list of M. De Lamartine's merits, what his countrymen would certainly call a fault, if they had sufficient candour to acknowledge it at all—his ample borrowings from English writers. We have no objection to see the poetry of France enriched by imitations of British writers, nor even by the occasional naturalization of their thoughts. Original ideas can never lose their allegiance to their native soil, any more than their authors, by a forced or voluntary expatriation. The first will be always the legitimate subjects of our literature, as the latter of our government; and there never will be wanting critics or consuls to claim both the one and the other. M. De Lamartine may therefore draw as freely upon our poets, as both he and all the writers of his country have done upon those of antiquity, without any risk of a protest, on our parts at least. On the general point of borrowing—that badge of all his tribe—we have a well-known latitude of opinion. All good poets we hold to have been great imitators; and their practice is sufficient to excuse the little and the indifferent also. To the latter classes, M. De Lamartine does not certainly belong; and we hope to see him arrive to such a station, as will entitle him to be ranked among the first. We think him unquestionably the best of living French poets; and that our readers may be enabled to judge of the value of that praise, we shall now select a few examples from what appear to us the best of the pieces before us. The following is part of the fourth *Méditation*, entitled 'L'Immortalité,' which is perhaps the most sustained, if not the most striking, of any.

Le soleil de nos jours pâlit dès son aurore,
 Sur nos fronts languissants à peine il jette encore,
 Quelques rayons tremblants qui combattent la nuit;
 L'ombre croit, le jour meurt, tout s'efface et tout fuit!

Qu'un autre à cet aspect frissonne ou s'attendrisse,
 Qu'il recule en tremblant des bords du précipice,
 Qu'il ne puisse de loin entendre sans frémir
 Le triste chant des morts tout prêt à retentir,
 Les soupirs étouffés d'une amante ou d'un frère
 Suspendus sur les bords de son lit funéraire,
 Ou l'airain gémissant dont les sons éperdus
 Annoncent aux mortels qu'un malheureux n'est plus!

Souvent, tu t'en souviens; dans cet heureux séjour

Où naquit d'un regard notre immortel amour,
 Tantôt sur les sommets de ces rochers antiques,
 Tantôt aux bords déserts des lacs mélancoliques,
 Sur l'aile du desir, loin du monde emportés,
 Je plongeais avec toi dans ces obscurités.
 Les ombres à long plis descendant des montagnes,
 Un moment à nos yeux déroboient les campagnes ;
 Mais bientôt s'avancant sans éclat et sans bruit,
 Le chœur mystérieux des astres de la nuit,
 Nous rendant les objets voilés à notre vue,
 De ses molles lueurs revêtoit l'étendue ;
 Telle, en nos temples saints par le jour éclairés,
 Quand les rayons du soir pâlissent par degrés,
 La lampe, répandant sa pieuse lumière,
 D'un jour plus recueilli remplit le sanctuaire.'

' Ah ! si dans ces instants où l'ame fugitive
 S'élance et veut briser le sein qui la captive,
 Ce Dieu, du haut du ciel répondant à nos vœux,
 D'un trait libérateur nous eut frappés tous deux !
 Nos ames, d'un seul bond remontant vers leur source,
 Ensemble auroient franchi les mondes dans leur course,
 A travers l'infini, sur l'aile de l'amour,
 Elles auroient monté comme un rayon du jour,
 Et jusqu'à Dieu lui-même arrivant éperduës,
 Se seroient dans sons sein pour jamais confonduës !
 Ces vœux nous trompoient-ils ? au néant destinés,
 Est-ce pour le néant que les êtres sont nés ?
 Partageant le destin du corps qui la recèle,
 Dans la nuit du tombeau l'ame s'engloutit-elle ?
 Tombe-t-elle en poussière ? ou, prête à s'envoler
 Comme un son qui n'est plus, va-t-elle s'exhaler ?
 Après un vain soupir, après l'adieu suprême,
 De tout ce qui t'aimoit, n'est-il plus rien qui t'aime ? . . .
 Ah ! sur ce grand secret n'interroge qui toi !
 Vois mourir ce qui t'aime, Elvire, et réponds-moi !'

The piece called 'Souvenir' contains much of the same tenderness of this last extract. It is addressed also to his departed mistress, real or imaginary;—and we pass it by with regret, to make room for another poem, which is a still better proof of the author's force of expression, and justness of feeling.

' LA GLOIRE. *A un Poëte Exilé.*

' Généreux favoris des filles de mémoire,
 Deux sentiers differents devant vous vont s'ouvrir :
 L'un conduit au Bonheur, l'autre mène à la Gloire ;
 Mortels, il faut choisir.

Ton sort, ô Manoel ! * suivit la loi commune ;
 La muse t'énivra de précoces faveurs ;
 Tes jours furent tissus de gloire et d'infortuné,
 Et tu verses des pleurs !

Rougis plutôt, rougis d'envier au vulgaire
 Le stérile repos dont son cœur est jaloux :
 Les Dieux ont fait pour lui tous les biens de la terre,
 Mais la lyre est à nous.

Les siècles sont à toi, le monde est ta patrie.
 Quand nous ne sommes plus, notre ombre à des autels,
 Où le juste avenir prépare à ton génie
 Des honneurs immortels.

Ainsi l'aigle superbe au séjour du tonnerre
 S'élance ; et soutenant son vol audacieux,
 Semble dire aux mortels : Je suis né sur la terre,
 Mais je vis dans les cieux.

Oui, la gloire t'attend ; mais arrête, et contemple
 A quel prix on pénètre en ses parvis sacrés ;
 Vois : l'infortune assise à la porte du temple
 En garde les degrés.

Ici, c'est ce vieillard que l'ingrate Ionie
 A vu de mers en mers promener ses malheurs :
 Aveugle, il mendioit au prix de son génie
 Un pain mouillé de pleurs.

Là, le Tasse, brûlé d'une flamme fatale,
 Expiant dans les fers sa gloire et son amour,
 Quand il va recueillir la palme triomphale
 Descend au noir séjour.

Par-tout des malheureux, des proscrits, des victimes,
 Luttant contre le sort ou contre les bourreaux !
 On diroit que le ciel aux cœurs plus magnanimes
 Mesure plus de maux.

Impose donc silence aux plaintes de ta lyre,
 Des cœurs nés sans vertu l'infortune est l'écueil ;
 Mais toi, roi détrôné, que ton malheur t'inspire
 Un généreux orgueil !

Que t'importe après tout que cet ordre barbare
 T'enchaîne loin des bords qui furent ton berceau ?
 Que t'importe en quels lieux le destin te prépare
 Un glorieux tombeau ?

* The Poet here addressed was, with regard to his fate and misfortunes, a second Camoens. Banished for some political offence, he died in great distress a few years ago, having been a long time a pensioner on the scanty bounty of the French Government.

Ni l'exil, ni les fers de ces tyrans du Tage
 N'enchaîneront ta gloire aux bords où tu mourras :
 Lisbonne la réclame, et Voilà l'héritage
 Que tu lui laisseras !

Ceux qui l'ont méconnu pleureront le grand homme ;
 Athènes à des proscrits ouvre son Panthéon ;
 Coriolan expire, et les enfans de Rome
 Revandiquent son Nom.

Aux rivages des morts avant que de descendre,
 Ovide lève aux ciel ses suppliantes mains :
 Aux Sarmates grossiers il à légué sa cendre,
 Et sa gloire aux Romains.'

These are admirable stanzas, and unquestionably the breathings of a noble and independent spirit. In the verses entitled, 'Le Golfe de Baya,' which are throughout remarkable for the melody of their versification, we were struck by the following lines—so much in unison with those just cited.

' O de la liberté vieille et sainte patrie !
 Terre autrefois féconde en sublimes vertus !
 Sous d'indignes Césars maintenant asservie,
 Ton empire est tombé ! tes héros ne sont plus !
 Mais dans ton sein l'ame agrandie,
 Croit sur leurs monuments respirer leur génie,
 Comme on respire encore dans un temple aboli
 La Majesté du dieu dont il étoit rempli !'

Whoever reads these lines, with his thoughts turned towards the present state of Italy, will feel the truth of the expression, as well as the beauty of the verse—and wonder how the upholders of the 'ignoble Cæsars' dare claim companionship of sentiment with a poet who writes thus.

We can now but point out a few more of the 'Méditations' which we approve the most. These are, 'La Foi,' 'La Prière,' and 'La Semaine Sainte,' for their pious solemnity of feeling and expression; and 'Le Golfe de Baya,' and 'Le lac de B****,' for their harmonious tone. The Ninth Méditation, called 'L'Enthousiasme,' is forcible and good, but an evident imitation of Rousseau's Ode to the Comte de Luc—and 'Le Chretien Mourant' and 'L'Homme' are, as their titles betray, borrowed, both in name and matter, from Pope. The latter of these pieces, being addressed to Lord Byron, has acquired an extraordinary celebrity in France. We have seen a translation of it published in Paris; * and it is certainly a production of

* This translation, by Mr T. C. Grattan, appeared in the 6th Number of the Paris Monthly Review, a work lately established in that city by a Society of English gentlemen.

very great power. We think it, however, a striking instance of that excess which we stated as the occasional consequence of M. de Lamartine's *enthousiasme*. It begins thus—

‘ Toi dont le monde encore ignore le vrai nom,
Esprit mystérieux, mortel, ange ou démon.’

Now, we object strongly to this affluence of epithet; and we think that even the neutralizing encomiums which follow the censures on our illustrious countryman, are not sufficient to redeem M. De Lamartine from the character of bad taste which this calling of names stamps on him. We give, however, the concluding lines, which are certainly among the finest and most spirited of the volume.

‘ Ah ! si jamais ton luth, amolli par tes pleurs,
Soupiroit sous tes doigts l'hymne de tes douleurs,
Ou si du sein profond des ombres éternelles,
Comme un ange tombé, tu secouois tes ailes,
Et prennant vers le jour un lumineux essor,
Parmi les chœurs sacrés tu t'asseyois encor ;
Jamais, jamais l'écho de la céleste voûte,
Jamais ces harpes d'or que Dieu lui-même écoute,
Jamais des séraphins les chœurs mélodieux
De plus divins accords n'auroient ravi les cieux !
Courage ! enfant déchu d'une race divine,
Tu portes sur ton front ta superbe origine !
Tout homme, en te voyant, reconnoit dans tes yeux,
Un rayon éclipsé de la splendeur des cieux !
Roi des chants immortels, reconnois-toi-toi-même !
Laisse aux fils de la nuit le doute et le blasphème ;
Dédaigne un faux encens qu'on t'offre de si bas,
La gloire ne peut-être où la vertu n'est pas.
Viens reprendre ton rang dans ta splendeur première,
Parmi ces purs enfants de gloire et de lumière,
Que d'un souffle choisi Dieu voulut animer,
Et qu'il fit pour chanter, pour croire et pour aimer !’

But we must now pass from M. De Lamartine, to the *Elegies* of M. Delavigne; and we must enter our protest, at starting, against the affectation of their title. We are much disposed to quarrel with a title-page that requires an explanation; and the one in question is in this predicament. Our readers may recollect in ‘ *Le Voyage d'Anacharsis*,’ the *Elegies* on the Misfortunes of Messenia; and we have now to inform them, that M. Delavigne, writing on the reverses of France, has thought proper, on this hint, to adopt for his *Elegies* the title of *Messéniennes* ! He says, in a short advertisement, ‘ J’ai cru pouvoir emprunter à Barthélemy le titre de Messéniennes, pour
‘ qualifier un genre de poésies nationales qu’on n’a pas encore

‘essayé d’introduire dans notre littérature.’ Now, there can be certainly no reasonable objection to Mr Delavigny’s chaunting the unsuccessful battles of his country, any more than to Tyrteus, or Callinus, or any other poet ancient or modern. But as to the title, we consider *it* about as fitting to the subject, as if an English writer had given to an ode on the Victory of Trafalgar, the name of ‘Athenian,’ because the Athenians of old composed war-hymns to celebrate the triumphs of Platea or Salamis. We must not, however, dispute with M. Delavigne on the threshold of our acquaintancce, particularly on a mere point of taste—a matter so arbitrary and undefined. We prefer, rather, to let him prove in his own words, how little cause of quarrel we have with him on other grounds.

This author, with much poetical power and an abundant stock of enthusiasm, is in style, sentiment, and feeling, an absolute contrast to his rival, whose work we have been discussing. The inspiration which the one has found in piety, the other has drawn from patriotism. Love of country and hatred of foreigners have naturally led to extravagant bursts in the Elegies of Delavigne, which are as false in point of fact, as they are fine in point of poetry. But the great proportion of these writings are energetic effusions of a youthful and passionate sensibility, which, pouring like a torrent from a brain filled with aspirations after freedom, and hatred of slavery, may be easily pardoned if they sometimes overflow their proper bounds.

The first Elegy ‘on the Battle of Waterloo,’ open thus :

‘ Ils ne sont plus ! laissez en paix leur cendre !

Par d’injustes clameurs ces braves outragés

A se justifier n’ont pas voulu descendre ;

Mais un seul jour les a vengés :

Ils sont tous *morts* pour vous défendre !

Que dis-je ? Quel Français n’a repandu des larmes

Sur nos défenseurs expirants ?

Prêt à revoir les rois qu’il regretta vingt ans,

Quel vieillard n’a rougi du malheur de nos armes ?

En pleurant ces guerriers par le destin trahis,

Quel vieillard n’a senti s’éveiller dans son ame

Quelque reste assoupi de cette antique flamme

Qui l’embrasait pour son pays !

. Cachez-moi ces soldats sous le nombre accablés,

Domptés par la fatigue, écrasés par la foudre,

Ces membres palpitants dispersés sur la poudre,

Ces cadavres amoncelés !

Eloignez de mes yeux ce monument funeste

De la fureur des nations :

O mort ! épargne ce qui reste.
Varus ! rends-nous nos légions !

Les coursiers frappés d'épouvante,
Les chefs et les soldats épars,
Nos aigles et nos étendards
Souillés d'une fange sanglante,
Insultés par les léopards,
Les blessés mourant sur les chars !—

Tout se presse sans ordre, et la foule incertaine,
Qui se tourmente en vains efforts,
S'agite, se heurte, se traîne,
Et laisse après soi dans la plaine,
Du sang, des débris et des morts.

Parmi des tourbillons de flamme et de fumée,
O douleur ! quel spectacle à mes yeux vient s'offrir ?
Le bataillon sacré, seul devant une armée,

S'arrête pour mourir !

C'est en vain que, surpris d'une vertu si rare,
Les vainqueurs dans leurs mains retiennent le trépas ;
Fier de le conquérir, il y court, s'en empare ;
LA GARDE, avait-il dit, MEURT—ET NE SE REND PAS.

On dit qu'en les voyant couchés sur la poussière,
D'un respect douloureux frappé par tant d'exploits,
L'ennemi, l'œil fixé sur leur face guerrière,
Les regarda sans peur pour la première fois !

The whole of what we have here cited is spirited and heart-stirring poetry; and its being in a great measure fabulous, does not rob it of its claim to delight us as such. The reader of the assertion in these lines, that 'the guards stood *alone* before an army,' must not look to history for its confirmation. The memorable piece of quackery, marked in our extract, as in the original, in capitals, has been notoriously contradicted by General Cambrone, to whom, on its invention, it was attributed;—and as for the last quatrain, it is one of those harmless '*on dits*' that are very pardonable in a beaten foe. But Mr Delavigne is much less to be excused, though still with every allowance for his feelings on the occasion, when he wanders yet wider from the facts, in his elegy '*sur la dévastation du musée et des monuments.*' Any thing but a breach of veracity was to be looked for in this poem, considering its commencement.

' *La sainte vérité qui m'échauffe et m'inspire,
Ecarte et foule aux pieds les voiles impostures :
Ma muse de nos maux flétrira les auteurs,
Dussé-je voir briser ma lyre
Par le glaive insolent de nos libérateurs.* '

The author immediately proceeds to give the following commentary on this text, inspired by 'holy Truth.'

‘Où vont ces chars pesants conduits par leurs cohortes ?

Sous les voûtes du Louvre ils marchent à pas lents :

Ils s'arrêtent devant ses portes ;

Viennent-ils lui ravir ses sacrés ornements ?

Muses, penchez vos têtes abattues :

Du siècle de Léon les chefs-d'œuvre divins

Sous un ciel sans clarté suivront les froids Germains ;

Les vaisseaux d'Albion attendent nos statues.

Des profanateurs inhumains

Vont-ils anéantir tant de veilles savantes ?

Porteront-ils le fer sur les toiles vivantes,

Que Raphaël anima de ses mains ?

Dieu du jour, Dieu des vers, *ils brisent ton image.*

C'en est fait : la victoire et la divinité

Ne couronnent plus ton visage

D'une double immortalité.

C'en est fait :—

- - - - -

Je crois entendre encor les clameurs des soldats

Entraînant la jeune immortelle : *

Le fer a mutilé ses membres délicats ;

Hélas ! elle semblait, et plus chaste et plus belle,

Cacher sa honte entre leurs bras.

- - - - -

L'étranger qui nous trompe écrase impunément

La justice et la foi sous le glaive étouffées ;

Il ternit pour jamais sa splendeur d'un moment.

Il triomphe en barbare et brise nos trophées :

Que cet orgueil est misérable et vain !

Croit-il anéantir tous nos titres de gloire ?

On peut les effacer sur le marbre ou l'airain ;

Qui les effacera du livre de l'histoire ?

Ah ! tant que le soleil luira sur vos états

Il en doit éclairer d'impérissables marques.

Comment disparaîtront, ô superbes monarques,

Ces champs où les lauriers croissaient pour nos soldats ?

Allez, détruisez donc tant de cités royales

Dont les clefs d'or suivaient nos pompes triomphales ;

Comblez ces fleuves écumanants

Qui nous ont opposé d'impuissantes barrières ;

Applanissez ces monts dont les rochers fumants

Tremblaient sous nos foudres guerrières.

* The Venus de Medicis.

Voilà nos monuments : c'est là que nos exploits
 Redoutent peu l'orgueil d'une injuste victoire :
 Le fer, le feu, le temps plus puissant que les rois
 Ne peut rien contre leur mémoire.

The fine burst of poetry by which these passages are closed, has the fullest extent of our admiration ; while we reprobate strongly the slanders that disgrace the other parts. We find it easier to forgive the plagiarisms of the last two lines, than the libels of those which precede them ; inasmuch as the fame of Ovid and Horace is somewhat more secure than that of Wellington or Blücher : But it is not necessary that we should fill our pages with a refutation of those ' *exagérations poétiques*' so lavishly poured forth by M. Delavigne. We go hand in hand with this gifted author and his muse in their detestation of tyranny. We can even blush for the chieftain who wantonly compromised the character of his country, and fed the flame of national animosity which it was his duty to allay, by volunteering his army as the instrument of an act, which, be its justice what it might, was certainly out of the line of *English* interference. But we cannot forget, that England, on *that* memorable day, maintained a noble attitude of disinterestedness and justice, and that the spirit of spoliation which spared the pictures and statues, only that it might fall on men and nations, was, at the best, but the impulse of the British government, and not the principle of the British people.

We here take leave of M. Delavigne, having done enough, we hope, to extend in this country the reputation he has earned in his own ; and we now turn from the measured march of dignity and feeling to the light and graceful movements of gaiety and wit.

De Beranger has had one advantage for his fame, not yet accorded to Delavigne or Delamartine. He has been prosecuted, persecuted, and prohibited. Need we say that he is, even beyond the others, popular ? Thousands of copies of his ' *Chansons*' were bought up in a few weeks ; and, thanks to the hankering after forbidden fruit which clings to the literary palate, a copy of these celebrated satires may still be had for either love or money. We owe ours to the first of these powerful agents ; and we hasten, without any comment on the author, to give some specimens of the piquant morsels which he has catered for the public taste.

LES REVERENDS PERES.

(*Décembre 1819.*)

Hommes noirs, d'où sortez-vous ?
 Nous sortons de dessous terre.

Moitié renards, moitié loups,
 Notre règle est un mystère.
 Nous sommes fils de Loyola ;
 Vous savez pourquoi l'on nous exila.
 Nous rentrons ; songez à vous taire,
 Et que vos enfans suivent nos leçons.
 C'est nous qui fessons
 Et qui refessons
 Les jolis petits, les jolis garçons.
 Un pape nous abolit :
 Il mourut dans les coliques.
 Un pape nous rétablit,
 Nous en ferons des reliques.
 Confessons pour être absolus :
 Henri IV. est mort—qu'on n'en parle plus.
 Vivent les rois bon Catholiques !
 Pour Ferdinand VII. nous nous prononçons.
 Et puis nous fessons, &c. &c. &c.
 Si tout ne changeait dans peu,
 Si l'on croyait la canaille,
 La charte serai de feu,
 Et le monarque de paille.
 Nous avons le secret d'en haut.
 La charte de paille est ce qu'il nous faut.
 C'est litière pour la prêtraille :
 Elle aura la dîme et nous les moissons.
 Et puis, &c. &c.
 Du fond d'un certain palais,
 Nous dirigeons nos attaques.
 Les moines sont nos valets :
 On a refait leurs casaques.
 Les missionnaires sont tous
 Commis voyageurs, trafiquant pour nous.
 Les capucins sont nos Cosaques :
 A prendre Paris nous les exerçons.
 Et puis, &c.

REQUETE.

Présentée par les chiens de qualité, pour obtenir qu'on leur rende
 l'entrée libre au Jardin des Tuileries.

(Juin 1814.)

Puisque le tyran est à bas
 Laissez-nous prendre nos ebats. } bis.
 Aux maîtres des cérémonies
 Plaise ordonner que, dès demain,
 Entrent sans laisse aux Tuileries
 Les chiens du faubourg Saint Germain.
 Puisque, &c.

Des chiens dont le pavé se couvre
 Distinguez-nous à nos colliers.
 On sent que les honneurs du Louvre
 Iraient mal à ces roturiers.—Puisque, &c.

Quoique toujours, sous son empire,
 L'usurpateur nous ait chassés,
 Nous avons laissé, sans mot dire,
 Aboyer tous les gens pressés.—Puisque, &c.

Quand sur son regne on prend des notes,
 Grace pour quelques chiens félons !
 Tel qui long-temps lécha ses bottes,
 Lui mord aujourd'hui les talons.—Puisque, &c.

Nous promettons, pour cette grace,
 Tous, hors quelques barbets honteux,
 De sauter pour les gens en place,
 De courir sur les malheureux.—Puisque, &c.

We find, however, that we have already trespassed beyond the limits which we had assigned to ourselves, and can afford to transcribe no more of M. De Beranger's lighter productions. We must, therefore, refer to his two volumes of songs for upwards of a hundred compositions, the greater part of infinite wit; but in justice to his powers of poetry, apart from burlesque, we cannot resist extracting the following stanzas from the piece entitled 'Le Dieu des bonnes Gens.'

' Dans ma retraite, où l'on voit l'indigence,
 Sans m'éveiller, assise à mon chevet,
 Grace aux amours, bercé par l'espérance,
 D'un lit plus doux je rêve le duvet.
 Aux dieux des Cours qu'un autre sacrifie !
 Moi, qui ne crois qu'à des dieux indulgens,
 Le Verre en main, gaîment je me confie
 Au Dieu des bonnes Gens.

Un Conquérant, dans sa fortune altière,
 Se fit un jeu des sceptres et des lois ;
 Et de ses pieds on peut voir la poussière,
 Empreinte encore sur le bandeau des rois.
 Vous rampiez tous, ô rois qu'on déifie !
 Moi, pour braver des maîtres exigeans
 Le verre en main, gaîment je me confie
 Au Dieu des bonnes Gens.'

With these stanzas—on the last of which we would, had he never written another, rest the claims of M. De Beranger to
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the character of a poet—we close our extracts from the living French poets. Having given these brilliant exceptions to a general sentence of condemnation, we must say, in conclusion, that modern French poetry is at a low ebb. Almost all its existing professors give their whole attention to tragedy. Seeking subjects in the ancient annals of their country, they address themselves to political passions, rather than to the heart. Bursts of pompous patriotism, and violent tirades against foreign influence, form the grand staple of their verse. The audience receives this with rapture—but seldom has recourse to its handkerchiefs. Fierce clappings and terrible huzzas are the only fashionable acknowledgments of the author's powers, who, in place of sympathy and tears, draws forth angry invectives and patriotic frowns. The public and the poet thus communicate reciprocal gratification, and inflict reciprocal ill. The one fosters the angry spirit of the times, the other nurtures a vital injury to poetic excellence. Taste becomes vitiated, talent misapplied, a diseased and morbid appetite calls for stimulants of the most pernicious kind; and the hand that administers them falls powerless for every nobler use. But though French poetry must be pronounced in this dangerous and degraded state, there is, as we have seen, no dearth of that spirit from which its highest flames may yet burst forth. The very errors we deplore, prove the existence of enthusiasm, vigorous feeling, and high sentiment. These are among the best attributes of poetry; and, if turned to right account, might still redeem France from much of its present debasement.

- ART. VII. 1. *An Appeal to the Legislature and Public; or, the Legality of the Eighty-Seven Questions proposed by Dr Herbert Marsh, the Bishop of Peterborough, to Candidates for Holy Orders, and for Licenses, within that Diocese, Considered.* 2d Edition. London, Seely, 1821.
2. *A Speech, delivered in the House of Lords, on Friday, June 7, 1822, by Herbert, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, on the Presentation of a Petition against his Examination Questions; with Explanatory Notes, a Supplement, and a Copy of the Questions.* London, Rivington, 1822.
3. *The Wrongs of the Clergy of the Diocese of Peterborough Stated and Illustrated.* By the Rev. T. S. GRIMSHAW, M. A. Rector of Burton, Northamptonshire; and Vicar of Biddenham, Bedfordshire. London, Seely, 1822.
4. *Episcopal Innovation: or, the Test of Modern Orthodoxy, in*

Eighty-Seven Questions, imposed, as Articles of Faith, upon Candidates for Licenses and for Holy Orders, in the Diocese of Peterborough; with a distinct Answer to each Question, and General Reflections relative to their Illegal Structure and Pernicious Tendency. London, Seely, 1820.

5. *Official Correspondence between the Right Reverend Herbert Lord Bishop of Peterborough and the Rev. John Green, respecting his Nomination to the Curacy of Blatherwycke, in the Diocese of Peterborough, and County of Northampton: Also, between His Grace Charles Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Rev. Henry William Nevile, M. A. Rector of Blatherwycke, and of Cottesmore in the County of Rutland. 1821.*

IT is a great point in any question to clear away incumbrances, and to make a naked circle about the object in dispute, so that there may be a clear view of it on every side. In pursuance of this disincumbering process, we shall first acquit the Bishop of all wrong intentions. He has a very bad opinion of the practical effects of high Calvinistic doctrines upon the common people; and he thinks it his duty to exclude those clergymen who profess them from his diocese. There is no moral wrong in this. He has accordingly devised no fewer than *eighty-seven* interrogatories, by which he thinks he can detect the smallest taint of Calvinism that may lurk in the creed of the candidate; and in this also, whatever we may think of his reasoning, we suppose his purpose to be blameless. He believes, finally, that he has legally the power so to interrogate and exclude; and in this perhaps he is not mistaken. His intentions, then, are good, and his conduct perhaps not amenable to the law. All this we admit in his favour: But against him we must maintain, that his conduct upon the points in dispute has been singularly injudicious, extremely harsh, and, in its effects, (though not in its intentions) very oppressive and vexatious to the Clergy.

We have no sort of intention to avail ourselves of an anonymous publication to say unkind, uncivil, or disrespectful things to a man of rank, learning, and character—we hope to be guilty of no such impropriety; but we cannot believe we are doing wrong in ranging ourselves on the weaker side, in the cause of propriety and justice. The Mitre protects its wearer from indignity; but it does not secure impunity.

It is a strong presumption that a man is wrong, when all his friends, whose habits naturally lead them to coincide with him,

think him wrong. If a man were to indulge in taking medicine till the apothecary, the druggist, and the physician, all called upon him to abandon his philocathartic propensities—if he were to gratify his convivial habits till the landlord demurred and the waiter shook his head,—we should naturally imagine that advice so wholly disinterested was not given before it was wanted, and that it merited some little attention and respect. Now, though the Bench of Bishops certainly love power, and love the Church, as well as the Bishop of Peterborough, yet not one defended him—not one rose to say, ‘I have done, or I would do, the same thing.’ It was impossible to be present at the last debate on this question, without perceiving that his Lordship stood alone—and this in a very gregarious profession, that habitually combines and butts against an opponent with a very extended front. If a lawyer is wounded, the rest of the profession pursue him, and put him to death. If a churchman is hurt, the others gather round for his protection, stamp with their feet, push with their horns, and demolish the dissenter who did the mischief.

The Bishop has at least done a very unusual thing in his Eighty-seven Questions. The two Archbishops, and we believe every other Bishop, and all the Irish hierarchy, admit curates into their dioceses without any such precautions. The necessity of such severe and scrupulous inquisition, in short, has been apparent to nobody but the Bishop of Peterborough; and the authorities by which he seeks to justify it, are any thing but satisfactory. His Lordship states, that forty years ago, he was himself examined by written interrogatories, and that he is not the only Bishop who has done it; but he mentions no names; and it was hardly worth while to state such extremely slight precedents for so strong a deviation from the common practice of the Church.

The Bishop who rejects a curate upon the Eighty-seven Questions, is necessarily and inevitably opposed to the Bishop who ordained him. The Bishop of Gloucester ordains a young man of twenty-three years of age, not thinking it necessary to put to him these interrogatories, or putting them perhaps, and approving of answers diametrically opposite to those that are required by the Bishop of Peterborough. The young clergyman then comes to the last mentioned Bishop; and the Bishop, after putting him to the Question, says, ‘You are unfit for a clergyman,’—though, ten days before, the Bishop of Gloucester has made him one! It is bad enough for ladies to pull caps, but still worse for Bishops to pull mitres. Nothing can be more mischievous or indecent than such scenes; and no man of common prudence, or knowledge of the world, but must see that they ought immediately

to put a stop to it. If a man is a captain in the army in one part of England, he is a captain in all. The general who commands north of the Tweed does not say, You shall never appear in my district, or exercise the functions of an officer, if you do not answer eighty-seven questions on the art of war, according to my notions. The same officer who commands a ship of the line in the Mediterranean, is considered as equal to the same office in the North Seas. The sixth commandment is suspended, by one medical diploma, from the north of England to the south. But, by this new system of interrogation, a man may be admitted into orders at Barnet, rejected at Stevenage, readmitted at Brogden, kicked out as a Calvinist at Witham Common, and hailed as an ardent Arminian on his arrival at York.

It matters nothing to say that sacred things must not be compared with profane. In their importance, we allow, they cannot; but in their order and discipline they may be so far compared as to say, that the discrepancy and contention which would be disgraceful and pernicious in worldly affairs, should, in common prudence, be avoided in the affairs of religion. Mr Greenough has made a map of England, according to its geological varieties;—blue for the chalk, green for the clay, red for the sand, and so forth. Under this system of Bishop Marsh, we must petition for the assistance of the geologist in the fabrication of an ecclesiastical map. All the Arminian districts must be purple. Green for one theological extremity—sky-blue for another—as many colours as there are Bishops—as many shades of these colours as there are Archdeacons—a tailor's pattern card—the picture of vanity, fashion and caprice!

The Bishop seems surprised at the resistance he meets with; and yet, to what purpose has he read Ecclesiastical history, if he expects to meet with any thing but the most determined opposition? Does he think that every sturdy supralapsarian bullock whom he tries to sacrifice to the Genius of Orthodoxy, will not kick, and push, and toss; that he will not, if he *can*, shake the axe from his neck, and hurl his mitred butcher into the air? His Lordship has undertaken a task of which he little knows the labour or the end. We know these men fully as well as the Bishop; he has not a chance of success against them. If one motion in Parliament will not do, they will have twenty. They will ravage, roar, and rush, till the very chaplains, and the Masters and Misses Peterborough request his Lordship to desist. He is raising up a storm in the English Church of which he has not the slightest conception; and which will end, as it ought to end, in his Lordship's disgrace and defeat.

The longer we live, the more we are convinced of the justice of

the old saying, that *an ounce of mother wit is worth a pound of Clergy*; that discretion, gentle manners, common sense, and good nature, are, in men of high ecclesiastical station, of far greater importance than the greatest skill in discriminating between sublapsarian and supralapsarian doctrines. Bishop Marsh should remember, that all men wearing the mitre work by character, as well as doctrine; that a tender regard to men's rights and feelings, a desire to avoid sacred squabbles, a fondness for quiet, and an ardent wish to make every body happy, would be of far more value to the Church of England than all his learning and vigilance of inquisition. The Irish Taxes will probably fall next Session of Parliament; the common people are regularly receding from the Church of England—baptizing, burying, and confirming for themselves. Under such circumstances, what would the worst enemy of the English Church require?—a bitter, bustling, theological Bishop, accused by his clergy of tyranny and oppression—the cause of daily petitions and daily debates in the House of Commons—the idoneous vehicle of abuse against the Establishment—a stalking horse to bad men for the introduction of revolutionary opinions, mischievous ridicule, and irreligious feelings. Such will be the advantages which Bishop Marsh will secure for the English Establishment in the ensuing Session. It is inconceivable how such a prelate shakes all the upper works of the Church, and ripens it for dissolution and decay. Six such Bishops, multiplied by eighty-seven, and working with five hundred and two questions, would fetch every thing to the ground in less than six months. But what if it pleased Divine Providence to afflict every prelate with the spirit of putting eighty-seven queries, and the two Archbishops with the spirit of putting twice as many, and the Bishop of Sodor and Man with the spirit of putting only forty-three queries?—there would then be a grand total of two thousand three hundred and thirty-five interrogations flying about the English Church; and sorely vexed would the land be with Question and Answer.

We will suppose this learned Prelate, without meanness or undue regard to his worldly interests, to feel that fair desire of rising in his profession, which any man, in any profession, may feel without disgrace. Does he forget that his character in the ministerial circles will soon become that of a violent impracticable man,—whom it is impossible to place in the highest situations,—who has been trusted with too much already, and must be trusted with no more? Ministers have something else to do with their time, and with the time of Parliament, than to waste them in debating squabbles between Bishops and their

Clergy. They naturally wish, and, on the whole, reasonably expect, that every thing should go on silently and quietly in the Church. They have no objection to a learned Bishop; but they deprecate one atom more of learning than is compatible with moderation, good sense, and the soundest discretion. It must be the grossest ignorance of the world to suppose, that the Cabinet has any pleasure in watching Calvinists.

The Bishop not only puts the questions, but he actually assigns the limits within which they are to be answered. Spaces are left in the paper of interrogations, to which limits the answer is to be confined;—two inches to original sin; an inch and a half to justification: three quarters to predestination; and to free will only a quarter of an inch. But if his Lordship gives them an inch, they will take an ell. His Lordship is himself a theological writer, and by no means remarkable for his conciseness. To deny space to his brother theologians, who are writing on the most difficult subjects, not from choice, but necessity; not for fame, but for bread; and to award rejection as the penalty of prolixity, does appear to us no slight deviation from Christian gentleness. The tyranny of calling for such short answers is very strikingly pointed out in a letter from Mr Thurtell to the Bishop of Peterborough; the style of which pleads, we think, very powerfully in favour of the writer.

‘MY LORD,

‘*Beccles, Suffolk, August 28th, 1821.*

‘I OUGHT, in the first place, to apologize for delaying so long to answer your Lordship’s letter: But the difficulty in which I was involved, by receiving another copy of your Lordship’s Questions, with positive directions to give short answers, may be sufficient to account for that delay.

‘It is my sincere desire to meet your Lordship’s wishes, and to obey your Lordship’s directions in every particular; and I would therefore immediately have returned answers, without any “restrictions or modifications,” to the Questions which your Lordship has thought fit to send me, if, in so doing, I could have discharged the obligations of my conscience, by showing what my opinions really are. But it appears to me, that the Questions proposed to me by your Lordship are so constructed as to elicit only two sets of opinions; and that by answering them in so concise a manner, I should be representing myself to your Lordship as one who believes in either of two particular creeds, to neither of which I do *really* subscribe. For instance, to answer Question I. chap. ii. in the manner your Lordship desires, I am reduced to the alternative of declaring, either that “mankind are a mass of mere corruption,” which expresses more than I intend, or of leaving room for the inference, that they

are only *partially* corrupt, which is opposed to the plainest declarations of the Homilies; such as these, "Man is ~~altogether~~ spotted and defiled" (Hom. on Nat.), "without a *spark* of goodness in him." (Serm. on Mis. of Man), &c.

' Again, by answering the Questions comprised in the chapter on "Free Will," according to your Lordship's directions, I am compelled to acknowledge either that man has such a share in the work of his own salvation as to exclude the *sole* agency of God, or that he has no share whatever; when the Homilies for Rogation Week and Whitsunday positively declare, that God is the "only Worker," or, in other words, *sole* Agent; and at the same time assign to man a certain share in the work of his own salvation. In short, I could, with your Lordship's permission, point out twenty Questions, involving doctrines of the utmost importance, which I am unable to answer, so as to convey my real sentiments, without more room for explanation than the printed sheet affords.

' In this view of the subject, therefore, and in the most deliberate exercise of my judgment, I deem it indispensable to my acting with that candour and truth with which it is my wish and duty to act, and with which I cannot but believe your Lordship desires I should act, to state my opinions in that language which expresses them most fully, plainly, and unreservedly. This I have endeavoured to do in the answers now in the possession of your Lordship. If any further explanation be required, I am most willing to give it, even to a minuteness of opinion beyond what the Articles require. At the same time, I would humbly and respectfully appeal to your Lordship's candour, *whether it is not hard to demand my decided opinion upon points which have been the themes of volumes; upon which the most pious and learned men of the Church have conscientiously differed; and upon which the Articles, in the judgment of Bishop Burnet, have pronounced no definite sentence.* To those Articles, my Lord, I have already subscribed; and I am willing again to subscribe to every one of them, "in its literal and grammatical sense," according to His Majesty's declaration prefixed to them.

' I hope, therefore, in consideration of the above statement, that your Lordship will not compel me, by the conciseness of my answers, to assent to doctrines which I do not believe, or to expose myself to inferences which do not fairly and legitimately follow from my opinions. %

' I am, my Lord &c. &c.

We are not much acquainted with the practices of courts of justice; but, if we remember right, when a man is going to be hanged, the judge lets him make his defence in his own way, without complaining of its length. We should think a Christian Bishop might be equally indulgent to a man who is going to be ruined. The answers are required to be clear, concise, and correct,—short, plain, and positive. In other words, a poor

curate, extremely agitated at the idea of losing his livelihood, is required to write with brevity and perspicuity on the following subjects—Redemption by Jesus Christ—Original Sin—Free Will—Justification—Justification in reference to its causes—Justification in reference to the time when it takes place—Everlasting Salvation—Predestination—Regeneration on the New Birth—Renovation, and the Holy Trinity. As a specimen of these questions, the answer to which is required to be so brief and clear, we shall insert the following quotation.

' Section II.—Of Justification, in reference to its cause.

- ' 1. Does not the eleventh Article declare, that we are "justified by Faith only?"
- ' 2. Does not the expression "Faith only" derive additional strength from the negative expression in the same Article "and not for our own works?"
- ' 3. Does not therefore the eleventh Article *exclude* good works from all share in the office of Justifying? Or can we so construe the term "Faith" in that Article, as to make it *include* good works?
- ' 4. Do not the twelfth and thirteenth Articles *further* exclude them, the one by asserting that good works *follow after* Justification, the other by maintaining that they *cannot precede* it?
- ' 5. Can that, which never precedes an effect, be reckoned among the *causes* of that effect?
- ' 6. Can we then, consistently with our Articles, reckon the performance of good works among the *causes* of Justification, whatever qualifying epithet be used with the term *cause*?

We entirely deny that the Calvinistical Clergy are bad members of their profession. We maintain that as many instances of good, serious, and pious men—of persons zealously interesting themselves in the temporal and spiritual welfare of their parishioners are to be found among them, as among the Clergy who put an opposite interpretation on the Articles. The Articles of Religion are older than Arminianism, *eo nomine*. The early reformers leant to Calvinism; and would, to a man, have answered the Bishop's questions in a way which would have induced him to refuse them ordination and curacies; and those who drew up the Thirty-nine Articles, if they had not prudently avoided all precise interpretation of their Creed on free will, necessity, absolute decrees, original sin, reprobation and election, would have, in all probability, given an interpretation of them like that which the Bishop considers as a disqualification for Holy Orders. Laud's Lambeth Articles were illegal, mischievous, and are generally condemned. The Irish Clergy in 1641, drew up one hundred and four articles as the creed of their church; and these are Calvinistic, and not Arminian.

They were approved and signed by Usher, and never abjured by him; though dropt as a test or qualification. Usher was promoted (even in the days of Arminianism) to Bishopricks and Archbishopricks—so little did a Calvinistic interpretation of the Articles in a man's own breast, or even an avowal of Calvinism, beyond what was required by the Articles, operate even then as a disqualification for the cure of souls, or any other office in the Church. Throughout Charles II. and William III.'s time, the best men and greatest names of the Church, not only allowed latitude in interpreting the Articles, but thought it would be wise to diminish their number, and render them more lax than they are; and be it observed, that these latitudinarians leant to Arminianism rather than to high Calvinism; and thought, consequently, that the Articles, if objectionable at all, were exposed to the censure of being 'too Calvinistic,' rather than too Arminian. How preposterous, therefore, to twist them, and the subscription to them required by law, by the machinery of a long string of explanatory questions, into a barrier against Calvinists, and to give the Arminians a monopoly in the Church!

Archbishop Wake, in 1716, after consulting all the Bishops then attending Parliament, thought it incumbent on him 'to employ the authority which the ecclesiastical laws then in force, and the custom and laws of the realm vested in him,' in taking care that 'no unworthy person might hereafter be admitted into the sacred Ministry of the Church;' and he drew up twelve recommendations to the Bishops of England, in which he earnestly exhorts them not to ordain persons of bad conduct or character, or incompetent learning; but he does not require from the candidates for Holy Orders or preferment, any explanation whatever of the Articles which they had signed.

The Correspondence of the same eminent Prelate with Professor Turretin in 1718, and with Mr Le Clerc, and the Pastors and Professors of Geneva in 1719, printed in London 1782, recommends union among Protestants, and the omission of controverted points in Confessions of Faith, as a means of obtaining that union; and a constant reference to the practice of the Church of England is made in elucidation of the charity and wisdom of such policy. Speaking of men who act upon a contrary principle he says, *O quantum potuit insana phantasia!*

These passages, we think, are conclusive evidence of the practice of the Church till 1719. For Wake was not only at the time Archbishop of Canterbury, but both in his circular recommendations to the Bishops of England, and in his correspondence with foreign Churches, was acting in the capacity of metropolitan of the Anglican Church. He, a man of prudence

and learning, publickly boasts to Protestant Europe, that his Church does *not* exact, and that he *de facto* has never avowed, and never will, his opinions on those very points upon which Bishop Marsh obliges every poor curate to be explicit, upon pain of expulsion from the Church.

It is clear then, the practice was, to exact subscription and nothing else, as the test of Orthodoxy—to that Wake is an evidence. As far as he is authority on a point of opinion, it is his conviction that this practice was wholesome, wise, and intended to preserve peace in the Church; that it would be wrong at least, if not illegal, to do otherwise; and that the observance of this forbearance is the only method of preventing schism. The Bishop of Peterborough, however, is of a different opinion; he is so thoroughly convinced of the pernicious effects of Calvinistic doctrines, that he does what no other Bishop does, or ever did do, for their exclusion. This may be either wise or injudicious, but it is at least zealous and bold; it is to encounter rebuke, and opposition from a sense of duty. It is impossible to deny this merit to his Lordship. And we have no doubt, that, in pursuance of the same theological gallantry, he is preparing a set of interrogatories for those Clergymen who are presented to benefices in his diocese. The patron will have his action of *Quare impedit*, it is true; and the Judge and Jury will decide whether the Bishop has the right of interrogation at all; and whether Calvinistical answers to his interrogatories disqualify any man from holding preferment in the Church of England. If either of these points are given against the Bishop of Peterborough, he is in honour and conscience bound to give up his examination of curates. If Calvinistic ministers are, in the estimation of the Bishops, so dangerous as curates, they are of course much more dangerous as rectors and vicars. He has as much right to examine one as the other. Why then does he pass over the greater danger, and guard against the less? Why does he not show his zeal when he would run some risque, and where the excluded person (if excluded unjustly) could appeal to the laws of his country? If his conduct is just and right, has he any thing to fear from that appeal? What should we say of a police officer who acted in all cases of petty larceny, where no opposition was made, and let off all persons guilty of felony who threatened to knock him down? If the Bishop values his own character, he is bound to do less,—or to do more. God send his choice may be right! The law, as it stands at present, certainly affords very unequal protection to rector and to curate; but if the Bishop will not act so as to improve the law, the law must be so changed as to improve the Bishop; an

action of *Quare impedit* must be given to the curate also—and then the fury of interrogation will be calmed.

We are aware that the Bishop of Peterborough, in his speech, disclaims the object of excluding the Calvinists by this system of interrogation. We shall take no other notice of his disavowal, than expressing our sincere regret that he ever made it; but the question is not at all altered by the intention of the interrogator. Whether he aims at the Calvinists only, or includes them with other heterodox respondents—the fact is, they are included in the proscription, and excluded from the Church. The practical effect of the practice being, that men are driven out of the Church who have as much right to exercise the duties of clergymen as the Bishop himself. If heterodox opinions are the great objects of the Bishop's apprehensions, he has his Ecclesiastical Courts, where regular process may bring the offender to punishment, and from whence there is an appeal to higher courts. This would be the fair thing to do. The Curate and the Bishop would be brought into the light of day, and subjected to the wholesome restraint of public opinion.

His Lordship boasts, that he has excluded only two curates. So the Emperor of Hayti boasted that he had only cut off two persons heads for disagreeable behaviour at his table. In spite of the paucity of the visitors executed, the example operated as a considerable impediment to conversation; and the intensity of the punishment was found to be a full compensation for its rarity. How many persons have been deprived of curacies which they might have enjoyed, but for the tenor of these interrogatories? How many respectable Clergymen have been deprived of the assistance of curates connected with them by blood, friendship, or doctrine, and compelled to choose persons, for no other qualification than that they could pass through the eye of the Bishop's needle? Violent measures are not to be judged of merely by the number of times they have been resorted to, but by the terror, misery, and restraint which the severity is likely to have produced.

We never met with any style so entirely clear of all redundant and vicious ornament, as that which the ecclesiastical Lord of Peterborough has adopted towards his clergy. It in fact may all be reduced to these few words—'Reverend Sir, I shall do what I please. Peterborough.'—Even in the House of Lords, he speaks what we must call very plain language. Among other things, he says, that the allegations of the petitions are *false*. Now, as every Bishop is, besides his other qualities, a gentleman; and as the word *false* is used only by laymen, who mean to hazard their lives by the expression; and

as it cannot be supposed that foul language is ever used, because it can be used with personal impunity, his Lordship must therefore be intended to mean not *false*, but *mistaken*—not a wilful deviation from truth, but an accidental and unintended departure from it.

His Lordship talks of the drudgery of wading through ten pages of answers to his eighty-seven questions. Who has occasioned this drudgery, but the person who means to be so much more active, useful, and important, than all other Bishops, by proposing questions which nobody has thought to be necessary but himself? But to be intolerably strict and harsh to a poor curate, who is trying to earn a morsel of hard bread, and then to complain of the drudgery of reading his answers, is much like knocking a man down with a bludgeon, and then abusing him for splashing you with his blood, and pestering you with his groans. It is quite monstrous, that a man who inflicts eighty-seven new questions in Theology upon his fellow-creatures, should talk of the drudgery of reading their answers.

A Curate—there is something which excites compassion in the very name of a Curate!!! How any man of Purple, Palaces, and Preferment, can let himself loose against this poor working-man of God, we are at a loss to conceive,—a learned man in an hovel, with sermons and saucepans, lexicons and bacon, Hebrew books and ragged children—good and patient—a comforter and a preacher—the first and purest pauper of the hamlet, and yet showing, that, in the midst of his worldly misery, he has the heart of a gentleman, and the spirit of a Christian, and the kindness of a pastor; and this man, though he has exercised the duties of a clergyman for twenty years—though he has the most ample testimonies of conduct from Clergymen as respectable as any Bishop—though an Archbishop add his name to the list of witnesses, is not good enough for Bishop Marsh; but is pushed out in the street, with his wife and children, and his little furniture, to surrender his honour, his faith, his conscience, and his learning—or to starve!

An obvious objection to these innovations is, that there can be no end to them. If eighty-three questions are assumed to be necessary by one Bishop, eight hundred may be considered as the minimum of interrogation by another. When once the ancient faith marks of the Church are lost sight of and despised, any misled theologian may launch out on the boundless sea of polemical vexation.

The Bishop of Peterborough is positive, that the Arminian interpretation of the Articles is the right interpretation, and that Calvinists should be excluded from it; but the country

gentlemen who are to hear these matters debated in the Lower House, are to remember, that other Bishops have written upon these points before the Bishop of Peterborough, and have arrived at conclusions diametrically opposite. When Curates are excluded because their answers are Calvinistical, a careless layman might imagine that this interpretation of the Articles had never been heard of before in the Church—that it was a gross and palpable perversion of their sense, which had been scouted by all writers on Church matters, from the day the Articles were promulgated, to this hour—that such an unheard of monster as a Calvinistical Curate had never leapt over the pale before, and been detected browsing in the sacred pastures.

The following is the testimony of Bishop Sherlock.

‘The Church has left a latitude of sense to prevent schisms and breaches upon every different opinion. It is evident the Church of England has so done in some Articles, which are most liable to the hottest disputes; which yet are penned with that temper as to be willingly subscribed by men of different apprehensions in those matters.’—*SHERLOCK’S Defence of Stillingfleet’s Unreasonableness of Separation.*

Bishop Cleaver, describing the difficulties attending so great an undertaking as the formation of a national creed, observes—

“These difficulties however do not seem to have discouraged the great leaders in this work from forming a design as wise as it was liberal, that of framing a confession, which, in the enumeration and method of its several articles should meet the approbation, and engage the consent, of the whole reformed world.

“If upon trial, it was found that a comprehension so extensive could not be reduced to practice, still as large a comprehension as could be contrived, within the narrower limits of the kingdom, became, for the same reasons which first suggested the idea, at once an object of prudence and duty, in the formation and government of the English Church.”

‘After dwelling on the means necessary to accomplish this object, the Bishop proceeds to remark—“Such evidently appears to have been the origin, and such the actual complexion of the confession comprised in the Articles of our Church; *the true scope and design of which will not, I conceive, be correctly apprehended in any other view than that of one drawn up and adjusted with an intention to comprehend the assent of all, rather than to exclude that of any who concurred in the necessity of a reformation.*

“The means of comprehension intended were, not any general ambiguity or equivocation of terms, *but a prudent forbearance in all parties not to insist on the full extent of their opinions in matters not essential or fundamental; and in all cases to wave, as much as possible, tenets which might divide, where they wish to unite.*”—*Remarks on the Design and Formation of the Articles of the Church of England, by WILLIAM Lord Bishop of Bangor. 1802.*—pp. 23-25.

“ We will finish with Bishop Horsley.

‘ It has been the fashion of late to talk about Arminianism as the system of the Church of England, and of Calvinism as something opposite to it, to which the Church is hostile. That I may not be misunderstood in what I have said, or may have occasion further to say upon this subject, I must here declare, that I use the words Arminianism and Calvinism in that restricted sense in which they are now generally taken, to denote the doctrinal part of each system, as unconnected with the principles either of Arminians or Calvinists upon Church discipline and Church government. This being premised, I assert, what I often have before asserted, and by God’s grace I will persist in the assertion to my dying day, that so far is it from the truth that the Church of England is decidedly Arminian, and hostile to Calvinism, that the truth is this, *that upon the principal points in dispute between the Arminians and the Calvinists upon all the points of doctrine characteristic of the two sects, the Church of England maintains an absolute neutrality; her Articles explicitly assert nothing but what is believed both by Arminians and by Calvinists.* The Calvinists indeed hold some opinions relative to the same points, which the Church of England has not gone the length of asserting in her Articles; but neither has she gone the length of explicitly contradicting those opinions; insomuch, that *there is nothing to hinder the Arminian and the highest supralapsarian Calvinist from walking together in the Church of England and Ireland as friends and brothers, if they both approve the discipline of the Church, and both are willing to submit to it.* Her discipline has been approved; it has been submitted to; it has been in former times most ably and zealously defended, by the highest supralapsarian Calvinists. Such was the great Usher; such was Whitgift; such were many more, burning and shining lights of our church in her early days (when first she shook off the Papal tyranny), long since gone to the resting place of the spirits of the just.—*Bishop HORSLEY’S Charges*, p. 216. —pp. 25, 26.

So that these unhappy curates are turned out of their bread for an exposition of the Articles which such men as Sherlock, Cleaver, and Horsley, think may be fairly given of their meaning. We do not quote their authority, to show that the right interpretation is decided, but that it is doubtful—that there is a balance of authorities,—that the opinion which Bishop Marsh has punished with poverty and degradation, has been considered to be legitimate, by men at least as wise and learned as himself. In fact, it is to us perfectly clear, that the Articles were originally framed to prevent the very practices which Bishop Marsh has used for their protection—they were purposely so worded, that Arminians and Calvinists could sign them without blame. They were intended to combine both these descriptions of Protestants, and were meant principally for a bulwark against the Catholics.

' Thus,' says Bishop Burnet, ' was the doctrine of the Church cast into a short and plain form; in which they took care both to establish the positive articles of religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists and enthusiasts of Germany; *avoiding the niceties of schoolmen, or the peremptoriness of the writers of controversy; leaving in matters that are more justly controvertible, a liberty to divines to follow their private opinions, without thereby disturbing the peace of the Church.*'—History of the Reformation, Book I. Part ii. p. 168, folio edition.

The next authority is that of Fuller.

' In the Convocation now sitting, wherein Alexander Nowel, Dean of St Paul's, was Prolocutor, the nine-and-thirty Articles were composed. For the main they agree with those set forth in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, though in some particulars allowing more liberty to dissenting judgments. For instance, in this King's Articles it is said, that it is to be believed that Christ went down to hell (to preach to the spirits there); which last clause is left out in these Articles, and men left to a latitude concerning the cause, time, and manner of his descent.

' Hence some have unjustly taxed the composers for too much favour extended in their large expressions, clean through the texture of these Articles, which should have tied men's consciences up closer, in more strict and particularizing propositions, *which indeed proceeded from their commendable moderation.* Children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest, because afterwards their bodies will grow up to their garments. Thus the Articles of this English Protestant church, in the infancy thereof, they thought good to draw up in general terms, foreseeing that posterity would grow up to fill the same: I mean these holy men did prudently prediscovers, that differences in judgments would unavoidably happen in the Church, *and were loath to unchurch any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion, for such petty differences, which made them pen the Articles in comprehensive words, to take in all who, differing in the branches, meet in the root of the same religion.*

' Indeed most of them had formerly been sufferers themselves, and cannot be said, in compiling these Articles (an acceptable service no doubt), to offer to God what cost them nothing, some having paid imprisonment, others exile, all losses in their estates, for this their experimental knowledge in religion, *which made them the more merciful and tender in stating those points,* seeing such who themselves have been most patient in bearing, will be most pitiful in burdening the consciences of others.'—See FULLER'S *Church History*, Book ix. p. 72, folio edit.

' But this generous and pacific spirit gives no room for the display of zeal and theological learning. The gate of admission has been left too widely open. I may as well be without power at all, if I cannot force my opinions upon other people. What was purposely left indefinite, I must make finite and ex-

clusive. Questions of contention and difference must be laid before the servants of the church, and nothing like neutrality in theological metaphysics allowed to the ministers of the gospel.' *I come not to bring peace, &c.*

The Bishop, however, seems to be quite satisfied with himself, when he states, that he has a *right to do* what he has done,—just as if a man's character with his fellow-creatures depended upon legal rights alone, and not upon a discreet exercise of those rights. A man may persevere in doing what he has a right to do, till the Chancellor shuts him up in bedlam, or till the mob pelt him as he passes. It must be presumed, that all men whom the law has invested with rights, Nature has invested with common sense to use those rights. For these reasons, children have no rights till they have gained some common sense, and old men have no rights after they lose their common sense. All men are at all times accountable to their fellow-creatures for the discreet exercise of every right they possess.

Prelates are fond of talking of *my see, my clergy, my diocese*, as if these things belonged to them, as their pigs and dogs belonged to them. They forget that the clergy, the diocese, and the Bishops themselves, all exist only for the public good; that the public are a third, and principal party in the whole concern. It is not simply the tormenting Bishop *versus* the tormented Curate, but the public against the system of tormenting: as tending to bring scandal upon religion and religious men. By the late alteration in the laws, the labourers in the vineyard are given up to the power of the inspectors of the vineyard. If he has the meanness and malice to do so, an inspector may wrong and plague to death any labourer against whom he may have conceived an antipathy. As often as such cases are detected, we believe they will meet, in either House of Parliament, with the severest reprehension. The noblemen and gentlemen of England will never allow their parish clergy to be treated with cruelty, injustice, and caprice, by men who were parish clergymen themselves yesterday, and who were trusted with power for very different purposes.

The Bishop of Peterborough complains of the insolence of the answers made to him. This is certainly not true of Mr Grimshawe, Mr Neville, or of the author of the Appeal. They have answered his Lordship with great force, great manliness, but with perfect respect. Does the Bishop expect that humble men, as learned as himself, are to be driven from their houses and homes by his new theology, and then to send him letters of thanks for the kicks and cuffs he has bestowed upon them?

Men of very small incomes, be it known to his Lordship, have very often very acute feelings: and a Curate trod on feels a pang as great as when a Bishop is refuted.

We shall now give a specimen of some answers, which, we believe, would exclude a curate from the diocese of Peterborough, and contrast these answers with the articles of the Church to which they refer. The 9th Article of the Church of England is upon Original Sin. Upon this point his Lordship puts the following question.

‘ Did the fall of Adam produce such an effect on his posterity, that mankind became thereby a mass of mere corruption, or of absolute and entire depravity? Or is the effect only such, that we are very far gone from original righteousness, and of our own nature inclined to evil? ’

The excluding Answer.

‘ The fall of Adam produced such an effect on his posterity, that mankind became thereby a mass of mere corruption, or of absolute and entire depravity. ’

The Ninth Article.

‘ Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk); but it is the fault or corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore, in every person born into the world, it deserveth God’s wrath and damnation. ’

The 9th Question, cap. 3d, on Free Will, is as follows. Is it not contrary to Scripture to say, that man has no share in the work of his salvation?

Excluding Answer.

It is quite agreeable to Scripture to say, that man has no share in the work of his own salvation. ’

Tenth Article.

‘ The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God. Wherefore, we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will. ’

On Redemption, his Lordship has the following question,

Cap. 1st, Question 1st. Did Christ die for all men, or did he die only for a chosen few?

The excluding Answer.

'Christ did not die for all men, but only for a chosen few.'

Part of Article Seventeenth.

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ unto everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour.'

Now, whether these answers are right or wrong, we do not presume to decide; but we cannot help saying, there appears to be some little colour in the language of the Articles for the errors of the respondent. It does not appear at first sight to be such a deviation from the plain, literal and grammatical sense of the Articles, as to merit rapid and ignominious ejection from the bosom of the Church.

Now we have done with the Bishop. We give him all he asks as to his legal right; and only contend, that he is acting a very indiscreet and injudicious part,—fatal to his quiet—fatal to his reputation as a man of sense,—blamed by ministers—blamed by all the Bench of Bishops,—vexatious to the clergy, and highly injurious to the Church. We mean no personal disrespect to the Bishop; we are as ignorant of him as of his victims. We should have been heartily glad if the debate in Parliament had put an end to these blameable excesses; and our only object, in meddling with the question, is to restrain the arm of Power within the limits of moderation and justice—one of the great objects which first led to the establishment of this Journal, and which, we hope, will always continue to characterize its efforts.

ART. VIII. *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent.* By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. 8vo. pp. 103. Longman, London, 1822.

THE Lake School of Poetry, we think, is now pretty nearly extinct. Coleridge, who had by far the most original

genius among its founders, has long ceased to labour for the fraternity, and gave their reputation a most unkind cut at parting, by the publication of his 'Christabell,'—which they had all been lauding, while it remained unprinted, as the crowning glory of their sect. The laurel seems to have proved mortal to the vivacious Muse of Southey—and the flame of his inspiration, after waxing wofully dim in various songs of triumph and loyalty, at last fairly went out in his hexameter Vision of Judgment. The contact of the Stamp-office appears to have had nearly as bad an effect on Mr Wordsworth. His *Peter Bell* and his *Waggoner* put his admirers, we believe, a little to their shifts; but since he has openly taken to the office of a publican, and exchanged the company of leech-gatherers for that of tax-gatherers, he has fallen into a way of writing which is equally distasteful to his old friends and his old monitors—a sort of prosy, solemn, obscure, feeble kind of mouthing,—sadly garnished with shreds of phrases from Milton and the Bible—but without nature and without passion,—and with a plentiful lack of meaning, compensated only by a large allowance of affectation and egotism. This is the taste in which a volume of Sonnets to the river Duddon is composed—and another which he calls 'Ecclesiastical Sketches,' and these precious 'Memorials of his Tour.'

The great characteristic of these works is a sort of emphatic inanity—a singular barrenness and feebleness of thought, disguised under a sententious and assuming manner and a style beyond example verbose and obscure. Most of the little pieces of which they are composed begin with the promise of some striking image or deep reflection; but end, almost invariably, in disappointment—having, most commonly, no perceptible meaning at all—or one incredibly puerile and poor—and exemplifying nothing but the very worthless art of saying ordinary things in an unintelligible way—and hiding no meaning in a kind of stern and pompous wordiness.

In one sense of the word, indeed, the book before us is highly poetical; it professes to give Memorials of a Tour; and it is all in verse—excepting about eight pages of notes, which could not well have been put in that shape. The Title-page, also, is in prose, and the Table of Contents: But the Dedication is a Sonnet, signed W. Wordsworth—dated January 1822—and beginning, 'Dear Fellow-Travellers;'—it presents nothing further that is worthy of notice. The work opens with a Sonnet, entitled, 'Fish-Women!' and seems intended to be of a gay, lively cast—the poet first supposing that the Nereids may possibly be like the Calais fish-women—'withered, grotesque, unmeasur-

ably old, and shrill and fierce in accent'—and judiciously remarking, how terrible it would be to dive and meet such tenants of the submarine caves. But his alarm is of very short duration; for he instantly says, though without assigning any reason—

' Fear it not !

' For they ' (the Nereids) ' Earth's fairest daughters *do excell* '—and therewithal cloathes them in every quality of form and voice.

Two Sonnets, each entitled Bruges, come next. It is very hard to get at the subject of either; we mean the prevailing idea which the author is desirous of embodying and showing forth to the reader in his fourteen lines. As near as we can reach it, there seems to be something floating in his mind about the antiquity of the place, and its quiet; a dull old town, with ruins and nuns. But that the reader may try his hand at the riddle, we transcribe the first sentence of the second Sonnet: frankly owning that the construction of it puzzles us almost, and the sense altogether.

' The Spirit of Antiquity, enshrined
In sumptuous Buildings, vocal in sweet Song
And Tales transmitted through the popular tongue,
And with devout solemnities entwined,
Strikes at the seat of grace within the mind :
Hence forms that slide with swan-like ease along.'

* But Mr Wordsworth seems to think this Address to Bruges very significant and valuable; for he takes care to remind us, in a note, that ' it is not the first poetical tribute which in our times has been paid to this beautiful city '—and forthwith quotes, with the praise which the Lake Poets generally give each other, whatever may be their sentiments of mutual esteem, some verses of Mr Southey commemorating the evils of the Revolution in language as violent as he once used in its praise. When we add, that this noted changeling speaks of '*Mutability* letting loose her fierce and many-headed beast,' our readers will be at no loss to fix the date of the composition.

Our author's plan has been, to write a small poem, generally a Sonnet, upon the scenes that struck him on his Tour as best adapted for poetical purposes. His strick seems to have lain through the Netherlands, to the Rhine, along that river to Switzerland, and thence into the north of Italy. It required a person of confirmed habits of singularity to pass over this ground, and hardly seize one of the most striking objects or scenes recalling the grandest recollections. Whatever all mankind would with one voice pronounce grand or interesting, he is compelled, by the deep-riveted affliction of his sect,

to pass by, in order that he may fix his keen and profound eye upon something ordinary or trifling! Upon this principle he would, of course, very fain have passed Waterloo in silence. In former times, indeed, he would have stopped to *curse* it; but now his ultra-loyalty, and his situation in the Stamp-office, require a few lines; though what their precise meaning may be, we really have not discovered. Where he does condescend to take for his subject something which all agree in deeming one of 'the world's great wonders,' he is sure to seize on the most trivial topic connected with it, or perhaps to avail himself of the occasion, to speak of something with which it has no visible connexion. Thus, in his stanzas upon the Simplon (which he is pleased to write *Semplon*), he cunningly avoids saying one word upon the subject of that wonderful pass; silent upon its natural beauties, because these are objects of universal admiration; equally silent on the works of art, because, beside being the wonder of mankind, they are one of the monuments of Buonaparte's genius. But upon a column lying in that pass he has a Sonnet, because it enables him to lecture on the great man's fall. The stanzas are of very little merit, save that their sense, such as it is, may be easily got at. Not that it at all resembles the notions of other men; for example,

' My thoughts become bright, like yon edging of pine
Black fringe to a precipice lofty and bare,
Which, as from behind the sun strikes it, *doth* shine
With threads that seem part of his own *silver* hair '—

From whence we may learn how bright a thing a black fringe is—and how blind all men without exception have been, in all ages, when they vainly likened the sun's rays to gold. It now appears that the silver sun and the golden moon ought to occupy the true poet. The Sonnet differs from the stanzas in this, that, like the colt in the fable, its meaning is hard to catch; but then it also resembles that colt in being worth little when you have caught it. As for the column, it is soundly belaboured with names, and all in order to get at Napoleon: it is 'a memento of pride overthrown'—it is 'vanity's hieroglyphic'—and then it is (whatever that may turn out to be) 'a choice trope in fortune's rhetoric.' In the same happy vein he abuses Napoleon at Boulogne, where it seems the itinerant poet was stranded. He begins in a passion; and, like most people in that frame of mind, he charges the other party with being angry.

' Why cast ye back upon the Gallic shore,
Ye furious waves! a patriotic son
Of England? '

To call the great man a tyrant, and an ambitious conqueror

only, or a Corsican, would be too like the common run of his revilers; our poet calls him all this; but he must needs have him also a *dreamer*, and a *fool*; nay, after comparing him to Caligula, he actually speaks of him as of a merry-andrew, or hired buffoon, and makes him 'shake his cap and bells!'

If his political sentiments partake of the spirit of the Morning Post, and other classical works of that refined description, we may wonder the less to find him recur to the same sources as the 'perennial fountains' of historic truth. Coming to the heights of Hockheim, near the Rhine, his lyre is awakened by a most notable anecdote, which he candidly admits to rest upon the following newspaper paragraph. 'When the Austrians took Hockheim, in one part of the engagement, they got to the brow of the hill, whence they had their first view of the Rhine. They instantly halted—not a gun was fired—not a voice heard: but they stood gazing on the River with those feelings which the events of the last fifteen years at once called up. Prince Schwartzemberg rode up to know the cause of this sudden stop; they then gave three cheers, rushed after the enemy, and drove them into the water.' We presume the *Austrian* soldiers never were in such a fit of sentiment at any other period of the monarchy: Our poet, however, takes it all as equally natural and true; and produces forthwith a Sonnet, called a '*Local Recollection*,' in which, after describing them as pausing 'with breath suspended, like a listening scout,' he exclaims—

' O Silence! thou wert Mother of a Shout
That thro' the texture of yon azure dome
Clove its glad way—a cry of harvest-home
Uttered to Heaven in ecstasy devout!'

—which indeed is about as natural in thought and expression, as the historical passage that serves for its groundwork.

A poet, to be sure, is not in ordinary cases obliged to be a very nice and curious inquirer into the accuracy of the facts on which he descants. But where the design of his work is to commemorate events, or to dwell upon the scenes connected with them,—where he unites, as Mr Wordsworth does in the work before us, the traveller with the poet, and professes to give us the memorials of what he saw and felt upon certain spots and occasions, he is necessarily held to matters of fact, as the very foundation of his '*cogitata et visa*:' They are part, and the most important part, of his plan; and if he is to fancy them, he might just as well stay at home, and just as well, or a good deal better, indite sonnets to Delia; or register, as our author used to do, the '*Moods of his own Mind*.' The Morning and

Evening Papers we have seen, furnish him with some facts in military annals; and the *lacquay de place*, it should seem, is his oracle in the fine arts. So, at least, must any one suppose, who finds him pouring forth his soul in devotion before the Supper of Leonardo da Vinci at Milan. Not that we profess to comprehend the meaning of the greater part of this very mystical sonnet; but it is plain, that he deems the picture of Leonardo to be still visible, and only 'marred by searching damps and many an envious flaw;' whereas the far more searching pencils of envious restorers are well known to have painted every part of it over once and again. However, all is one to our enchanted 'beholder,' whose heart it 'melted and thawed'—so far we follow him. But who shall unriddle what comes after? It seems the features of the Saviour.

' Erase

(At least for one rapt moment) *every trace*
Of disobedience to the primal law.

The annunciation of the dreadful truth
 Made to the Twelve, survives; the brow, the check,
 And hand reposing on the board in ruth
 Of what it utters, while the unguilty seek
 Unquestionable meanings, still bespeak
 A labour worthy of eternal youth!'

Even Mr Wordsworth seems to have thought this required the sanction of an authority, and he cites Milton.

' The hand

Sang with the voice, and this the argument.'

—But nothing can be more natural than Milton's figure, and the sense is most obvious. Our author's imitation really defies all our efforts to decipher it. We do not cavil at *un-guilty*, though it is, we believe, a new coinage from the Lake Mint; but why should the innocent be seeking for *unquestionable* meanings? And how is the hand 'in ruth of what itself utters?' Of a truth, it is a dangerous experiment in Mr Wordsworth to recall his reader's notice to Milton when he writes sonnets.

The following is the concluding stanza of an article entitled 'Processions;' and we quote it as a good specimen of that solemn unmeaningness which we have ventured to impute to the author.

' Trembling, I look upon the secret springs
 Of that licentious craving in the mind
 To act the God among external things,
 To bind, on apt suggestion, and unbind;
 And marvel not that antique Faith inclined
 To crowd the world with *metamorphosis*,
 Vouchsafed in pity or in wrath assigned:

Such insolent temptations wouldst thou miss,
 Avoid these sights ; nor brood o'er Fable's dark abyss !'

This other, entitled ' Echo on the Gemmi,' is a fair sample of the 'lame and impotent conclusions' which he loves to wrap up in words of great pretension.

' What beast of chase hath broken from the cover ?

Stern GEMMI listens to as full a cry,

As multitudinous a harmony,

As e'er did ring the heights of Latmos over, ' &c.

This, it will be admitted, is a lofty prelude, and should usher in some dread magnificence : here is the humble solution.

' A solitary Wolf-dog, ranging on

Thro' the bleak concave, wakes this wondrous chime

Of æry voices lock'd in unison,—

Faint—far off—near—deep—solemn and sublime !

So, from the body of a single deed,

A thousand ghostly fears, and haunting thoughts, proceed !'

Akin to this, is the following curious consummation of the poet's anxiety for the welfare of his family at home, during his long absence on his travels. After invoking them in a very tender manner, he can find nothing more touching to say to them, than to wonder what sort of weather they are enjoying at Grasmere !

' Oh ye, who guard and grace my Home

While in far-distant lands we roam,

Enquiring thoughts are turned to you !

Does a clear ether meet your eyes ?

Or have black vapours hid the skies

And mountains from your view ?'

All, however, is not so bad as what we have now cited—and, in justice to Mr W. we shall give the reader a specimen of what he can do when he is pleased to be plain and rational. The following sonnet is upon the scenery between Namur and Liege; and is about the best in the volume.

' What lovelier home could gentle Fancy chuse ?

Is this the Stream, whose cities, heights, and plains,

War's favourite play-ground, are with crimson stains

Familiar, as the Morn with pearly dews ?

The Morn, that now along the silver Meuse

Spreading her peaceful ensigns, calls the Swains

To tend their silent boats and ringing wains,

Or strip the bough whose mellow fruit bestrews

The ripening corn beneath it. As mine eyes

Turn from the fortified and threatening hill,

How sweet the prospect of yon watery glade,

With its grey rocks, clustering in pensive shade,

That, shaped like old monastic turrets, rise

From the smooth meadow-ground, serene and still !'

The reader of Mr Wordsworth derives much the same kind of pleasure, mingled with surprise, from this beautiful description, as he would (were such a thing possible) from looking at a fine landscape *chastely* painted by Fuseli: Yet we believe that both artists would be little disposed to forgive this preference of their more sober efforts in delineating real life, over their mysterious, and extravagant attempts to pourtray the passions. It is not, however, every scene of simple nature that can make our poet simple and intelligible. A Sonnet 'in a carriage on the banks of the Rhine,' is written in a way calculated to give one the idea of the author's senses having been affected by the beverage of the country.

' Amid *this dance of objects* sadness steals
O'er the defrauded heart—while sweeping by,
As in a fit of Thespian jollity,
Beneath her vine-leaf crown *the green Earth reels* :
Backward, in rapid evanescence, *wheels*
The venerable pageantry of Time,
Each beetling rampart—' &c. &c.

It seems he landed at Dover in November 1820; and the Sonnet to which this event gives rise, bears an obvious and most perverted allusion to the great event which then occupied the whole country and indeed every part of the world to which the news had penetrated,—the triumph over unparalleled oppression obtained by the late Queen, through the generous assistance of the people of England. What man, not blinded by the possession of a sinecure place in the Revenue department, could have seen, upon his arrival in any corner of this country, the slightest indication of popular feeling having then flagged, or of the accounts of it in the newspapers, during the preceding summer, having been exaggerated? And, above all, who that was not an agent of the foul conspiracy, just then so signally defeated, (which we presume the poet was not), or at least a mere creature of the Ministry, could venture to assert that the people had reason to feel *shame* for their recent conduct? Yet such are Mr Wordsworth's sentiments, as darkly shadowed forth in these lines.

' Where be the noisy followers of the game
Which Faction breeds? the turmoil where? that past
Thro' Europe, echoing from the Newsman's blast,
And filled our hearts with grief for England's shame?'

The reader possibly thinks the poetry and the politicks of this nearly on a level. We agree with him, and desist from further citation.

ART. IX. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London at the Visitation in July 1822.* By WILLIAM, LORD BISHOP of London. 4to. London, Rivington, 1822.

HIGH station, whether in Church or State, and the influence naturally attached to it, frequently claims for those who fill it a degree of attention, which is by no means due to their talents or their acquirements. We have no hesitation in applying this remark to the prelate, whose last Charge now lies before us; and of whom every adherent, even of his own party in the Church, will readily allow, that no man ever disappointed the expectations of his friends more entirely than he has done, since his great and rapid elevation in the Hierarchy. We allude not at present to the political doctrine by which he so memorably signalized himself, respecting the perfect conduct of reigning sovereigns, upon a late remarkable occasion; but we are referring to those professional exertions, by which he seems to have added more pages to the volume of intolerance, with less either of learning or argument to support his positions, than any, even of the weakest and most violent of his clerical associates. The reputation for abilities and scholarship which he once enjoyed, and which are supposed to have raised him in the Church, render this falling off in every thing but bigotry, a somewhat unaccountable phenomenon; and should make those who personally esteem him recollect, that a Bishop in England, as well as an Archbishop in Grenada, may be all the better for a kind hint from a secretary.

He signalized his entry upon his Episcopal functions in 1814, by a sermon at the yearly meeting of the charity schools of the metropolis, in which he lays down such *liberal* and enlightened positions as these,—that indifference to forms of faith is indifference to truth or falsehood; and, that ‘the diffusion of knowledge disjoined from religious instruction, stands in the same relation to ignorance as positive evil to the absence of good.’ In other words, that teaching children to read, and enabling them to read whatever religious books their parents may put into their hands, is a positive evil; and that it is better to leave mankind in the darkness of complete ignorance, than give them the lights of learning, unaccompanied with the dogmas and the forms of one particular establishment. This was pretty well for a beginning, and it was promulged by his Lordship *ex cathedra*, solemnly, no doubt, but somewhat nakedly—with a due portion of authority, but without any reasoning or illustration to recommend and explain it. The Doctor had be-

come a Bishop it seems, and felt it no longer necessary to prove, as he went along; he could now *declare* the law to his clergy and their flocks.

Little attention was attracted by his easy labours; and he increased in dogmatism, without working the harder to make it pass. In his charge delivered in the same year, he holds out the clergy of the Established Church, as the only 'dispensers of divine truth;' and he requires all mankind to 'approach the 'oracles of divine truth with humble docility, and that *prostration of the understanding and the will*, which are indispensable 'to proficiency in Christian instruction.'

In the charge before us, he has gone a step further, and pronounced a general anathema against knowledge, as if it were in itself an evil, and required to be always attended with antidotes. The imputation of such a sentiment to a scholar in the nineteenth century, and a man who had the reputation of sense and talents, may well excite distrust of our statement. The reader shall therefore at once have access to the passage.

'We live at one of those remarkable periods which constitute eras in the history of the world. For a series of years preceeding the French Revolution, *the diffusion of knowledge and cultivation of intellect* in France and the neighbouring countries, *exceeded in such a proportion* THE COUNTERVAILING POWERS *of religion and morality*, that all competent judges, acquainted with the state of society, agreed in opinion that some mighty convulsion was at hand. Of the disasters which followed that dreadful event, and the shock which it gave to the civil and religious institutions of the Continent, it is altogether superfluous to speak. But whilst the world was involved in confusion around us, this country, by the blessing of Providence, was not only preserved from destruction, but rose to an eminence of glory and power which it had never attained in former times. In reasoning on the causes of this difference in our favour, we are justified, I trust, in ascribing our safety to the quantity of virtue and good sense produced in the country by the free constitution of our government, the equal administration of our laws, the principles which regulate our seminaries for the education of youth, and, above all, to the prevalence of a sound, a pure, a reasonable Religion, dispensed and administered by a body of Clergy, who, from their external condition, and still more from their learning and piety, have an influence on the minds of the people, not only through the medium of their pastoral functions, but by the effect of their writings, and the estimation which they bear in the community. The immediate danger is now past: but, when we direct our attention to the systematic culture of intellect introduced in the course of a few years among all classes, we cannot but feel an anxiety lest the balance of society should suffer disturbance from this sudden increase of its momentum. In proportion as these additional energies im-

parted to the mass of the people are under the direction of good principles, they will give stability to the government, advance the cause of religion and morals, and contribute to the general advantage. But *there is no necessary connexion between knowledge and goodness*, between the possession of intellectual power, and a disposition to apply it to its proper ends.'

Now, what we complain of here is, not the absurd denial that knowledge of itself, and independent of any accompaniment, is a necessary improvement to the character, though we should have thought, that no reflecting mind could doubt of this; but the monstrous assumption, that 'the diffusion of knowledge, and cultivation of intellect,' is in itself something which requires to be *counteracted*, or, as the Bishop, in his inaccurate and bad style, calls it, *countervailed* by religious and moral instruction. He holds learning and intelligence up as bad in themselves, or at least as of evil tendency; and seems to take for granted, that they will introduce vice, unless their mischievous effects be checked by other means, which, after all, turn out, in this close and correct reasoner's view, to be nothing but other kinds of learning and intelligence. It is to no purpose for a man who has such fundamental ideas upon the subject of education, to add, that the acquisition of knowledge by the lower orders ought not to be discouraged, but only turned into right channels. All his readers must at once perceive, that he is the enemy, upon principle, of whatever informs and enlightens the poor, that is, the bulk of mankind; that he holds an ignorant generation to be far more certainly in the path of virtue and happiness than a well educated community; that if he submits to have the people taught, it is only because they are determined to have instruction, whether he will or no; and that his only hope is, to make the line of their education coincide with the interests of the political system with which he is connected.

In the self-same spirit in which he calumniates knowledge, he slanders those who are labouring to spread it. 'The enemies of religion and order' (says he), 'are so well aware of these consequences, that, while they profess an earnest desire to enlighten the people, they encourage that mode of instruction alone which instils no fixed principles of religion, no preference to any form of worship.' We do not intend here to renew the discussions upon the question of the National and the British and Foreign System, or, which is the same thing, between the Bible Society and the partisans of intolerance and exclusion. But we desire the reader to note the charity with which this Prelate ventures to stigmatize, as infidels and anarchists, every one who would give to the poor the inestimable

blessings of Christian education, without regard to particular creeds or forms of worship—teaching them only to read the Bible, and allowing them to use the invaluable gift of reading as their parents, and, in after life, their own judgment, may direct. For Bishop Howley knows full well, that there never yet has been a school without Bible lessons, founded or recommended, by the friends of universal education, whom he thus presumes to charge with infidelity. He knows full well, that the men whom he thus charges with being enemies to the Religion, as well as Constitution of their country, never yet taught a single child to read but from the sacred volume which contains the revelation of that religion. He knows this; and yet he charges them with infidelity, because they are not, like himself, intolerant and bigotted enough to make apostasy from the faith of their fathers the condition of giving the poor instruction. Unlike his charitable and holy Master, this High Priest will not ‘suffer little children to come unto him,’ without asking whether their parents are Catholics, or Presbyterians, or Churchmen; and, if his Lordship finds that they are Sectarian, he ‘forbids them,’ unless they will apostatize; for neither of such, nor of any but his own, according to him, is the kingdom of Heaven!

The rest of this Charge is of a very ordinary character in literary merit,—not above the level of the most commonplace sermon, and withal very ill composed, abounding in the figure of speech called *slip-slop* beyond what could have been expected from a scholar. We must, however, take notice of his Advice to his Clergy, respecting their treatment of Curates. After much praise of the Consolidation Act of 1817, and an assertion that it has been vindicated by experience, ‘the true test of every legislative measure, (meaning, ‘of the merits of every legislative measure’), he exhorts his hearers to behave towards their curates as fellow-labourers in the vineyard; and he rejects the name of ‘*hirelings*,’ sometimes applied to that most useful class of men, as invidious and unjust; adding, in words which we cite with unmixed approbation, that ‘the *hireling* is he, whether ‘beneficed or not, who acts on personal views of pleasure or profit, without concern for the welfare of his flock;’ and that ‘the distinction between *beneficed* and *stipendiary* is accidental and external, affecting in no way the intrinsic dignity of the priesthood.’ He enjoins a respectful demeanour to the curate, ‘who is,’ he says, ‘without excuse, if he loses sight of the subordination implied in his office;’ and he adds a warning of what his own line of conduct is to be, in dealing with any dissensions that may arise between the incumbents and curates. ‘In the exercise of the discretionary powers which are vested in the Bishop by this law, it will always be my endeavour to

‘ keep the objects in view, which I believe to have been in the
 ‘ contemplation of the Legislature. On no account can I shrink
 ‘ from the duty of protecting and sustaining the curate in the
 ‘ full enjoyment of his rights, while he attends with fidelity to
 ‘ the duties of his cure, and to the relation in which he stands
 ‘ to the incumbent. But I trust it will not be imagined, that
 ‘ the diocesan’s license will uphold the curate, who gives just
 ‘ cause of dissatisfaction, by insufficiency, negligence, or inde-
 ‘ corous behaviour in his official functions, or by personal dis-
 ‘ respect or hostility to the incumbent, whether shown by direct
 ‘ opposition, or by secret endeavours to diminish his influence
 ‘ in the parish. The best interests of the parishioners will suf-
 ‘ fer, when discord prevails between the ministers who have
 ‘ joint cure of their souls; and, *since regard to personal feelings*
 ‘ *must yield to considerations of public utility, it may be some-*
 ‘ *times expedient to dissolve the connexion, and thus put an end*
 ‘ *to a scandalous contest, though it may be difficult to apportion*
 ‘ *the blame between the contending parties.*’

Now, against the intention plainly manifested in the last part of this passage, we beg leave entirely to protest. The leaning is to be for the incumbent, and against the curate. This is the obvious meaning of the whole passage taken together. Now, we conceive the leaning should be just the other way; to diminish the weight and influence of the non-resident, or of the incumbent who resides because compelled by fear of losing his emoluments, but does no duty, any more than if he took no tithe; to lean towards the real effective person, who does all the duty, and is the priest in every thing but the receipt of the emoluments. The law is not with the Bishop. Its provisions indeed are most clumsy and inefficacious; but its spirit is against the sinecurist. From the first of these provisions, in Henry the Eighth’s time, down to the Consolidation Act (57 Geo. 3, c. 99), it has been attempting to diminish this great scandal of the Establishment, and to give the wages to the workman; feebly, indeed, and with a timidity little like the daring spirit shown by that tyrant when he took to himself the spoils of the Church, but still indicating sufficiently that the active parson is the favourite. The words of the old statute are remarkable; and we close our reflections with them, as well deserving the attention of rulers in these days. The statute is enacted. It says, ‘ For the more
 ‘ quiet and virtuous increase and maintenance of divine service,
 ‘ the preaching and teaching of the word of God, *with godly*
 ‘ *and good example given*; the better discharge of curates; the
 ‘ maintenance of hospitality; *the relief of poor people*; the in-
 ‘ crease of devotion, and good opinion of the lay-fee toward the
 ‘ spiritual persons.’—(Prec. St. 21. Hen. 8. c. 13.)

- ART. X. 1. *Denkwürdigkeiten Meiner Zeit.* Von C. W. V. DOHM. 5 vols. 8vo. Lemgo u. Hanover. 1814–1819.
2. *Histoire des Trois Démembrements de la Pologne.* Par M. FERRAND. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1820.
3. *Memoires et Actes Authentiques relatifs aux Negociations qui ont précédés le Partage de la Pologne.* (Without the name of the Author, or the Place of Publication.) 1 vol. 8vo. 1810.

THE three works which are now before us, contain particulars of the Partitions of Poland which have not hitherto been made public in our language, and which, besides their importance to the general readers of history, seem to us peculiarly interesting in the present state of Europe. We shall therefore take this occasion to lay before the public an abridged statement of some of the most important of these particulars; after premising a short account of the witnesses on whose testimony our narrative will principally be founded.

The *Memoirs* of M. V. Dohm begin in 1778, and are meant to reach till 1806, during the whole of which time he filled a secondary, but not unimportant, office under the Government of Prussia. After the French conquest in 1806, he became a subject of the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia, under which he held office (as he now tells us) unwillingly till 1810, when he obtained permission to retire, and employed his leisure in the composition of these *Memoirs*, of which the Part hitherto published extends only to the death of the great Frederic in 1786,—the least interesting and best known portion of the period in Prussian history which the work is designed to comprehend.

No. 2. is a History of the Three Dismemberments of Poland, by M. Ferrand, formerly a magistrate of the Parliament of Paris, one of the most zealous Royalists of the old school, an enemy of liberty, but a friend of national independence, who, though a warm admirer of the Holy Alliance, yet honestly, but not consistently, reprobates the Partition of Poland as the first step towards the dissolution of the European system. The most valuable part of this publication consists in extracts from the Notes and Collections of Rulhieres, which were intended by that writer as materials for the continuation of his brilliant work. The value of these extracts, and of the general narration, would have been greatly increased, had the author designed minutely to quote authorities, and to particularize the dates of events; securities for literary probity which we have seldom found in modern French histories, except in the

works of M. Sismondi; and in the invaluable History of Venice by M. Daru; a book which contains more information, new to most readers, than has been presented to the public by any European historian of late years.

No. 3. is a Collection of Diplomatic Correspondence between the three Governments who partitioned Poland, from 1771 to 1774, published anonymously at Weimar in 1810, by the Count de Goertz, for many years employed in some of the eminent stations of Prussian diplomacy. The authenticity and importance of these documents are equally indisputable.

Little more than fifty years have passed since Poland continued to occupy a high place among the powers of Europe. Her natural means of wealth and force were inferior to those of few states of the second order. The surface of the country exceeded that of France; and the number of inhabitants was estimated at fourteen millions—a population probably exceeding that of the British Islands, or of the Spanish Peninsula, at the era of the first Partition. The climate was nowhere unfriendly to health, or unfavourable to labour; the soil was fertile, the produce redundant: a large portion of the country, still uncleared, afforded ample scope for agricultural enterprise. Great rivers afforded easy means of opening an internal navigation from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. In addition to these natural advantages, there were many of those circumstances in the history and situation of Poland which render a people fond and proud of their country, and foster that national spirit which is the most effectual instrument either of defence or aggrandizement. Till the middle of the seventeenth century, she was the predominating power of the North. With Hungary, and the maritime strength of Venice, she formed the eastern defence of Christendom against the Turkish tyrants of Greece; and, on the north-east, she was long the sole barrier against the more obscure barbarians of Muscovy, after they had thrown off the Tartarian yoke.* A nation which thus constituted a part of the vanguard of civilization, necessarily became martial, and gained all the renown in arms which could be acquired before war had become a science. The wars of the Poles, irregular, romantic, full of personal adventure, dependent on individual courage and peculiar character, proceeding little from the policy of Cabinets, but deeply imbued by those

* 'Poloniam velut Propugnaculum Orbis Christiani.'—'Polonia Germaniam ab irruptionibus BARBARORUM tutam præstitit.'—*Puffendorf Rerum Brandenburgicarum*, l. v. c. 31.

sentiments of chivalry which may pervade a nation, chequered by extraordinary vicissitudes, carried on against barbarous enemies in remote and wild provinces, were calculated to leave a deep impression on the feelings of the people, and to give every man the liveliest interest in the glories and dangers of his country. Whatever renders the members of a community more like each other, and unlike their neighbours, usually strengthens the bonds of attachment between them. The Poles were the only representatives of the Sarmatian race in the assembly of civilized nations. Their language and their national literature—those great sources of sympathy and objects of national pride—were cultivated with no small success. They contributed, in one instance, signally to the progress of science; and they took no ignoble part in those classical studies which composed the common literature of Europe. They were bound to their country by the peculiarities of its institutions and usages—perhaps, also, by the very defects in their government, which at last contributed to its fall, by those dangerous privileges, and by that tumultuary independence which rendered their condition as much above that of the slaves of absolute monarchy, as it was below the lot of those who inherit the blessings of legal and moral freedom. They had once another singularity, of which they might justly have been proud, if they had not abandoned it in times which ought to have been more enlightened. Soon after the Reformation, they set the first example of that true religious liberty which equally admits the members of all sects to the privileges, the offices, and dignities of the commonwealth.* For nearly a century, they afforded a secure asylum to those obnoxious sects of Anabaptists and Unitarians, whom all other States excluded from toleration; and the Hebrew nation, proscribed every where else for several ages, found a second country, with protection for their learned and religious establishments, in this hospitable and tolerant land.

A body of gentry, amounting to about half a million, professing the equality of gentlemen amidst the utmost extremes of affluence and poverty, forming at once the legislature and the

* At the Diets of 1563, 1568; and 1569, *Art de Verifier les Dates*, ii. 74. It is at the same time that we find them describing the variety of their religious sects—*Nos qui sumus DISSIDENTES in Religione.* The term Dissidents then included the Catholics as well as all other Christian sects. The Unitarians were first excluded about 1680. The subsequent exclusion of the Greeks and Protestants, who were dissenters from the Establishment, was one of the immediate causes of the ruin of Poland.

army, or rather constituting the commonwealth, were reproached, perhaps justly, with the parade, dissipation, and levity which generally characterize the masters of slaves; but their faculties were roused by ambition—they felt the dignity of conscious independence—and they joined to the brilliant valour of their ancestors an uncommon degree of the accomplishments and manners of a polished age. Even in the days of her decline, Poland had still a part allotted to her in the European system. By her mere situation, without any activity on her part, she in some measure prevented the collision, and preserved the balance of the three greatest military powers of the Continent. She constituted an essential member of the federative system of France; and, by her vicinity to Turkey, and influence on the commerce of the Baltic, directly affected the general interest of Europe. Her preservation was one of the few parts of continental policy in which both France and England were concerned; and all the governments of Europe dreaded the aggrandizement of her neighbours.

In these circumstances, it might have been thought that the dismemberment of the territory of a numerous, brave, ancient, and renowned people, passionately devoted to their native land, without colour of right or pretext of offence, in a period of profound peace, in defiance of the law of nations, and of the common interest of all states, was an event not much more probable, than that the same vast country should be swallowed up by a convulsion of nature. After such an occurrence, no State can consider herself as safe. Before that dismemberment, indeed, nations were exposed to the evils of war and the chance of conquest; but in peace they placed some reliance on each other's faith; and, even in the utmost dangers of war, they relied on the prevalence of that established policy which then disposed every nation to prevent the entire destruction of any other. The crime has, however, been triumphantly consummated. The principle of the balance of power perished in the Partition of Poland; and nations have, since that example, looked even in peace on their neighbours, as conspirators secretly plotting their destruction. The system of Partition has been continued down to the present moment, by its original authors. It has been copied by their enemies; and the very powers who dismembered Poland, are now the allies of England, and the masters of every part of the Continent, except France and Spain.

The succession to the Crown of Poland appears, in ancient times, to have been governed by that rude combination of inheritance and election which originally prevailed in most European monarchies, where there was a general inclination to

respect hereditary claims, and even the occasional elections were confined to the members of the reigning family. Had not the male heirs of the House of Jagellon been extinct, or had the rule of female succession been introduced, it is probable that the Polish monarchy would have become strictly hereditary. The inconveniences of elective monarchy chiefly arose in Poland from the admission of powerful foreign princes as candidates for the Crown. That form of government proved rather injurious to the independence, than to the internal peace of the country. More than a century, indeed, elapsed before the mischief was felt. In spite of the ascendant, acquired by Sweden in the affairs of the North, Poland still maintained a high rank; and her last great exertion, when John Sobieski drove the Turkish barbarians from the gates of Vienna, (in 1683), was worthy of her ancient character as the guardian of Christendom. The death of the great Sobieski (1696) first showed, that the admission of powerful foreign candidates for the Crown might lead to the introduction of foreign influence, and even foreign arms, into the kingdom. The contest which then occurred between the Prince of Conti, and Augustus Elector of Saxony, seemed only to prolong the interregnum beyond its usual term; but it was decided in favour of the latter Prince, by his Saxon army and by Russian influence. Charles XII., attacked by a formidable confederacy in his extreme youth, and having, in his eighteenth year, compelled Denmark to submit, and defeated a great Russian army, turned his victorious arms against Poland, entered Warsaw in triumph before he had reached the age of twenty, deposed the Elector of Saxony as an usurper, raised to the Royal dignity by foreign force, and obliged that prince, by express treaty, to renounce his pretensions to the Crown. He was doubtless impelled to these measures by the insolence of a youthful conqueror, and by resentment against the Elector; but he was also influenced by those rude conceptions of justice, sometimes degenerating into cruelty, which were blended with his irregular ambition. He had the generosity, however, to spare the territory of the republic, and the good sense to propose the son of the great Sobieski to fill the vacant throne; a proposal which, had it been successful, might have banished foreign factions, by gradually conferring on a Polish family an hereditary claim to the Crown. But the Saxons, foreseeing such a measure, carried away young Sobieski a prisoner. Charles bestowed the Crown on Stanislaus Leczinski, a Polish gentleman of worth and talent, but destitute of the genius and boldness which the public dangers required; and the King of Sweden, who thus set the ex-

ample of a second King enthroned by a foreign army, struck another blow at the independence of Poland. The treaty of Alt-Ranstadt was soon after annulled by the battle of Pultowa; and Augustus renewed the pretensions which he had solemnly renounced, and returned triumphantly to Warsaw. The ascendant of the Czar was for a moment suspended by the treaty of Pruth (in 1711), where the Turks compelled Peter to swear that he would withdraw his troops from Poland, and never interfere in the internal affairs of that republic. As soon, however, as the Porte were engaged in a war with Austria, the Czar marched an army into Poland (in 1717), and exhibited the first example of a compromise between the King and the Diet, under the mediation of a Russian ambassador, and surrounded by Russian troops.

The death of Augustus (in 1733) had nearly occasioned a general war throughout Europe. The interest of Stanislaus, the deposed King, was espoused by France, partly perhaps because Louis XV. had married his daughter, but chiefly because the cause of the new Elector of Saxony, who was his competitor, was supported by Austria, the ally of England, and by Russia, which was then closely connected with Austria. The Court of Petersburg then set up the fatal pretext of a guarantee of the Polish constitution, founded on the transactions of 1717. A guarantee of the territories and rights of one independent State against others, is perfectly compatible with justice. But a guarantee of the institutions of a people against themselves, is but another name for dependence on the foreign power which enforces it. In pursuance of this pretended guarantee, the country was invaded by sixty thousand Russians, who ravaged with fire and sword every district which opposed their progress; and, being unable to reach the regular place of election by the last day which the law allowed, compelled a handful of gentlemen, some of them in chains, whom they brought together in a forest near Warsaw, to elect Augustus the Third.

Henceforward Russia treated Poland as a vassal State. The nation indeed disappeared from the European system; she was the subject of wars and negotiations, but no longer a party engaged in them. Under Augustus III., she was almost as much without government at home, as without influence abroad. For thirty years she slumbered in a state of pacific anarchy, which is almost without example in history. The Diets of the republic were regularly assembled, conformably to the laws; but every one of these assemblies, during the whole of that long period, was dissolved, without

adopting a single measure of legislation or government. This extraordinary suspension of public authority, arose from the privilege which each nuncio possessed, of stopping any public measure, by declaring his dissent from it, known throughout Europe as the *Liberum Veto*—expressed in Polish by the words ‘*Nie pozwalam*,’—‘I cannot consent.’ To give a satisfactory account of the origin and progress of this anomalous privilege, would probably require more industrious and critical research than were applied to the subject when Polish antiquaries and lawyers existed.* Generally speaking, the absolute negative enjoyed by every member of the Polish Diet, seems to have arisen from the principle, that the Nuncios were not representatives, but ministers; that their power of acting was limited by the imperative instructions of the provinces; that the constitution was rather a confederacy than a commonwealth; and the Diet not so much a deliberative assembly, as a meeting of delegates, whose whole duty consisted in declaring the determination of their respective constituents. Of such a state of things, unanimity seemed the natural consequence. But, as the sovereign power was really vested in the gentry, they were authorized, by the laws of the republic, to interfere in public affairs, in a manner most inconvenient and hazardous, though rendered in some measure necessary by the unreasonable institution of unanimity. This interference was effected by that species of legal insurrection called a Confederation, in which any number of gentlemen subscribing the Alliance bound themselves to pursue, by force of arms, its avowed object, either of defending the country, or preserving the laws, or maintaining the privileges of any class of citizens. It was equally lawful for another body of noblemen to associate themselves against the former. The war between them was legitimate. Neither party were treated as rebels, for both were composed of members of the sovereign class, or rather, both were composed of a number of separate sovereigns, whose ordinary union was so loose and frail, that it seemed scarcely a departure from its principle to adopt, for a time, a closer alliance with a chosen party of their fellow-nobles. In these Confederations, the sovereign power released itself from the restraint of unanimity; and in order to obtain that liberty, the Diet sometimes resolved

* We have sought in vain for a legal and constitutional account of these singular usages. The information on this subject in *Lengnick Jus Publicum Poloniae* is so vague and unsatisfactory, that, after having taken some trouble to procure it, we abstain from troubling our readers with it.

itself into a Federation; in which case, they lost little by being obliged to rely on the zeal of voluntary adherents, more than on the legal obedience of citizens. This last expedient, of converting the ordinary into a Confederate Diet, is perhaps the most singular example in history of a Legislative Assembly assuming the form of a party in civil war, in order to escape from the restraints of an inconvenient law.

On the death of Augustus III., it pleased the Empress Catharine II. to appoint Stanislaus Poniatowski, one of her discarded lovers, to the vacant throne; a man who possessed many of the qualities and accomplishments which are attractive in private life; but who, when he was exposed to the tests of elevated station and public danger, proved to be utterly void of all dignity and energy. Several circumstances in the state of Europe enabled Catharine to bestow the Crown on Poniatowski, without resistance from foreign powers. France was unwilling to expose herself so early to the hazard of a new war. She was restrained by her recent alliance with Austria; and the unexpected death of the Elector of Saxony deprived the Courts of Versailles and Vienna of the competitor whom they could support with most hope of success against the influence of the Czarina. Frederick II., abandoned, or (as he himself with reason thought), betrayed by England,* found himself, at the general peace, without an ally, exposed to the deserved resentment of Austria, and no longer with any hope of aid from France, which had become the friend of his natural enemy. In this situation, he thought it necessary to court the friendship of Catharine; and in the beginning of the year 1764, concluded a defensive alliance with her, of which the stipulations with respect to Poland were, that they were to oppose every attempt either to make that Crown hereditary, or to strengthen the Royal powers; that they were to unite in securing the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski; and that they were to protect the Dissidents of the Greek and Protestant Communions, who, since the year 1717, had been deprived of that equal admissibility to public office which was bestowed on them by the liberality of the ancient laws. The former part of these stipulations was intended to perpetuate the confusions of Poland, and to ensure her de-

* Mem. de 1763 à 1775, Introduction. Frederick charges the new Administration of Geo. III, not only with breach of treaty in making peace without him, but with secretly offering to regain Silesia for Maria Theresa, and with labouring to embroil Pëter III. with Prussia.

pendence on her neighbours; the latter afforded a specious pretext for constant interference, and secured the support of a party whom the injustice of their own Government threw into the arms of foreign powers. Catharine, in a Declaration delivered at Warsaw, asserted, '*that she did nothing but in virtue of the right of vicinage, acknowledged by all nations;*'* and on another occasion she observed, '*that justice and humanity were the sole rules of her conduct; and that HER VIRTUES ALONE HAD PLACED HER ON THE THRONE.*'† It is proper to add, that all the powerful neighbours of Poland then made declarations, which, when considered in contrast with their subsequent conduct, are sufficient to teach mankind how far they may trust to the sincerity, faith, and honour of absolute monarchs. On the 24th of January 1764, Frederick declared, that '*he should constantly labour to defend the States of the Republic in their INTEGRITY.*' On the 16th of March, in the same year, Maria Theresa, a sovereign celebrated for piety and justice, assured the Polish Government of '*her resolution to maintain the Republic in all her rights, prerogatives, and POSSESSIONS.*' On the 23d of May, even Catherine herself, when Poland, for the first time, acknowledged her title of Empress of *all* the Russias, granted to the Republic '*a SOLEMN GUARANTEE OF ALL HER POSSESSIONS*'!‡ Though the Poles were abandoned by their allies, and distracted by divisions, they made a gallant stand against the appointment of the discarded lover of a foreign princess to be their King. One party, at the head of which was the illustrious House of Czartorinski, by supporting the influence of Russia, and the election of Stanislaus, hoped to obtain the power of reforming the constitution, of abolishing the veto, and giving due strength to the Crown. The other, more generous, though less enlightened, spurned at foreign interference, and made the most vigorous efforts to assert independence, but were unhappily averse to reforms of the constitution, wedded to ancient abuses, and resolutely determined to exclude their fellow-citizens of different religions from equal privileges. The leaders of the latter party were the great General Braniczki, a veteran of Roman dignity and intrepidity, and Prince Radzivil, a youth of almost regal revenue and dignity, who, by a singular combination of valour and generosity, with violence and wildness, exhibited a striking picture of a Sarmatian grandee. The events which passed in the inter-

* Rulhieres, ii. 41.

† Ibid. ii. 151.

‡ Ferrand. I. et Pieces Justific.

regnum, as they are related by Rulhiere, form one of the most interesting parts of modern history. The variety of character, the elevation of mind, and the vigour of talent exhibited in the fatal struggle which then began, afford a memorable proof of the superiority of the worst aristocracy over the best administered absolute monarchy. In the contest among many masters of slaves, they check or excite each other, genius and valour are called forth, and many qualities are formed which approach to great virtues. But where there is only one master of slaves, he is neither animated by competitors, nor controlled by opponents, while every other man is debased by submission. The most turbulent aristocracy, with all its disorders and insecurity, must contain a certain number of men who respect themselves, and who have some scope for the free exercise of genius and virtue.

In spite of all the efforts of generous patriotism, a Diet, surrounded by a Russian army, were compelled to elect Stanislaus. The Princes Czartorinski expected to reign under the name of their nephew; they had carried through their reforms so dexterously as to be almost unobserved; but Catharine had too deep an interest in the anarchy of Poland not to watch over its preservation. She availed herself of the prejudices of the party most adverse to her, and obliged the Diet to abrogate the reforms. The Russian ambassadors were her viceroys in Poland; Keyserling, a crafty and smooth German jurist; Saldern, a desperate adventurer, banished from Holstein for forgery; and Repnin, a haughty and brutal Muscovite, were selected, perhaps from the variety of their character, to suit the fluctuating circumstances of the country; but all of them spoke in that tone of authority which has ever since continued to distinguish the Russian diplomacy. Prince Czartorinski was desirous not to be present in the Diet when his measures were repealed; but Repnin told him, that if he were not, his palaces should be burnt, and his estates laid waste. Czartorinski understood this system of Muscovite canvass, and submitted to the humiliation of proposing to abrogate those reformatations which he thought essential to the existence of the Republic.

The Russian and Prussian ministers presented notes in favour of the Dissidents in September 1764,* and afterwards urged the claims of that body more fully to the Diet of 1766, when they were seconded with honest intentions, though perhaps with a doubtful right of interference by Great Britain, Denmark, and Sweden, as parties to the treaty of Oliva, or as guarantees of

* Marten's Recueil, i. 340.

that important treaty, the foundation of the political system of the north of Europe. The Diet, influenced by the unnatural union of an intolerant spirit, with a generous indignation against foreign interference, rejected all these solicitations, though they were undoubtedly agreeable to the principle of the treaty of Oliva, and though some of them proceeded from powers who could not be suspected of unfriendly intentions. In 1767, the Dissidents were unhappily prevailed upon to enter into confederations for the recovery of their ancient rights, and thus to furnish a pretext for the armed interference of Russia. Forty thousand Russians entered Poland under pretence of protecting the Confederated Dissidents. In order to embroil the affairs of that distracted country still more irretrievably, Catharine now affected to espouse the cause of the Republicans, who had resisted the election of Stanislaus. Prince Radzivil returned from his exile. A general confederation of malcontents was formed under his auspices at Radom, but surrounded by Russian troops, and subject to the orders of the brutal Replin. That capricious barbarian used his power with such insolence as soon to provoke general resistance. He prepared for a subservient Diet by the utmost excesses of military violence at the elections, and by threats of banishment to Siberia held out to every one whose opposition he dreaded. The Diet, which met on the 4th October, 1767, showed strong symptoms of independence. The means adopted by Replin to subdue the obstinacy of that Assembly are described by Rulhieres in one of the most striking passages of his eloquent work.*

The Diet were at length intimidated; and Replin obtained their consent to a treaty with Russia, † stipulating for the equal admission of all religious sects to civil offices, containing a reciprocal guarantee ‘*of the integrity of the territories of both powers in the most SOLEMN and SACRED manner;*’ confirming the constitution of Poland, especially the fatal law of unanimity, with a few alterations recently made by the Diet, and placing this ‘*Constitution, with the Government, LIBERTY and RIGHTS of Poland, under the guarantee of her Imperial Majesty, who most solemnly promises to preserve the republic for ever entire.*’ Thus, under the pretence of religious liberty, the disorder and feebleness of Poland were perpetuated, and the principle of guarantee once more applied to internal institutions, to the absolute and total destruction of all remains of independence. Frederic II., an accomplice in these crimes,

* Rulhieres, ii. 466. 470.

† Martens, iv. 582.

describes their immediate effect with the truth and coolness of an unconcerned spectator. 'So many acts of sovereignty,' says he, 'exercised by a foreign power on the territory of the republic, at length excited universal indignation;—the offensive measures were not softened by the arrogance of Prince Repnin;—enthusiasm seized the minds of all, and the grantees availed themselves of the fanaticism and of their followers and serfs, to throw off a yoke which had become insupportable.'* In this temper of the nation, the Diet rose on the 6th of March 1768, and with it expired the confederation of Radom, which furnished the second example, within five years, of a Polish party so blind to experience as to become the dupes of Russia. A confederation was immediately formed at Bar † in Podolia, for the preservation of religion and liberty, which, in a moment, spread over the whole kingdom. The Russian officers hesitated for a moment whether they could take a part in this intestine war. Repnin, by pronouncing the word *Siberia*, compelled those members of the Senate who were at Warsaw, to claim the aid of Russia, notwithstanding the dissent of the Czartorinskis and their friends, who protested against that inglorious and ruinous determination. The events of the war between Russia, and the confederation which followed, it is not our province to relate. On the part of Russia, it presents a series of acts of treachery, falsehood, rapacity and cruelty, not unworthy of Cæsar Borgia. The resistance of the Poles, an undisciplined and almost unarmed people, betrayed by their King and Senate, in a country without fastnesses or fortifications, where the enemy had already established themselves at every important point, forms one of the most glorious, though the most unfortunate, of the struggles of mankind for their rights. The Council of the Confederation established themselves at Eperies, within the frontier of Hungary, with the connivance and secret favour of Austria. Some French officers, and aid in money from Versailles and Constantinople, added something to their strength, and more to their credit. Repnin entered into a negotiation with them, and proposed an armistice, till he could procure reinforcements. Old Pulauski, the first leader of the Confederation, objected. 'There is no word,' said he, 'in the Russian language for honour.' The event speedily showed that the word would have been altogether superfluous. Repnin, as soon as he was reinforced, laughed at the armistice, fell upon the Confederates, and laid

* Mem. de 1763 jusqu'à 1775.

† See their Manifesto. Martens, i. 456.

waste the lands of all true Poles with fire and sword. The Cossacks brought to Repnin's house at Warsaw, Polish gentlemen tied to the tail of their horses, and dragged in this manner along the ground.* A Russian Colonel, named Drewitz, seems to have surpassed all his comrades in ferocity. Not content with massacring the gentlemen to whom quarter had been given, he inflicted on them the punishments invented in Russia for slaves; sometimes tying them to trees as a mark for his soldiers to fire at; sometimes scorching certain parts of their skin, so as to represent the national dress of Poland; sometimes dispersing them over the provinces, after he had cut off their hands, arms, nose or ears, as living examples of the punishment suffered by those who loved their country.† It is remarkable, that this ferocious monster, then the hero of the Muscovite army, was deficient in the common quality of military courage. Peter had not civilized the Russians. That was an undertaking beyond even his genius, and inconsistent with his ferocious character. He only armed a barbarous people with the arts of civilized war.

But no valour could have enabled the Confederates of Bar to resist the power of Russia for four years, if they had not been seconded by certain important changes in the political system of Europe, which at first raised a powerful diversion in their favour, but at length proved the immediate cause of the dismemberment of Poland. These changes may be dated from the alliance of France with Austria in 1756, and still more from the peace of 1762. On the day on which the Duke de Choiseul signed the preliminaries of peace at Fontainebleau, he entered into a secret convention with Spain, by which it was agreed, that the war should be renewed against England in eight years; a time which was thought sufficient to repair the exhausted strength of the two Bourbon monarchies.‡ The hostility of the French minister to England was at that time extreme. 'If I were master,' said he, 'we should act towards England as Spain did to the Moors. If we really adopted that system, England would, in thirty years, be reduced and

* Rulhieres, iii. 55.

† Id. 124. See also Annual Register, &c.

‡ Ferrand, i. 76. The failure of this perfidious project is to be ascribed to the decline of Choiseul's influence, which preceded his downfall. The affair of Falkland's Islands was a fragment of the design.

‘destroyed.’* Soon after, however, his vigilance was directed to other quarters by projects which threatened to deprive France of her accustomed and due influence in the north and east of Europe. He was incensed at Catharine for not resuming the alliance with Austria, and the war which had been abruptly suspended by the caprice of her unfortunate husband; and she, on the other hand, soon after she was seated on the throne, had formed one of those vast and apparently chimerical plans to which absolute power and immense territory have familiarized the minds of Russian sovereigns. She laboured to counteract the influence of France, which she considered as the chief obstacle to her ambition, on all the frontiers of her empire,* in Sweden, Poland and Turkey, by the formation of a great alliance of the North, to consist of England, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and Poland, Russia being of course the head of the league.† Choiseul exerted himself in every quarter to defeat this project, or rather to be revenged on Catharine for attempts which were already defeated by their own extravagance and vastness. In Sweden, his plan for reducing the Russian influence was successfully resisted in 1768; but the Revolution accomplished by Gustavus III. in 1772, reestablished the French ascendant in that kingdom. The Count de Vergennes, ambassador at Constantinople, opened the eyes of the Sultan on the ambitious projects of Catharine in Sweden, in Poland, and in the Crimea. The strongest assurances of powerful aid were held out by France, which, had Choiseul remained in power, would probably have been carried into effect. By all these means, Vergennes persuaded the Porte to declare war against Russia on the 30th of October 1768.‡ The Confederates of Bar, who had established themselves in the neighbourhood of the Turkish, as well as of the Austrian provinces, now received open assistance from the Turks. The Russian arms were fully occupied in the Turkish war; a Russian fleet entered the Mediterranean; the agents of the Court of Petersburg excited a revolt among the Greeks, whom they afterwards treacherously and cruelly abandoned to the vengeance of their Turkish tyrants. These events suspended the fate of Poland. French

* Despatch from M. de Choiseul to M. D'Ossun at Madrid, 5th April 1762. Flassan. Dip. Franc. vi. 466. About *thirty years* afterwards, the French monarchy was destroyed!

† Rulhieres, ii. 310. Ferrand, i. 75.

‡ Flassan. Diplom. Française, vii. 83. Vergennes was immediately recalled, notwithstanding this success, for having lowered (*decon-*

officers of distinguished merit and gallantry guided the valour of the undisciplined Confederates.* Austria seemed to countenance, if not openly to support them. Supplies and reinforcements from France passed openly through Vienna into Poland;† and Maria Theresa herself publicly declared, that there was no principle or honour in Poland but among the Confederates. But the Turkish war, which had raised up an important ally for the struggling Poles, was in the end destined to be the cause of their destruction.

At this period began the complicated intrigues which terminated in the first dismemberment of Poland. The facts on this subject have been variously represented; but we shall not examine the controversies to which they have given rise,† contenting ourselves with a short statement of what the original papers published by M. Goertz seem to us to establish beyond the possibility of dispute. These papers, it is not a little remarkable, that M. Ferrand appears not to have known. They agree with the Memoirs of Prince Henry of Prussia—with the Introduction to the Letters of Viomenil—with the Memoirs of Dohm, and, in the main, with the narrative of Frederic II., who, in his account of these events, shows a sort of frank effrontery, which, however dishonourable to his character as a man, is rather favourable to his testimony as a witness. He does not seem to think his immoralities worth concealing.

The events of war had brought the Russian armies into the neighbourhood of the Austrian dominions, and began to fill the Court of Vienna with apprehensions for the security of Hungary. Frederic had no desire that his ally should become stronger. Both the great Courts of Germany were averse to the extension of the Russian territories at the expense of Turkey. Frederic was restrained from opposing it forcibly by his treaty with Catharine, who continued to be his sole ally. Kaunitz, who ruled the councils of Vienna, still adhered to the French alliance, and continued to feel great apprehensions of such a neighbour on the eastern frontier, as Russia. He seconded the French negotiations at Constantinople; and even

sidered) himself by marrying the daughter of a physician. He brought back with him the three millions (120,000*l.* sterling) which had been remitted to him to bribe the Divan,—a proof of their disinterestedness, and of his integrity. Catharine called him '*Mustapha's Prompter*.'

* Rulhieres. Ferrand. *Lettres de Viomenil*, Paris, 1807. *Memoires de Dumourier*.

† *Memoires de l'Abbé Georgel*, 1.

so late as the month of July 1771, entered into a secret treaty with Turkey, by which Austria bound herself to recover from Russia, by negotiation or by force, all the conquests made by that power from the Porte. But there is reason to think, that Kaunitz, distrusting the power and the inclination of France under the feeble government of Louis XV., and still less disposed to rely on the counsels of Versailles, after the downfall of Choiseul in December 1770, though he did not wish to dissolve the alliance, was desirous of loosening its ties; and became gradually disposed to adopt any expedient against the danger of Russian aggrandizement, which might relieve him from the necessity of engaging in a war, in which his chief confidence must necessarily have rested on so weak a stay as the French government. Maria Theresa still entertained a rooted aversion against Frederic, whom she never forgave for robbing her of Silesia; and openly professed her abhorrence of the vices and crimes of Catharine, whom she never spoke of but in a tone of disgust, as '*that woman*.' Her son Joseph, however, affected to admire, and, as far as he had power, to imitate the King of Prussia; and, in spite of his mother's repugnance, found means to begin a personal intercourse with that celebrated monarch. Their first interview took place at Neiss in Silesia, in August 1769, where they entered into a secret engagement to prevent the Russians from retaining Moldavia and Walachia. In September 1770, a second interview took place at Neustadt in Moravia, where the principal subject seems also to have been the means of stopping the progress of Russian conquest, and where despatches were received from Constantinople, desiring the mediation of both Courts in the negotiations for a peace.* But these interviews, though they lessened those jealousies and antipathies which stood in the way of concert between the two German courts, do not appear to have directly influenced their system respecting Poland.† The mediation, however, then soli-

* *Memoires de Frederic II.* Mem. de 1763, jusqu'à 1775.

† It was at one time believed, that the project of Partition was first suggested to Joseph by Frederic at Newstadt, if not at Neiss. Goertz's Papers demonstrate the contrary. These papers are supported by Viomenil, by the testimony of Prince Henry, by Rulhieres, and by the narrative of Frederic. Dohm and Schoell have also shown the impossibility of this supposition. Mr Coxe (*Hist. House of Austr.* iii. 499.) has indeed adopted it, and endeavours to support it by the declarations of Hertzberg to himself. But when he examines the above authorities, of which the greater part have appeared since his work, he will probably be satisfied that he must have mis-

cited, ultimately gave rise to that fatal proposition. Frederic had proposed a plan for the pacification of Poland, on condition of reasonable terms being made with the Confederates; and of the Dissidents being induced to moderate their demands. Austria had assented to this plan, and was willing that Russia should make an honourable peace, but insisted on the restitution of Moldavia and Walachia; and declared, that if her mediation were slighted, she must at length yield to the instances of France, and take an active part for Poland and Turkey. These declarations Frederic communicated to the Court of Petersburg.* And they alone seem sufficient to demonstrate that no plan of partition was then contemplated by that monarch. To these communications Catharine answered, in a confidential letter to the King, by a plan of peace, in which she insisted on the independence of the Crimea, the acquisition of a Greek island, and of a pretended independence for Moldavia and Walachia, which should make her the mistress of these provinces. She speaks of Austria with great distrust and alienation; but, on the other hand, intimates her readiness to enter into a closer intimacy with that Court, 'if it were possible to disengage her from her present absurd system, and to make her enter into our views, by which means Germany would be restored to its natural state; and the House of Austria would be diverted, *by other prospects*, from those views on your Majesty's possessions, which her present connexions keep up.'† This correspondence continued in January and February 1771; Frederic objecting, in very friendly language, to the Russian demands, and Catharine adhering to them.‡ In January, Panin notified to the Court of Vienna, his mistress's acceptance of the good offices of Austria towards the pacification, though she declines a formal mediation. This despatch is chiefly remarkable for a declaration, § 'that the *Empress had adopted, as an invariable maxim, never to desire any aggrandisement of her states.*' When the Empress communicated her plan of peace to Kaunitz in May, that minister declared, that his Court could not propose conditions of peace,

understood the Prussian minister; and he may perhaps follow the example of the excellent abbreviator Koch, who, in the last edition of his useful work, has altered that part of his narrative which ascribed the first plan of Partition to Frederic.

* Goertz-Mem. 100-105. Frederic to Count Solms, his Minister at Petersb. 12th Sept. and 13th Oct. 1770.

† Id. 107, 128. The French alliance is evidently meant. 'Other prospects' point to Turkey, rather than Poland.

‡ Id. 129-146.

§ Id. 9.

which must be attended with ruin to the Porte, and with great danger to the Austrian monarchy.

In the summer of the year 1770, Maria Theresa had caused her troops to take possession of the county of Zipps, a district anciently appertaining to Hungary, but which had been enjoyed by Poland for about three hundred and sixty years, under a mortgage made by Sigismond, King of Hungary, on the strange condition that, if it was not redeemed by a fixed time, it could only be so by payment of as many times the original sum as there had years elapsed since the appointed term. So unceremonious an adjudication to herself of this territory, in defiance of such an ancient possession, naturally produced a remonstrance even from the timid Stanislaus, which, however, she coolly overruled. In the critical state of Poland, it was impossible that such a measure should not excite observation. An occasion soon occurred, when it seems to have contributed to produce the most important effects. Frederic, embarrassed and alarmed by the difficulties of the pacification, resolved to send his brother Henry to Petersburg, with no other instructions, than to employ all his talents and address in bringing Catharine to such a temper as might preserve Prussia from a new war. Henry arrived in that capital on the 9th December 1770; and it seems now to be certain, that the first * open proposal of a dismemberment of Poland, arose in his conversations with the Empress, and appeared to be suggested by the difficulty of making peace on such terms as would be adequate to the successes of Russia, without endangering the safety of her neighbours. It is very difficult to know who first spoke out in a conversation about such a matter between two persons of great adroitness, and who were doubtless both equally anxious to throw the blame on each other. Unscrupulous as both were, they were not so utterly shameless that each party would not use the utmost address to bring the dishonest plan out of the mouth of the other. Looks and smiles, and movements and hints, and questions and pleasantries, and broken sentences, are very intelligible preparations for a positive declaration; and the person who first used the most striking and best remembered phrase, might, without any superior wickedness, incur the infamy of the first open proposition of this act of unprecedented villany. The best accounts agree, that, in speaking of the entrance of the Austrian troops into Poland, and of a report

* Rulhieres, iv. 209—Ferrand, &c. It is not after this time that any disposition compatible with the Partition appears in the confidential Letters published by Goertz.

that they had occupied the fortress of Czentokow, Catharine smiling, and casting down her eyes, said to Henry—‘It seems that in Poland you have only to *stoop and take*’—that Henry seized on the expression—and that Catharine then, resuming an air of indifference, turned the conversation to other subjects. ‘The Empress,’ says Frederic, ‘indignant that any other troops than her own should give law to Poland, said to Prince Henry, that if the Court of Vienna wished to dismember Poland, the other neighbours *had a right to do as much*.’* Henry said, that there were no other means of preventing a general war. ‘*Pour prevenir ce malheur il n’y a qu’un moyen—de mettre trois têtes dans un bonnet—et cela ne peut pas se faire qu’aux depens d’un quart.*’

Catharine, speaking of the subsidy which Frederic paid to her, by treaty, said—‘I fear he will be weary of this burden, and will leave me. I wish I could secure him by *some equivalent advantage*.’—‘Nothing,’ said Henry, ‘will be more easy. You have *only to give him some territory* to which he has pretensions, and which will facilitate the communication between his dominions.’ Catharine, without appearing to understand a remark of which the meaning could not be mistaken, adroitly replied, ‘that she would willingly consent, if the balance of Europe was not disturbed; and that she wished for nothing.’† In a conversation with Baron Saldern on the terms of peace, Henry said, that a plan must be contrived which would detach Austria from Turkey, and by which the three powers should gain. ‘Very well,’ said Saldern, ‘provided that it is not at the expense of Poland;’—‘as if,’ said Henry afterwards, when he told the story, ‘there were any other country about which such plans could be formed.’

Catharine said to the Prince, ‘I will frighten Turkey and flatter England. It is your business to gain Austria, that she may lull France to sleep;’ and she became at length so eager, that when they were conversing on the subject, she dipt her finger into ink, and drew with it the lines of partition on a map of Poland which lay before them. It is hard to settle the

* Mem. de 1763 jusqu’à 1775. This account is very much confirmed by the well-informed writer who has prefixed his ‘*Recollec-tions*’ to the Letters of Viomenil, who probably was General Grimouard. His account is from Prince Henry, who told it to him at Paris in 1788; who called the news of the Austrian proceedings in Poland, and Catharine’s observations on it, a *fortunate accident, which suggested the Plan of Partition*.

† Ferrand, i. 140.

order and time of these fragments of conversation, which, in a more or less imperfect state, have found their way to the public. The probability seems to be, that Henry, who was not inferior in address, and who represented the weaker party, would avoid the first proposal, in a case where, if it were rejected, the attempt might prove fatal to the objects of his mission. However that may be, it cannot be doubted that, before he left Petersburg on the 30th of January 1771, Catharine and he had agreed on the general outline to be proposed to his brother. On his return to Berlin, he accordingly disclosed it to the King, who received it at first with displeasure, and even with indignation, as either an extravagant chimera, or a snare held out to him by his artful and dangerous ally. His anger lasted twenty-four hours. It is natural to be desirous of believing, that a ray of conscience shot across so great a mind, and that he at least spent one honest day;—or, if he was too deeply tainted by habitual king-craft for sentiments worthy of his native superiority, it may be, at any rate, supposed that he shrunk for a moment from disgrace, and that he felt a transient, but bitter, foretaste of the lasting execration of mankind. Of whatever nature his feelings of resentment or repugnance were, it is but too certain that they were short-lived. On the next day, he embraced his brother, as inspired by some god, and declared that he was a second time the saviour of the monarchy.* He was still, however, not without apprehensions from the inconstant councils of a despotic government, influenced by so many various sorts of favourites, as that of Russia. Orlov, who still held the office of Catharine's lover, was desirous of continuing the war; Panin desired peace, but opposed the Partition, which he probably considered as the division of a Russian province. But the great body of lovers and courtiers who had been enriched by grants of forfeited estates in Poland, were favourable to a project which would secure their former booty, and, by exciting civil war, lead to new and richer forfeitures. The Czernitcheffs were supposed not to confine their hopes to confiscation, but to aspire to a principality to be formed out of the ruins of the republic. It appears that Frederic, in his correspondence with Catharine, urged, perhaps sincerely, his apprehension of general censure. Catharine answered—'I TAKE ALL THE BLAME UPON MYSELF.'†

* Ferrand, i. 149.

† This fact was communicated by Sabatier, the French resident at Petersburg, to his Court, in a despatch of the 11th February 1774. (Ferrand, i. 152.) It transpired at that time, on occasion of an angry

The consent of the Court of Vienna, however, was still to be obtained—where the most formidable and insuperable obstacles were still to be expected in the French alliance, in resentment towards Prussia, and in the conscientious character of Maria Theresa. Prince Henry, on the day of his return to Berlin, in a conversation with *Van Swieten* the Austrian minister, assured him, on the part of Catharine, ‘that if Austria would ‘favour her negociations with Turkey, she would consent to a ‘considerable augmentation of the Austrian territory.’ Van Swieten asked, ‘Where?’ Henry replied, ‘You know as well ‘as I do what your Court might take, and what it is in the ‘power of Russia and Prussia to cede to her.’ The cautious minister was silent; but it was impossible that he should either mistake the meaning of Henry, or fail to impart such a declaration to his Court.* As soon as the Court of Petersburg had vanquished the scruples or fears of Frederic, they required that he should sound the Court of Vienna, which he immediately did through Van Swieten.† The state of parties at Vienna was such, that Kaunitz thought it necessary to give an ambiguous answer. That celebrated coxcomb, who had grown old in the ceremonial of courts and the intrigues of cabinets, and of whom we are told that the death of his dearest friend never shortened his toilet nor retarded his dinner, still felt some regard to the treaty with France, which was his own work, and was divided between his habitual submission to the Empress Queen and the court which he paid to the young Emperor. It was a difficult task to minister to the ambition of Joseph, without alarming the conscience of Maria Theresa. That Princess, since the death of her husband, ‘passed several hours of every ‘day in a funereal apartment, adorned by crucifixes and death’s ‘heads, and by a portrait of the late Emperor, painted when ‘he had breathed his last, and by a picture of herself, as it

correspondence between the two Sovereigns, in which the King reproached the Empress with having desired the partition, and quoted the Letter in which she had offered to take on herself the whole blame. The blame due to injustice might appear a trifle to a Princess who had lived so long in a country where, if we are to believe Count Merey Argenteau, three years the Austrian ambassador at Petersburg, ‘it was impossible to look without horror on a people who ‘join ferocity to the vices of polished nations—who know no virtues ‘but superstitious devotion to the will of a despot—and no talents ‘but those of slaves—mimicry and cunning.’—*Rulh.* ii. 160.

* Ferrand, i. 149.

† Mem. de 1763 à 1775. The King does not give the dates of this communication. It probably was in April 1771.

‘ was supposed she would appear, when the paleness and cold of death should take from her countenance the remains of that beauty which made her one of the finest women of her age.’ * Had it been possible, in any case, to rely on the influence of the conscience of a sovereign over measures of state, it might be supposed that a princess, occupied in the practice of religious austerities, and in the exercise of domestic affections, advanced in years, loving peace, beloved by her subjects, respected in other countries, professing remorse for the bloodshed which her wars had occasioned, and with her children about to ascend the greatest thrones of Europe, would not have tarnished her name by cooperating with a monarch whom she detested, and a female whom she scorned and disdained in the most faithless and shameless measures which had ever dishonoured the Christian world. Unhappily, she was destined to be a signal example of the insecurity of such a reliance. But she could not instantly yield. Kaunitz was obliged to temporize. On the one hand, he sent Prince Lobkowitz on an embassy to Petersburg, where no minister of rank had of late represented Austria; while, on the other, he continued his negotiation for a defensive alliance with Turkey;—and duly notified, that his Court disapproved the impracticable projects of partition, and was ready to withdraw their troops from the district which they had occupied in virtue of an ancient claim. † He soon after proposed neutrality to Prussia, in the event of a war between Austria and Russia. Frederic answered, that he was bound by treaty to support Russia; but softened the harshness of that answer, by intimating that Russia might probably recede from her demand of Moldavia and Walachia. Both parts of the King’s answer seemed to have produced the expected effect on Kaunitz, who now saw his country placed between a formidable war and a profitable peace. Even then, probably, if he could have hoped effectual aid from France, he might have chosen the road of honour. But the fall of the Duc de Choiseul, and the pusillanimous rather than pacific policy of his successors, destroyed all hope of French succour; and disposed Kaunitz to receive more favourably the advances of the Courts of Berlin and Petersburg. He seems to have employed the time, from June to October, in surmounting the repugnance of his Court to the new system.

* Rulh. iv. 167.

† The want of dates in the King of Prussia’s narrative is the more unfortunate, because the Count de Goertz has not published the papers relating to the negotiations between Austria and Prussia; an omission which must be owned to be somewhat suspicious.

The first certain evidence which we possess of a favourable disposition at Vienna towards the plan of the two powers, is in a despatch of Prince Galitzin at Vienna to Count Panin, 25th October 1771, in which he gives an account of a conversation with Kaunitz on the day before. * The manner of the Austrian minister was more gracious and cordial than formerly; and, after the usual discussions about the difficulties of the terms of peace, Galitzin at last asked him—‘What equivalent do you propose for all that you refuse to allow us? It seems to me that there can be none. Kaunitz, suddenly assuming an air of cheerfulness, pressed my hand, and said, “Sir, since you point out the road, I will tell you;—but in such strict confidence, that it must be kept a profound secret at your Court; for if it were to transpire and be known even to the ally and friend of Russia, my Court would solemnly retract and disavow this communication. Their Imperial Majesties, convinced of your good disposition to cement the friendship between the two Courts, have expressly charged me to confer confidentially with you on the present state of affairs.” He then proposed a moderate plan of peace—but added, that the Court of Vienna could not use its good offices to cause it to be adopted, unless the Court of Petersburg would give the most positive assurances that she would not subject Poland to dismemberment for her own advantage, or for that of any other;—provided always, that their Imperial Majesties were to retain the county of Zipps, but to evacuate every other part of the Polish territory which the Austrian troops may have occupied. I observed, that the occupation of Zipps had much the air of a dismemberment. This he denied; but said, that his Court would cooperate with Russia in forcing the Poles to put an end to their dissensions. I observed, that the plan of pacification showed the perfect disinterestedness of her Imperial Majesty towards Poland, and that no idea of dismemberment had ever entered into her mind, or into that of her ministers. “I am happy,” said Kaunitz, “to hear you say so;” and then went into commonplaces on the difficulties and dangers of dismemberment. The whole conference passed in a quite different tone and manner from those of our preceding interviews.’ On the 30th of October, Galitzin writes that Kaunitz, in his new style of kindness, had assured him, ‘that the intercourse should be concealed from Versailles, and communicated only to Berlin.’

Panin, in his answer, † 16th December 1771, to Galitzin,

* Goertz, 75.

† Goertz, 153.

seems to have perfectly well understood the extraordinary artifice of the Austrian minister, who, by a formal declaration for the integrity of Poland, intended to draw from Russia an open proposal of dismemberment. 'The Court of Vienna,' says he, 'claims the thirteen towns, and disclaims dismemberment. 'BUT THERE IS NO STATE WHICH DOES NOT KEEP CLAIMS 'OPEN AGAINST ITS NEIGHBOURS, AND THE RIGHT TO EN- 'FORCE THEM WHEN THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY! and there 'is none which does not feel the necessity of the balance of 'power to secure the possession of each. To be sincere, we 'must not conceal that Russia is also in a condition to produce 'well-grounded claims against Poland, and that we can with 'confidence say the same of our ally the King of Prussia; and 'if the Court of Vienna finds it expedient to enter into mea- 'sures with us and our ally to compare and arrange our 'claims, we are ready to agree.' Galitzin, on the 29th January 1772, answered,* in which he acknowledges the receipt of the former despatch, containing 'an invitation to this Court 'to accede to a treaty for the Partition of Poland.' Kaunitz said, that it might be 'necessary not to confine the partition to 'Poland, but that, if that country did not afford means for an 'equal partition between the two Courts, territory might be 'taken from some other which might be forced to give it up.' He concluded, that it was 'necessary to keep the negotiation a 'profound secret from France and England, who might make a 'joint effort to prevent the dismemberment.' So rapid a progress had Austria made in her new system, that we find it proposing a new Partition, which could only relate to Turkey, with which she had concluded an alliance six months before, and whose territories she had solemnly bound herself to reconquer from the Russians! The fears of Kaunitz for the union of France and England were unhappily needless. These great powers, alike deserters of the rights of nations, and betrayers of the liberties of Europe, saw the crime consummated without stretching forth an arm to prevent it.

In the midst of this conspiracy between Kaunitz and Galitzin, a magnificent embassy was sent from France to her ally, which arrived at Vienna early in January 1772.† At the head of this mission was the Prince Louis de Rohan, long after unfortunately conspicuous, then appointed as a diplomatic pageant to grace the embassy by his high birth; while the business continued to be in the hands of M. Durand, a diplomatist

* Goertz, 175.

† Memoires de Georgel, i. 219.

of experience and ability, who had the character of envoy. Contrary, however, to all reasonable expectation, the young prince discovered the secret which had escaped the sagacity of the veteran minister. Durand, completely duped by Kaunitz, warned Rohan to hint no suspicions of Austria in his despatches to Versailles. About the end of February, Rohan received information of the treachery of the Austrian court so secretly, * that he was almost obliged to represent it as a discovery made by his own penetration. He complained to Kaunitz, that no assistance was given to the Polish confederates, who, under the command of French confederates, had at that moment brilliantly distinguished themselves by the capture of the Castle of Cracow. Kaunitz assured him, that 'the Empress Queen never would suffer the balance of power to be disturbed by a dismemberment which would give too much preponderance to neighbouring and rival Courts.' The ambassador suspected the intentions that lurked beneath this equivocal and perfidious answer, and communicated them to his Court. On the 2d of March, he gave an account of the conference; but the Duc d'Aiguillon, either deceived, or willing to appear so, rebuked Prince Louis for his officiousness, observing, that 'the ambassador's conjectures being incompatible with the positive assurances of the Court of Vienna, constantly repeated by Count Mercy, the ambassador at Paris, and with the promises recently made to

* The Abbé Georgel ascribes the detection to his master the ambassador; but it is more probably ascribed by M. Schoell (*Hist. de Traités*, xiv. 76.) to a young native of Strasburg, named Barth, the second secretary of the French Legation, who, by his knowledge of German, and intimacy with persons in inferior office, detected the project of Partition, but required the ambassador to conceal it even from Georgel, the senior secretary. Schoell quotes a passage of a letter from B. to a friend at Strasburg, which puts his early knowledge of it beyond dispute. 'Van Swieten says, that the King of Prussia showed him the plan of Partition agreed to at Petersburg between the Empress and Prince Henry, 20th February, 1772. In a subsequent letter, he says, 'The Partition is not to be doubted. This injustice is loudly blamed here by every body. The English ambassador is enraged that the project should have been conducted with such address, that neither he nor the ministers of his court at St Petersburg or Berlin suspected it; and that Lord Cathcart was even the dupe of Count Panin, who held a quite opposite language to him,' 1st May, 1772. The French diplomatist, in spite of the treachery towards his own nation, seems to feel some exultation that the English ministers were taken in.

‘ M. Durand, the thread which could only deceive must be ‘ quitted.’ Some time afterwards, when the preparations for the seizure of the Polish provinces became too conspicuous, the ambassador had a private audience of the Empress Queen on the subject. That Princess *shed tears at the fate of the oppressed Poles*; but her words were as ambiguous and jesuitical as those of her minister. ‘ She entreated the King of France ‘ to rely on the negotiations of his *faithful ally*! for bringing ‘ matters to such an issue as should give peace to Poland, without causing convulsions in Europe.’ The Prince gave an account of this audience in a private letter to M. d’Aiguillon, to be shown only to the King, which contained the following passage.

‘ I have indeed seen Maria Theresa *weep over the misfortunes of oppressed Poland*; but that Princess, practised in the art of concealing her designs, has tears at command. *With one hand she lifts her handkerchief to her eyes to wipe away her tears; with the other she wields the sword for the Partition of Poland.*’ * It may be mentioned, incidentally, that the letter produced some remarkable effects. Madame Du Barry got possession of it, and read the above passage aloud at one of her supper parties. An enemy of Rohan, who was present, immediately told the Dauphiness of this attack on her mother. That young Princess was highly and naturally incensed at such language, especially as she had been given to understand that the letter was written to Madame Du Barry. She became the irreconcilable enemy of the Prince, afterwards Cardinal de Rohan, who, in hopes of conquering her hostility, engaged in the strange adventure of the diamond necklace, one of the secondary agents in promoting the French Revolution, and not the least considerable source of the popular prejudices against the Queen, which produced such injustice and barbarity towards that unfortunate Princess.

In February and March 1772, the three powers exchanged declarations, binding themselves to adhere to the principle of equality in the Partition. In August following, the treaties of dismemberment were executed at Petersburg; and in September, the demands and determinations of the Combined Courts were made known at Warsaw. Their declarations are well known; and it is needless to characterize papers which have been universally regarded as the utmost extremity of human injustice and effrontery. An undisputed possession of cen-

* Georgel, i. 264.

turies; a succession of treaties to which all the European States were either parties or guarantees; nay, the recent, solemn, and repeated declarations and engagements of the three governments themselves, were considered as forming no title to dominion. In answer to all these titles to sovereignty, the Empress Queen and the King of Prussia appealed to some pretensions of their predecessors in the thirteenth century. The Empress of Russia alleged only the evils suffered by neighbouring states from the anarchy of Poland.* The remonstrances of the Polish government, and their appeals to all those states who were bound to protect them as guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, and as deeply interested in maintaining the sacredness of ancient possession, were equally vain. When the Austrian ambassador announced the Partition at Versailles, the old King said, if 'the other man (Choiseul) had been here, this 'would not have happened;' an observation which had probably some foundation in truth, and which certainly conveys the highest commendation ever bestowed on that powerful minister. It has been said that Austria did not accede to the Partition till France had *refused* to cooperate against it; † but this statement is contradicted by the authentic correspondence published by Goertz, as well as by Georgel. The utmost that can be supposed to be true is, that a conviction of the feebleness of the French government, and of the indisposition of the French ministers to incur the necessary hazards, was among the principal motives of the base and fatal resolution of the Austrian Court. It has, on the other hand, been stated, that the Duc d'Aiguillon proposed to Lord Rochfort, that an English or French fleet should be sent to the Baltic to prevent the dismemberment. ‡ But such an application, if it occurred at all, must have related to transactions long antecedent to the

* Marten's *Recu. de Traités*, i. 461, &c.

† Of this M. de Segur tells us, that he was assured by Kaunitz, Cobentzel, and Vergennes. The only circumstance which approaches to a resemblance of his statement is, that there are traces in Ferrand of secret intimations conveyed by D'Aiguillon to Frederic, that there was no likelihood of France proceeding to extremities in favour of Poland. This clandestine treachery is, however, very different from a public refusal.

‡ Coxe's *Hist. House of Austria*, ii. 516, where the authority of the Rochfort despatches is quoted. It is to be regretted that Mr Coxe should, in the same place, have quoted a writer so discredited as the Abbé Soulavie (*Mém. de Louis XVI.*), from whom he quotes a memorial, without doubt altogether imaginary, of D'Aiguillon to Louis XV.

partition, and to the administration of d'Aiguillon, for Lord Rochfort was recalled from the French embassy in 1768, to be made Secretary of State, on the resignation of Lord Shelburne. Neither can the application have been to Lord Rochfort as Secretary of State; for France was not in his department. In truth, both France and Great Britain had, at that time, lost all influence in the affairs of Europe;—France, from the imbecility of her government, and partly, in the case of Poland, from reliance on the Court of Vienna; Great Britain, from being left without an ally, in consequence of her own treachery to Prussia, but in a still greater degree from the unpopularity of her government at home, and the approaches of a revolt in the noblest part of her Colonies, which was destined to atone for the triumph of tyranny in Europe, by the establishment of liberty in America. Had there been a spark of spirit, or a ray of wise policy in the counsels of England and France, they would have been immediately followed by all the secondary powers whose very existence depended on the general reverence for justice. It must be owned also, to their shame, that ample time was afforded for their interposition, even after the conspiracy of the Three Powers was made known to all the world. The completion of the dismemberment was retarded both by the usual quarrels among banditti about the distribution of booty, and by the stand made by the Poles after they were abandoned by all Europe. The disputes of the Three Powers about the division of the plunder were protracted for more than two years. Catharine refused to allow Frederick to take possession of Dantzick. The turbulent spirit of Joseph II. suggested a still more extensive partition; * and, in the midst of professions of inviolable friendship, they were more than once on the brink of open enmity. Panin at one time said to the French resident, ‘You know we are not yet in a state to break with our allies.’ † The great advantage promised by our proverb to honest men from the quarrels of their enemies, might still have been reaped, if there had been one government in Europe capable of vigorously performing its duty to civilized society.

The Poles made a gallant stand. The Government were compelled to call a Diet, and, though the Three Powers insisted on the necessity of unanimity in the most trivial act, they obliged this Diet to form itself under the tie of a confederation, which gave the most inconsiderable majority the power of sacri-

* Ferrand, ii. 271.

† Ibid. 273. Lettue de Sabatier, 26 Août, 1771.

sicing their country. In spite, however, of every species of corruption and violence, the Diet, surrounded as it was by foreign bayonets, gave powers to deputies to negotiate with the Three Powers relating to their pretensions, by a majority of only one. And it was not till September 1773, that the Republic was compelled to cede, by a pretended treaty, some of her finest provinces, with nearly five millions of her population. The conspirators, not satisfied with this act of robbery, were resolved to deprive the remains of the Polish nation of all hope of establishing a vigorous government, or attaining domestic tranquillity. The *Liberum Veto*, the elective monarchy, and all the other institutions which tended to perpetuate disorder, were again imposed on the nation by a pretended guarantee. But the ancient Constitution made the acts of a confederative Diet binding, only till the next free Diet. These acts of violence and rapine could not receive a legal form till the meeting of that Assembly in 1776.* During the whole of that time, Poland was occupied by Russian troops; and the kind language of Catharine to Stanislaus was, 'It depends only on me whether the name of Poland is to be struck out of the map of Europe.'

Maria Theresa had the merit of confessing her fault. On the 19th of February 1775, when M. de Breteuil, the ambassador of Louis XVI., had his first audience, after some embarrassed remarks on the subject of Poland, she at length exclaimed, in a tone of sorrow, 'I know, Sir, that I have brought a deep stain on my reign, by what has been done in Poland; but I am sure that I should be forgiven, if it could be known what repugnance I had to it, and how many circumstances combined against my principles.'† Her regret may have been sincere; but such professions were due in decency to such an ally as France, which had been so deceived and betrayed; and her plea would not have obtained an acquittal for a common offender guilty of a far less atrocious crime, at the bar of a court of justice. If she felt remorse, it was not shared by her son, who, at the period of the Bavarian war in 1778, and at the death of his mother in 1780, proposed to Frederic II. the Partition of Germany,‡ which, though supported on both occasions by Prince Henry, was firmly rejected by the King, who, in the latter years of his life, made war only for the security of his neighbours, and laboured during peace to improve the condition of his subjects.

* Ferrand, L. vii.

† Flissan. *Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vii. 125.

‡ Vie du Prince Henri de Prusse, 188-216.

The guilt of the three parties to the Partition, was very unequal. Frederic, the weakest, had most to apprehend, both from a rupture with his ally, and from the accidents of general war; while, on the other hand, some enlargement seemed requisite to the defence of his dominions. The House of Austria entered late and reluctantly into the conspiracy, which she probably might have escaped, if France had been under a more vigorous government. Catharine was the great criminal. She had for eight years oppressed, betrayed, and ravaged Poland—imposed a King on that country—prevented all reformation of the government—fomented divisions among the nobility—and, in one word, created and maintained that anarchy, which she at length used as a pretence for dismemberment. Her vast empire needed no accession of territory for defence, or, it might have been hoped, even for ambition. Yet, by her insatiable avidity for new conquest from Turkey, she produced the pretended necessity for the Partition. In order to prevent her from acquiring the Crimea, Moldavia, and Walachia, the Courts of Vienna and Berlin agreed to allow her to commit an equivalent robbery on Poland, on condition that each of them should rob the same country to the same amount,—thus preserving the balance of power by an agreement that their booty should be equal, and preventing Russia from disproportionate aggrandizement, by seizing on the provinces of a State, with which they were all three at peace and in amity, and whose territories they were bound by treaties, and pledged by recent declarations, to maintain inviolate. Monstrous as this transaction was, it is evident that, whoever first proposed it, Catharine was the real cause and author of the whole. This blame, which she was daring enough to take on herself, will blacken her memory in the eyes of the latest posterity; and, should any historian, dazzled by the splendour of her reign, or more excusably seduced by her genius—her love of letters—her efforts in legislation—and her real services to her subjects, labour to palliate this great offence, he will only share her infamy in the vain attempt to extenuate her guilt.

It must be owned, that the unfortunate structure of society in Poland, and the vicious constitution of its government, rendered it more easy for its unprincipled neighbours to dismember its territories. The danger of an elective monarchy, and especially of foreign candidates, was great. The law, which required unanimity, and sanctioned armed combinations of individuals, was at variance with all the principles of good government. But many states, with institutions equally objectionable, have

continued for ages safe and powerful. Villanage has been considered as one of the causes of the downfall of Poland; and it has sometimes been perfidiously used to lessen our indignation against the Partition. Unquestionably, every country is weakened by so detestable an institution as personal slavery, which renders it impossible to arm the greatest part of the inhabitants in the public defence. But it should be considered in this case, that the peasants of the neighbouring nations were serfs as much as those of Poland; and that she never was at war with any country but Sweden, where the body of the labourers were free. The Polish serfs never revolted against their lords, nor joined the enemies of (what could hardly be called) their country. Their condition was only a deduction from the military strength of the state, and cannot be regarded as more than as negatively contributing to its ruin, and rendering its reestablishment more hopeless. The intolerant laws against the Dissidents were an immediate agent in the destruction of the Republic. Among the other evils of such laws, it is none of the least that they create a body of disaffected citizens; and, in times of danger, tend to drive them into the arms of an enemy. The cause of the Dissidents was the fatal pretext for the interference of Russia; it gave her policy a specious colour of liberality; and, for a time, rendered the Poles unpopular throughout Europe, for their resistance to the tolerant principles of the age. It is very remarkable, that the laws against the Dissidents began not long after the commencement of the laws against the Catholics in Ireland, at the moment when all other enlightened nations were beginning to adopt the principle of religious liberty. There are, indeed, several other resemblances in the character and fate of these two unfortunate nations, who were both torn in pieces by religious bigotry,—who both possessed an ingenious, accomplished, and gallant gentry,—who gave a refined exterior to the community; while, in both, the body of the people, amidst all the bounty of nature, presented a general scene of disorder and beggary;—with this extraordinary difference, however, that the policy of Great Britain in Ireland, discovered the art of lowering the Irish peasants, though enjoying the legal rights of freemen, to as abject a state of ignorance, vice and wretchedness, as the boors of Poland, who had no pretence to any privilege, but were bound to the soil, and abandoned by the law to the pleasure of their masters.

The defects of the Polish Government probably contributed to the loss of independence most directly by their influence on the military system. The body of the gentry retained the power of the sword, as well as the authority of the

state, in their own hands. They were too jealous of the Crown to strengthen the regular army, though even that body was more in the power of the great officers named by the Diet, than in that of the King. They continued to serve on horseback as in ancient times, and to regard the *Pospolite*, or general armament of the gentry, as the impenetrable bulwark of the Commonwealth. Unless, indeed, they had armed their slaves, it would have been impossible to have established a formidable native infantry. Their armed force was adequate to the short irruptions or sudden enterprises of ancient war; and their mode of war was sufficient for their security and even greatness, while their enemies pursued a system nearly similar. But a body of noble cavalry was altogether incapable of the subordination and discipline, which are the essence of modern armies; and the military system was irreconcilable with the acquisition of the science of war. They were unfitted for long hostilities, and for comprehensive plans of operation; they remained ignorant of the arts of attack and defence; they disdained fortifications; and, in fine, adopted none of those military improvements which have rendered civilized war an arduous and extensive science. It was impossible for them, therefore, to encounter the armies of neighbouring states. In war alone, the Polish nobility were barbarians. War was the only part of civilization which the Russians had obtained.* In one country, the sovereign nobility of half a million durst neither arm their slaves, nor trust a mercenary army. In the other, the Czar, who ruled on the principles of Eastern despotism, naturally employed a standing army, which he, without fear, recruited among the enslaved peasantry. To them, military conscription was a reward, and the station of a private soldier a preferment. They were fitted by their previous condition to be rendered, by military discipline, the most patient and obedient of soldiers, without enterprise, but without fear; equally inaccessible to discontent and attachment, passive and almost insensible members of the great military machine. The despotism of Russia, in short, easily adopted military improvements. The aristocracy of Poland stubbornly rejected them. Why these different forms prevailed in the two

* The great judge of military merit did not estimate very highly the proficiency of the Russians. 'Les généraux de Catharine, ignoraient la castrometrie et la tactique. Ceux du Sultan, avaient encore moins de connoissances de sorte que pour se faire une juste idée de cette guerre; il faut se représenter des borgnes qui, après avoir bien battu les aveugles, gagnent sur eux un ascendant complet.' — *Fredéric II. Mem. de 1763 à 1775.*


countries, is a more difficult question. There are many circumstances in the institutions and destiny of a people, which seem to arise from original peculiarities of national character, of which it is often impossible to explain the origin, or even to show the nature. Denmark and Sweden are countries situated in the same region of the globe, and inhabited by nations of the same descent, language, and religion; very similar in their manners, in their ancient institutions, and modern civilization. He would be a bold speculator who should attempt to account for the talent, fame, turbulence, and revolutions of Sweden; and for the quiet prosperity and obscure mediocrity, which have formed the character of Denmark.

There is no political doctrine more false or more pernicious than that which represents vices in internal government as an extenuation of unjust aggression against a country, and a consolation to mankind for the destruction of its independence. As no government is without great faults, such a doctrine multiplies the grounds of war, gives an unbounded scope to ambition, and furnishes benevolent pretexts for every sort of rapine. However bad the government of Poland may have been, its bad qualities do not in the least degree abate the evil consequence of the Partition, in weakening, by its example, the security of all other nations. An act of robbery on the hoards of a worthless miser, though they be bestowed on the needy and the deserving, does not the less shake the common basis of property. The greater number of nations live under governments which are indisputably bad; but it is a less evil that they should continue in that state, than that they should be gathered under a single conqueror, even with a chance of improvement in their internal administration. Conquest and extensive empire are among the greatest evils, and the division of mankind into independent communities, is among the greatest advantages, which fall to the lot of men. The multiplication of such communities increases the reciprocal control of opinion; strengthens the principles of generous rivalry; makes every man love his own ancient and separate country with a warmer affection; brings nearer to all mankind the objects of noble ambition; and adds to the incentives to which we owe works of genius and acts of virtue. There are some peculiarities in the condition of every civilized country which are peculiarly favourable to some talents or good qualities. To destroy the independence of a people, is to annihilate a great assemblage of intellectual and moral qualities, which no human skill could bring together, which forms the character of a nation, and distinguishes it from other communities. As long as national spirit exists, there is always

reason to hope that it will work real reformation. When national spirit is destroyed, though better forms may be imposed by a conqueror, there is no farther hope of those only valuable reformations which represent the sentiments, and issue from the heart of a people. The barons at Runnymede continued to be the masters of slaves; but the noble principles of the charter shortly began to release these slaves from bondage. Those who conquered at Marathon and Plataea were the masters of slaves; yet, by the defeat of Eastern tyrants, they preserved knowledge, liberty, civilization itself, and contributed to that progress of the human mind which will one day banish slavery from the world. It is impossible to estimate the loss which the whole human race may suffer by the destruction of the moral being called a nation, with all the characteristic faculties and qualities which belong to it, and all the susceptibilities of improvement which may be interwoven with the structure of its character. How many germs of excellence may thus be crushed! How many powers extinguished which were to be unfolded in a more advanced period of national progress! Each people have peculiarities, and some of these peculiarities may be virtues, for the loss of which no other people can make adequate amends to the general society of mankind. Among nations, as among individuals, an unpromising youth is sometimes succeeded by a respectable manhood. Had the people of Scotland been conquered by Edward II. or by Henry VIII., a common observer would have seen nothing in the event but that a race of turbulent barbarians was reduced to subjection by a more civilized state. It is only now we know that such an event would have destroyed the seeds of the genius and virtue which they have since displayed, and which the conscious dignity of national independence contributed to unfold.

After the first Partition of Poland was completed in 1776, that devoted country was suffered for sixteen years to enjoy an interval of more undisturbed tranquillity than it had known for a century. Russian armies ceased to vex it. The dispositions of other foreign powers became more favourable. Frederic II. now entered on that spotless and honourable portion of his reign, in which he made a just war for the defence of the integrity of Bavaria, and of the independence of Germany. It has been already stated, that, on that occasion, he preferred a war in which he could win nothing, to a share in the Partition of Germany, with which he was tempted by Joseph II. Attempts were not wanting to seduce him into new enterprises against Poland. When, in the year 1782, reports were current that Potemkin was to be made King of Poland, that haughty and

profligate barbarian told Count Goertz, the Prussian ambassador at Petersburg, that he despised the Polish nation too much to be ambitious of reigning over them.* He desired the ambassador to communicate to his master a plan for a new Partition, observing, 'that the first was only *child's play*, and that if they *had taken all, the outcry would not have been greater*;' sentiments and language perfectly worthy of the leader of a gang of banditti. Goertz unwillingly communicated this proposal to his master. Every man who feels for the dignity of human nature, will rejoice that the illustrious monarch firmly rejected the proposal. Potemkin read over his refusal three times before he could believe his eyes; and at length exclaimed, in language very common among certain politicians, 'I never could have believed that King Frederic was capable of *romantic ideas*.'† As soon as Frederic returned to counsels worthy of himself, he became unfit for the purposes of the Empress, who, in 1780, refused to renew her alliance with him. and found a more suitable instrument of her designs in the restless character, and shallow understanding, of Joseph II., whose unprincipled ambition was now released from the restraint which his mother's scruples had imposed on it. The project of reestablishing an Eastern empire now occupied the Court of Petersburg, and a portion of the spoils of Turkey was a sufficient lure to Joseph. The state of Europe tended daily more and more to restore some degree of independence to the remains of Poland. Though France, her most ancient and constant ally, was then absorbed by the approaches of those tremendous mutations which have for more than thirty years agitated Europe, other powers now adopted a policy, of which the influence was favourable to the Poles. Prussia, as she receded from Russia, became gradually connected with England, Holland, and Sweden; and her honest policy in the care of Bavaria, placed her at the head of all the independent members of the Germanic Confederacy. Turkey declared war against Russia; and the Austrian Government was disturbed by the discontent and revolts which the precipitate innovations of Joseph had excited in various provinces of the monarchy. A

 Dohm Denkwürdigkeit, II. xlv. Communicated by the Count de Goertz to Dohm.

† It was about this time that Goertz gave an account of the Court of Russia to the Prince Royal of Prussia, who was about to visit Petersburg, of which the following passage is a curious specimen.
 'Le Prince Bariatinski est reconnu *scélérat*, et même comme tel employé encore de tems en tems.'—Dohm, II. xxxii.

formidable combination against the power of Russia was in process of time formed. Circumstances became not long after so favourable to the Poles, that, in the treaty between Prussia and the Porte, concluded at Constantinople in January 1790, the contracting parties bound themselves to endeavour to obtain from Austria the restitution of those Polish provinces, to which she had given the name of Galicia.*

During the progress of these auspicious changes, the Polish nation began to entertain the hope that they might at length be suffered to reform their institutions, to provide for their own quiet and safety, and to adopt that policy which might one day enable them to resume their ancient station among European nations. From 1778 to 1788, no great measures had been adopted; but no tumults disturbed the country: reasonable opinions made some progress, and a national spirit was slowly reviving. The nobility patiently listened to plans for the establishment of a productive revenue and a regular army; a disposition to renounce their dangerous right of electing a king made perceptible advances; and the fatal law of unanimity had been so branded as an instrument of Russian policy, that in the Diets of these ten years, no nuncio was found bold enough to employ his negative. At the breaking out of the Turkish war, the Poles ventured to refuse not only an alliance offered by Catharine, but even permission to her to raise a body of thirty thousand noble cavalry in the territories of the republic.†

In the midst of these excellent symptoms of public sense and temper, a Diet assembled at Warsaw in October 1788, from whom the restoration of the republic was hoped, and by whom it would have been accomplished, if their prudent and honest measures had not been defeated by one of the blackest acts of treachery recorded in the annals of mankind. Perhaps the four years which followed present a more signal example than any other part of history,—of patience, moderation, wisdom and integrity, in a popular assembly,—of spirit and unanimity among a turbulent people,—of inveterate malignity in an old oppressor,—and of the most execrable perfidy in a pretended friend. The Diet applied themselves with the utmost diligence and caution to reform the State. They watched the progress of popular opinion, and proposed no reformation till the public seemed ripe for its reception. When the spirit of the French Revolution was everywhere prevalent, these reformers had the courageous prudence to avoid whatever was visionary in its principles, or vio-

* Schoell Trait. xiv. 473.

† Ferrand, ii. 386.

lent in their execution. They refused the powerful but perilous aid of the enthusiasm which it excited long before excesses and atrocities had rendered it odious. They were content to be reproached by their friends for the slowness of their reformatory measures; and to be despised for their limited extent by many of those generous minds who then aspired to bestow a new and more perfect liberty on mankind. After having taken measures for the reestablishment of the finances and the army, they employed the greater part of the year 1789 in the discussion of constitutional reforms, which, besides their own evident necessity, the Diet was called on to adopt, by the King of Prussia, who offered, in December 1789, to enter into an alliance with the republic, on condition of an increase of the army to 60,000 men, and *of the establishment of a new constitution.* *

A committee for the reform of the Constitution had been appointed in September 1789, who, before the conclusion of that year, made a report which contained an outline of the most necessary alterations in the government. No immediate decision was made on these propositions; but the sense of the Diet was, in the course of repeated discussions, more decisively manifested. In the year 1790, it was resolved, without a division, that the Elector of Saxony should be named successor to the Crown. This determination, which was the prelude to the establishment of hereditary monarchy, was confirmed by the Dietines, or Electoral Assemblies. The elective franchise, formerly exercised by all the nobility, was limited to landed proprietors; and many other fundamental principles of a new constitution were perfectly understood to be generally approved, though they were not formally established. In the mean time, as the Polish Diets were biennial, the assembly approached to the close of its legal duration. It was dangerous to intrust the work of reformation to an entirely new assembly; it seemed also dangerous

* Schoell, xiv. 117. On the 12th October 1788, the King of Prussia had offered, by Buckholz, his minister at Warsaw, to guarantee the integrity of the Polish territory, Ferr. ii. 452. On the 19th November 1788, he advises them not to be diverted, by any pretended guarantee, from '*ameliorating their form of government; and declares, that he will guarantee their independence without mixing in their internal affairs, or restraining the liberty of their discussions, which, on the contrary, he will guarantee.*' Ferr. ii. 457. The negotiations of Prince Czartorinski at Berlin, and the other notes of Buckholz, seconded by Mr Hailes the English minister, agree entirely in language and principles with the passages which have been cited.

to establish the precedent of Diets prolonging their own existence beyond the legal period. An expedient was adopted, not indeed sanctioned by law, but founded in constitutional principles, and of which the success afforded a signal proof of the unanimity of the Polish nations. New writs were issued to all the Dietines, requiring them to chuse the same number of Nuncios as usual. These elections proceeded regularly; and the new members being received by the old, formed with them a double Diet. Almost all the Dietines instructed their new representatives to vote for hereditary monarchy, and declared their approbation of the past conduct of the Diet.

On the 16th December 1790, the double Diet assembled with a more direct, deliberate, formal and complete authority, from the great majority of the freemen, to reform the abuses of the government, than perhaps any other representative assembly in Europe ever possessed. They declared the pretended guarantee of Russia in 1776 to be '*null, an invasion of national independence, incompatible with the natural rights of every civilized society, and with the political privileges of every free nation.*'* The Diet now felt the necessity of incorporating, in one law, all the reforms which had passed, and all those which had received the unequivocal sanction of public approbation. The state of foreign affairs, as well as the general voice at home, loudly called for the immediate adoption of such a measure. It was accordingly determined to lay before the Diet, on the 5th May 1791, a law, entitled the Constitution of Poland. The apprehension of violence from the Russian faction, now provoked by the smallness of their number among their own countrymen, and unfortunately encouraged by the condition of their wicked accomplices abroad, determined the patriotic party to anticipate the execution of their plan; and the new Constitution was presented to the Diet on the 3d of May, † after having been read and received the night before with unanimous and enthusiastic applause by far the greater part of the members of both Houses, at the palace of Prince Radzivil. Only twelve dissentient voices opposed it in the Diet; so small was the number of those enemies of their country, whom the whole power and wealth of Muscovy could command. Never were debates and votes more free. These

* Ferrand, iii. 55. The absence of dates in this writer obliges us to fix the time of this decree by conjecture.

† The particular events of the 3d of May are related fully by Ferrand, and shortly in the Annual Register of 1791; a valuable narrative, though not without considerable mistakes.

men, the most hateful of apostates, were neither attacked, nor threatened, nor insulted. The people of Poland, on this great and sacred occasion, seemed to have lost all the levity and turbulence of their character, and to have already learnt those virtues which are usually the slow fruit of that liberty which they were then only about to plant.

The constitution confirmed the rights of the Established Church, together with religious liberty, as dictated by the charity which religion inculcates and inspires. It established an hereditary monarchy in the Electoral House of Saxony; reserving to the nation the right of choosing a new race of Kings, in case of the extinction of that family. The executive power was vested in the King, whose ministers were responsible for its exercise. The Legislature was divided into two Houses, the Senate, and the House of Nuncios, with respect to whom, the ancient constitutional language and forms were preserved. The necessity of unanimity was taken away, and, with it, those dangerous remedies of Confederation and Confederate Diets which it had rendered necessary. Each considerable town received new rights, with a restoration of all their ancient privileges. The burgesses recovered the right of electing their own magistrates. * All their property within their towns were declared to be inheritable and inviolable. They were empowered to acquire land in Poland, as they always had in Lithuania. All the offices of the State, the law, the church, and the army, were thrown open to them. The larger towns were empowered to send deputies to the Diet, with a right to vote on all local and commercial subjects, and to speak on all questions whatsoever. All these deputies became Noble, as did every officer of the rank of captain, and every lawyer who filled the humblest office of magistracy, and every burgess who acquired a property in land, paying 5*l.* of yearly taxes. Two hundred burgesses were ennobled at the moment, and a provision was made for ennobling thirty at every future diet. Industry was perfectly unfettered. Every man might freely exercise any trade.

The ancient privilege of the Polish nobility, that they should not be arrested till after conviction, † was extended to the burgesses; a most inconvenient privilege, but of which the exten-

* ' A free choice of all magistrates and officers of towns, by their own citizens, *being the essence of liberty*, it is declared hereby to be inherently their right. '—*Law on Towns*, Sect. i. Par. 12.

† *Neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum*, was the privilege of Polish citizens, or noble Poles, which were synonymous expressions. It amounted to an impunity for the greatest crimes.

sion was peculiarly well adapted to raise the traders to a level with the gentry. The same object was promoted by a provision, that no nobleman, by becoming a merchant, a shopkeeper, or artisan, should forfeit his privileges, or be deemed to derogate from his rank. Numerous paths to nobility were thus thrown open. Every art was employed to make the ascent easy. Even the abusive privileges of the higher class were bestowed on the lower. A temptation was held out to the indigent nobility, to remove prejudice against industrious occupations, by embracing them; the burgesses would very shortly be ennobled in considerable numbers; while, on the other hand, the substantial rights of nobility were taken away from a great part of the nobles, by the limitation of the elective franchise to the landholders. No better expedient for blending the two orders could be imagined. The only mode of raising the lower class, was to bestow on them a share in the honour and estimation immemorably enjoyed by the higher. Such institutions must have gradually blended these hitherto discordant orders into one mass. The barriers which separated the different classes of society would have been broken down. The wisdom and liberality of the Polish gentry, if they had not been defeated by atrocious and flagitious enemies, would, by a single act of legislation, have accomplished that fusion of the various orders of society, which it required the most propitious circumstances, in a long course of ages, to effect, in the freest and most happy of the European nations.

Having thus communicated political privileges to hitherto disregarded freemen, the Diet of Poland did not neglect to pave the way for the final communication of personal liberty to slaves. The constitution extended to all serfs the full protection of law, which before was enjoyed by those of the Royal demesnes; and it facilitated and encouraged voluntary manumission, by ratifying all contracts relating to it—the first step in every country towards the accomplishment of the abolition of slavery—the highest of all the objects of human legislation, but perhaps also that to which the road is steepest and most rough.

The effect of this glorious revolution was not dishonoured by popular tumult, by sanguinary excesses, by political executions. So far did the excellent Diet carry their wise regard to the sacredness of property, that, though they were in urgent need of financial resources, they postponed, till after the death of present incumbents, the application to the relief of the State of the income of those ecclesiastical offices which were no longer deemed necessary for the purposes of religion. History will one day do justice to that illustrious body, and hold out to

posterity, as the perfect model of a most arduous reformation, that revolution which fell to the ground from no want of wisdom on their part, but from the irresistible power and detestable wickedness of their enemies.

As the storm which demolished this noble edifice came from abroad, it is now necessary to turn our attention to the connexion of Poland with foreign States. On the 29th of March 1790, a treaty of alliance was concluded at Warsaw between the King of Prussia and the Republic of Poland, containing a reciprocal guarantee of territory, and specifying the succours which each party was to afford to the other in case of attack; but peculiarly distinguished by one stipulation, which it is necessary to insert in this place. '*If any foreign Power, in virtue of any preceding acts and stipulations whatsoever, should claim the right of interfering in the internal affairs of the republic of Poland, at what time, or in what manner soever, his Majesty the King of Prussia will first employ his good offices to prevent hostilities in consequence of such pretension; but, if his good offices should be ineffectual, and that hostilities against Poland should ensue, his Majesty the King of Prussia, considering such an event as a case provided for in this treaty, will assist the republic according to the tenor of the 4th article of the present treaty.*'* The aid here referred to was, on the part of Prussia, 22,000 or 30,000 men; or, in case of necessity, all its disposable force. The undisputed purpose of the article was to guard Poland against an interference in her affairs by Russia, under pretence of the guarantee of the Polish constitution in 1775. No other danger of this nature existed. For this exclusive object was the stipulation framed.

It is true, that the King of Prussia, after the conclusion of the treaty, urgently pressed the Diet for the cession of the cities of Dantzick and Thorn. But that claim was afterwards withdrawn and disavowed. On the 13th of May 1791, Goltz, then Prussian Chargé d' Affaires at Warsaw, in a conference with the Deputation of the Diet for Foreign Affairs, said, 'that he had received orders from his Prussian Majesty to express to them his satisfaction at the happy revolution which had at length given to Poland a wise and regular constitution.'† On the 23d of May, in his answer to the letter of Stanislaus, announcing the adoption of the constitution, the same Prince, af-

* Marten's Rec. iii. 161—165.

† Ferrand, iii. 121. See the letter of the King of Prussia to Goltz, expressing his admiration and applause of the new constitution. Segur, *Frcd. d. Guil.* ii. vol. iii. 252.

ter applauding the establishment of hereditary monarchy in the House of Saxony (which, it must be particularly borne in mind, was a positive breach of the constitution guaranteed by Russia in 1775), he proceeds to say, '*I congratulate myself on having contributed to the liberty and independence of Poland; and my most agreeable care will be, to preserve and strengthen the ties which unite us.*' On the 21st of June, the Prussian minister, on occasion of alarm expressed by the Poles that the peace with Turkey might prove dangerous to them, declares, that if such dangers were to arise, 'the King of Prussia, faithful to all his obligations, will have it particularly at heart to fulfil those which were last year contracted by him.' Thus did the Government of Prussia, three times after their knowledge of the new constitution, ratify and confirm the alliance with Poland, and expressly declare an attack by Russia, in consequence of that revolution, to be within the stipulations of the treaty. With the revolution of the 3d of May fully before him, the King of Prussia three times solemnly declared, that a war on account of that revolution was one of the cases comprehended in the defensive alliance. Had it been reasonable, then, to place any reliance on the faith of treaties, or on the honour of Kings, the republic of Poland might have confidently hoped, that, if she were attacked by Russia, in virtue of the guarantee of 1775, her independence and her constitution would be defended by the whole force of the Prussian monarchy.

The remaining part of the year 1791, passed in quiet, but not without apprehension. On the 9th of January 1792, Catharine concluded a peace with Turkey at Jassy; and being thus delivered from all foreign enemies, began once more to manifest intentions of interfering in the affairs of Poland; with respect to which she had for some time before observed a very unusual degree of caution and forbearance. She was emboldened by the removal of Hertzberg from the councils of Prussia, and by the death of the Emperor Leopold, a prince of experience and prudence; and she resolved to avail herself of the disposition which then arose in the European Governments, to sacrifice every other object to preparation for a contest with the French Revolution. A small number of Polish nobles furnished her with that very slender pretext, with which she was always content. Their chiefs were Rzewuski, who, in 1768, had been exiled to Siberia, and Felix Potocki, a member of a potent and illustrious family, of whom all the rest were inviolably attached to the cause of the Republic. These unnatural apostates deserted their long-suffering country at the moment when, for the first time, hope dawned on her, in order to aid the arms of her

old, rancorous, treacherous, and cruel enemy. Perhaps no men were ever guilty of a more abominable and aggravated treason. They were received by Catharine with the honours due from her to the betrayers of their country. On the 12th of May 1792, they formed a Confederation at *Targowitz*. On the 18th, the Russian minister at Warsaw declared, that the Empress, 'called on by many distinguished Poles who had confederated against the pretended constitution of 1791, would, in virtue of her guarantee, *march an army into Poland to restore the liberties of the Republic.*'

She soon after published a manifesto, in which, with her usual effrontery, she professed to justify her measures in *the sight of God and man*. She once more solemnly declared, that she would not violate the integrity of the Polish territory, and desired the Poles to rely on her well-known justice and magnanimity! This language, and these measures, however monstrous, were at least perfectly consistent with the whole system of Catharine towards Poland. Other hopes, as we have seen, might have been entertained of the King of Prussia. But these hopes were speedily and cruelly deceived. In May 1792, Lucchesini the Prussian minister at Warsaw, gave a vague and evasive answer to a communication made to him respecting the preparations for defence against Russia. He answered coldly, 'that his master received the communication as a proof of the esteem of the King and Republic of Poland; but that he could take no cognizance of the affairs which occupied the Diet.' Stanislaus also claimed his aid. On the 8th of June 1792, the King of Prussia answered, '*In considering the new Constitution which the Republic adopted, without my knowledge and without my concurrence, I never thought of supporting or protecting it.*' Thus did Frederic William deny his own repeated declarations, belie his solemn engagements, and trample under foot all that is held most sacred among men. So signal a breach of faith is not to be found in the modern history of great states. It resembles rather the vulgar frauds and low artifices, which, under the name of Reason of State, made up the policy of the petty usurpers and tyrants of Italy, in the fourteenth century.

Assured of the connivance of Prussia, Catharine now poured an immense army into Poland, along the whole line of frontier, from the Baltic to the neighbourhood of the Euxine. The spirit of the Polish nation was unbroken; and the army displayed the most intrepid valour under Prince Joseph Poniatowski and General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who then began to signalize himself by that patriotic heroism which will for ever render his memory dear and venerable to all lovers of their coun-

try. A series of brilliant actions occupied the summer of 1792, in which the Polish army, alternately victorious and vanquished, gave equal proofs of unavailing gallantry. Meantime Stanislaus remained in his capital, willing to be duped by the Russian and Prussian ambassadors, whom he suffered to continue at Warsaw.

He made a vain attempt to disarm the anger of the Empress, by proposing to her that her grandson Constantine, should be the stock of the new Constitutional Dynasty. She haughtily replied, That he must reestablish the old Constitution, and accede to the Confederation of Targowitz. 'Perhaps,' says M. Ferrand, 'because a throne acquired without guilt or perfidy might have few attractions for her.'* On the 4th of July, he published a proclamation, declaring that he would not survive his country. But, on the 22d of the same month, as soon as he received the commands of Catharine, this dastardly and pusillanimous Prince declared his accession to the Confederation of Targowitz; and thus threw the legal authority of the Republic into the hands of that band of conspirators. The gallant army, over whom the Diet had intrusted their unworthy King with absolute authority, were now compelled, by his treacherous orders, to lay down their arms amidst the tears of their countrymen, and the insolent exultation of their barbarous enemies.† The traitors of Targowitz were, for a moment, permitted by Russia to rule over the country which they had betrayed, to prosecute the persons and lay waste the property of all good citizens; and to reestablish every ancient abuse. They sent a

* Ferr. iii. 217. Corresp. between Stanislaus and Catharine. Id. 230—234.

† A curious passage of Thuanus shows the apprehension early entertained of the Russian power. At that time, the Great Duke of Muscovy possessed the port of Narva on the Baltic. 'Livonis pruden-
'dente et reipublicæ Christianæ utili consilio navigatio illuc inter-
'dicta fuerat, ne commercio nostrorum BARBARI varias artes ipsis
'ignotas, et quæ ad rem navalem et militarem pertinent edocerentur.
'Sic enim eximistabant *Moscovos* qui maximam septentrionis partem
'tenerent, Narvæ condito emporio, et constructo armamentario non
'solum in Livoniam, sed etiam in Germaniam effuso exercitu penetra-
'turos.'—*Thuan. Hist. Lib. xxxix. c. 8.—sub anno 1563.*

He goes on to say, that influenced by these fears, the Hanse Towns prohibited, under the severest penalties, all commerce with the Muscovite part of Narva. As Greece, he says, was overrun by the Turks when instructed in navigation by the Genoese, so the communication of the arts of war to the barbarians of Muscovy, might expose all Europe to a like danger from them.

deputation to Petersburg, to thank the Empress for having *stopped the fatal progress of the monarchical spirit*, and restored the nation to its Republican Government. However strange it may appear, the principal charge made by Catharine and the Confederates, against the Polish Revolution, was, that it introduced hereditary monarchy—that it promoted despotism—and was founded on the subversion of republican liberty.*

Such was the unhappy state of Poland during the remainder of the year 1792, a period which will be always memorable for the invasion of France by a German army—their ignominious retreat—the eruption of the French forces into Germany and Flanders—the dreadful scenes which passed in the interior of France,—and the apprehension professed by all Governments of the progress of the opinions to which these events were ascribed. The Empress of Russia, among the rest, professed the utmost abhorrence of the French Revolution; made war against it by the most vehement manifestoes; stimulated every other power to resist it; but never contributed a battalion or a ship to the Confederacy against it. Whether, like others who wage war on the property of their neighbours, she excited or embroiled the affray, in order that she might pursue her depredations more safely, is a question which we have yet no materials to answer. Certain it is, that these events enabled her, without disturbance, to execute her designs against Poland. Frederic William plunged headlong into the coalition against the advice of his wisest counsellors.† Some circumstances of that extraordinary campaign are mentioned by M. Ferrand, as in some degree influencing the Partition of Poland, of which, on that account, it may be not altogether impertinent to give a short statement in this place. At the moment of the Duke of Brunswick's entry into France, in July 1792, if we may believe M. Ferrand,

* The same accusation was urged against it from a diametrically opposite quarter, in a pamphlet published at Paris in 1692, by Mehée de la Touche, entitled, *Histoire de la pretendue Revolution de la Pologne, du 3 Mai 1791*.

† Prince Henry and Count Hertzberg, who agreed perhaps in nothing else.—*Vie du Prince Henri*, 297. In the same place, we have a very curious extract from a Letter of Prince Henry, of the 1st November 1792, in which he says, that 'every year of war will make the conditions of peace worse for the Allies.' Henry was not a Democratist, nor even a Whig. His opinions were confirmed by all the events of the first war, and are certainly not contradicted by occurrences towards the close of a second war, twenty years afterwards, and in totally new circumstances.

the ministers of the principal European powers met at Luxemburg, provided with various projects for new arrangements of territory, in the event which they thought inevitable, of the success of the invasion. The Austrian ministers betrayed the intention of their Court, to renew their attempt to compel the Elector of Bavaria to exchange his dominions for the Low Countries, which, by the dissolution of their treaties with France, they deemed themselves entitled again to propose. The King of Prussia, on this alarming disclosure, showed symptoms of an inclination to abandon an enterprise, which many other circumstances combined to prove was impracticable, at least with the number of troops with which he had presumptuously undertaken it. These dangerous projects of the Court of Vienna made him also feel the necessity of a closer connexion with Russia; and in an interview with the Austrian and Russian ministers at Verdun, he gave them to understand, that Prussia could not continue the war without being assured of an indemnity. Russia eagerly adopted a suggestion which engaged Prussia more completely in her Polish schemes. Austria willingly listened to a proposal which would furnish a precedent and a justification for similar enlargements of her own dominions; and the Imperial Courts declared, that they would acquiesce in the occupation of another portion of Poland by the Prussian armies.*

These statements are contained in the work of a zealous Royalist, who had evidently more than ordinary means of information. Such, according to his account, were the designs of the Coalesced Powers,—such were at least the projects of which they suspected each other,—and such were the plans finally adopted to prevent the Coalition from breaking to pieces, at the moment when they represented themselves to the world as the generous deliverers of France, and the disinterested champions of social order. That such designs should be ascribed to these monarchs, by the warmest partisans of monarchy,—that such rumours should even be prevalent among well-informed men, are facts of great importance in helping us to conjecture what might have been the consequence of the success of their arms against France.

Whether in consequence of the supposed agreement at Verdun or not, the fact at least is certain, that Frederic William returned from his French disgraces to seek consolation in the plunder of Poland. Nothing is more characteristic of a monarch without ability, without knowledge, without

* Ferrand, iii. 252—255.

resolution, whose life had been divided between gross libertinism and abject superstition, than that, after flying before the armies of a powerful nation, he should instantly proceed to attack an oppressed people, whom he thought defenceless and incapable of resistance. In January 1793, he entered Poland; and, while Russia was charging the Poles with the extreme of Royalism, he chose the very opposite pretext—that they propagated anarchical principles, and had established Jacobin Clubs. To prevent the dangers which threatened his own dominion, he, with the acquiescence of the two Imperial Courts, had ordered General Mollendorff to occupy Great Poland. Even the criminal confederates of Targowitz were indignant at these falsehoods, and remonstrated, at Berlin and Petersburg, against the entry of the Prussian troops. But the complaints of such apostates against the natural results of their own crimes, were heard with contempt. The Empress of Russia, in a declaration of the 9th April, informed the world that the only means of containing the Jacobinism of Poland, was ‘*by confining it within more narrow limits, and by giving it proportions which better suited an intermediate power.*’ She announced in this declaration, that she acted in concert with Prussia, and with the consent of Austria. The King of Prussia, accordingly, seized Great Poland; and the Russian army occupied all the other provinces of the republic. It was easy, therefore, for Catharine to determine the extent of her new robbery. In order, however, to give it some shadow of legality, the King was compelled to call a diet, from which every man was excluded who was not a partisan of Russia, and an accomplice of the Confederates of Targowitz. That unhappy assembly met at Grodno in June; and, in spite of its bad composition, showed many sparks of Polish spirit. *Sievlers*, the Russian ambassador, a man apparently worthy of his mission, in order to subdue the Diet, had recourse to a long series of threats, insults, brutal violence, military imprisonment, arbitrary exile, and to every other species of outrage and intimidation which, for near thirty years, had constituted the whole system of Russia towards the Polish legislature. In one note, he tells them that, unless they proceed more rapidly, ‘he shall be under the painful necessity of removing all incendiaries, disturbers of the public peace, and partisans of the 3d of May, from the Diet.’* In another, of the 16th of July, he apprizes the Diet, that he must consider any longer delay ‘*as a declaration of hostility; in which case, the lands, possessions, and dwellings of the malcontent MEMBERS, MUST BE SUBJECT TO MILITARY EXECUTION.*’†

* Ferrand, iii. 369. *Pieccs Justif.*

† Ibid. 372.

—‘*If the King adheres to the Opposition, the military execution must extend to his demesnes. The pay of the Russian troops will be stopped, and they will live at the expense of the unhappy peasants.*’ Grodno was surrounded by Russian troops; loaded cannon were pointed at the palace of the King and the hall of the Diet; four nuncios were carried away prisoners by violence in the night; and all the members were threatened with Siberia. In these circumstances, the captive Diet were compelled, in July and September, to sign two treaties with Russia and Prussia, stipulating such cessions as the plunderers were pleased to dictate, and containing a repetition of the same insulting mockery which had closed every former act of rapine—a guarantee of the remaining possessions of the Republic.* They had the consolation to be allowed to perform one act of justice—that of depriving the leaders of the confederation of Targowitz, Felix Potoski, Rzewuski, and Braneki, of the great offices which they dishonoured. It will one day be discovered, from the intrigues and correspondence of the coalesced powers, whether it be actually true that Alsace and Lorraine were to have been the compensation to Austria for her forbearing to claim her share of the spoils of Poland at the period of the Second Partition. It is well known that the allied army refused to receive the surrender of Strasburgh in the name of Louis XVII., and that Valenciennes and Condé were taken in the name of Austria.

In the beginning of 1794, a young officer named *Madalinski*, who had kept together, at the disbanding of the army, eighty gentlemen, gradually increased his adherents, till they amounted to a little army of about four thousand men, who began to harass the Russian posts. The people of Cracow expelled the Russian garrison; and, on the night of the 28th of March, the heroic Kosciusko, at the head of a small body of adherents, entered that city, and undertook its government and defence. Endowed with civil as well as military talents, he established order among the insurgents, and caused the legitimate constitution to be solemnly proclaimed in the Cathedral Church, where it was once more hailed with genuine enthusiasm. He proclaimed a national confederation, and sent copies of his manifesto to Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna; treating the two first courts with deserved severity, but speaking amicably of the third, whose territory he enjoined his army to respect.

The Austrian resident at Warsaw publicly disclaimed these marks of friendship, imputing to Kosciusko and his friends

* Mart. Rec. v. 162. 202.

‘the monstrous principles of the French Convention’—a language which plainly showed that the Court of Vienna, which had only consented to the last partition, was willing to share in the next. The army of Kosciusko was daily reinforced, and on the 17th of April rose on the Russian garrison of Warsaw, and compelled Igelstrom the commander, after an obstinate resistance of thirty-six hours, to evacuate the city with a loss of 2000 men wounded. The citizens of the capital, the whole body of a proud nobility, and all the friends of their country throughout Poland, submitted to the temporary dictatorship of Kosciusko, a private gentleman only recently known to the public, and without any influence but the reputation of his virtue. Order and tranquillity generally prevailed; some of the Burgers, perhaps excited by the agents of Russia, complained to Kosciusko of the inadequacy of their privileges. But this excellent chief, instead of courting popularity, repressed an attempt which might lead to dangerous divisions. Soon after, more criminal excesses for the first time dishonoured the Polish Revolution, but served to shed a brighter lustre on the humanity and intrepidity of Kosciusko. The papers of the Russian embassy laid open proofs of the venality of many of the Poles who had betrayed their country. The populace of Warsaw, impatient of the slow forms of law, apprehensive of the lenient spirit which prevailed among the revolutionary leaders, and instigated by the incendiaries, who are always ready to flatter the passions of a multitude, put to death eight of these persons, and, by their clamours, extorted from the tribunal a precipitate trial and execution of a somewhat smaller number. Kosciusko did not content himself with reprobating these atrocities. Though surrounded by danger, attacked by the most formidable enemies, betrayed by his government, and abandoned by all Europe, having no doubt of the moral guilt of these prisoners, no resource but the irregular energy of the people, he flew from his camp to the capital, brought the ringleaders of the massacre to justice, and caused them to be immediately executed. We learn, from very respectable authority, that during all the perils of his short administration, he persuaded the nobility to take measures for a more rapid enfranchisement of the peasantry, than the cautious policy of the Diet had hazarded.*

Kosciusko, harassed by the advance of an Austrian, Prussian, and Russian army, concentrated the greater part of his

* M. Segur, *Régne de F. Guill.* II. Tome iii. 169. These important measures are not mentioned in any other narration which we have read, and M. de S. gives no particulars of them.

army around Warsaw. Frederic William advanced against the capital at the head of 40,000 disciplined troops. Kosciusko, with 12,000 irregulars, made an obstinate resistance for several hours on the 8th of June, and retired to his entrenched camp before Warsaw. The Prussians took possession of Cracow, and summoned the capital to surrender, under pain of all the horrors suffered by towns which are taken by assault. After two months employed in vain attempts to reduce the city, the King of Prussia was compelled, by an insurrection in his lately acquired Polish province, to retire with precipitation and disgrace. But in the mean time, the Russians advanced in spite of the gallant resistance of General Count Joseph Sierakowski, one of the most faithful friends of his country. On the 4th of October, Kosciusko, with only 18,000 men, thought it necessary to hazard a battle at Macciowice, to prevent the junction of the two Russian divisions of Suwarrow and Fersen. Success was long and valiantly contested. According to some narrations, the enthusiasm of the Poles would have prevailed, if the treachery or incapacity of Count Poninski had not favoured the Russians. * That officer neither defended a river where he had been ordered to make a stand, nor brought up his division to support his general. Kosciusko, after the most admirable exertions of judgment and courage, fell, covered with wounds. The Polish army fled. The Russians and Cossacks were melted at the sight of their gallant enemy, who lay insensible on the field. When he opened his eyes, and learnt the full extent of the disaster, he vainly implored the enemy to put an end to his sufferings. The Russian officers, moved with admiration and compassion, treated his wounds with tenderness, and sent him, with due respect, a prisoner of war to Petersburg. Catharine threw him into a dungeon; from which he was released by Paul on his succession, perhaps partly from hatred to his mother, and partly from one of those paroxysms of transient generosity, of which that brutal lunatic was not incapable.

From that moment the farther defence of Poland became hopeless. Suwarrow advanced to the capital, and stimulated his army to the assault of the great suburb of Praga, by the barbarous promise of a license to pillage for 48 hours. A dreadful contest ensued on the 4th of November, 1794, in which the inhabitants performed prodigies of useless valour, making a stand

* *Segur*. iii. 171. This statement is supported by the character of the writer, and by his opportunities of learning the truth from Kosciusko himself.

in every street, and at almost every house. All the horrors of war, which the most civilized armies practise on such occasions, were here seen with tenfold violence. No age or sex, or condition, was spared. The murder of children formed a sort of barbarous sport for the assailants. The most unspeakable outrages were offered to the living and the dead. The mere infliction of death was an act of mercy. The streets streamed with blood. Eighteen thousand human carcases were carried away from them after the massacre had ceased. Many were burnt to death in the flames which consumed the town. Multitudes were driven by the bayonet into the Vistula. A great body of fugitives perished by the fall of the great bridge over which they fled. These tremendous scenes closed the resistance of Poland, and completed the triumph of her oppressors. The Russian army entered Warsaw on the 9th of November 1794. Stanislaus was suffered to amuse himself with the formalities of royalty for some months longer. In obedience to the order of Catharine, he abdicated on the 25th of November 1795—a day which, being the anniversary of his coronation, seemed to be chosen to complete his humiliation. Quarrels about the division of the booty retarded the complete execution of the formal and final partition, till the beginning of the year 1796.

Thus fell the Polish people, after a wise and virtuous attempt to establish liberty, and a heroic struggle to defend it—by the flagitious wickedness of Russia—by the foul treachery of Prussia—by the unprincipled accession of Austria—and by the short-sighted, as well as mean-spirited, acquiescence of all the nations of Europe. Till the first partition, the sacredness of ancient possession, the right of every people to its own soil, were universally regarded as the guardian principles of European independence. They gained strength from that progress of civilization, which they protected and secured; and the violation of them to a great degree seemed to be effectually precluded by the jealousies of great states, and by the wise combinations of the smaller communities. Confederacies were formed, long wars were carried on, to prevent the dangerous aggrandizement of states by legitimate conquest. To prevent a nation from acquiring the power of doing wrong to others, was the great object of negotiation and war. These principles were just and wise; as the preservation of the balance of power was, in truth, the only effectual security of all independent nations against oppression. But in the case of Poland, a nation was robbed of its ancient territory without the pretence of any wrong which could justify war, without even those forms of war which could bestow on the acquisition the name of conquest. It was not an

attack on the balance of power—the great outwork of national independence; it was the destruction of national independence itself. It is a cruel and bitter aggravation of this calamity, that the crime was perpetrated, under the pretence of the wise and just principle of maintaining the equilibrium—as if that principle had any value but its tendency to *prevent* such crimes—as if an equal division of the booty bore any resemblance to a joint exertion to prevent the robbery. But in truth, the equality of the Partition did not hinder it from being the very worst and most dangerous disturbance of the balance of power. It left the balance between three powerful states as it was before. But it destroyed the balance between the strong and the weak. It strengthened the strong; and it taught them how to render their strength irresistible by combination. In the case of private highwaymen and pirates, a fair division of the booty tends, no doubt, to the harmony of the gang and the safety of its members, but renders them more formidable to the honest and peaceable part of mankind.*

The Second and Third Partitions had all the evils of the first, and some which were peculiar to themselves. The first example of triumphant injustice produced the most lasting mischief; but there are some circumstances of a moral nature belonging to the events of 1793 and 1794, which are still more calculated to excite the general indignation of mankind. The worst consequence of the first partition was not the loss of territory. Still more destructive was the pretended guarantee of the new constitution, by which Catharine bound the Polish nation not to reform, without her consent, those institutions which had exposed them to anarchy, invasion and partition. They were bound by this compact, to make no attempt to attain quiet at home or respectability abroad, even within the limits to which their oppressors had reduced them. This stipulation was as morally binding, as one which should forbid a nation, which had suffered often by famine and pestilence, to provide against the return of those evils, by tilling their fields, building lazarettos, or draining their fens. The breach of this compact, miscalled a treaty, which it was criminal to impose, and would have been equally criminal to perform, was the only wrong complained of by Catharine. She made war upon the people of Poland, mere-

* The sentiments of wise men on the First Partition are admirably stated in the Annual Register of 1772, in the Introduction to the History of Europe, which could scarcely have been written by any man but Mr Burke.

ly because they attempted to better their condition, by means as innocent as ever were employed to obtain an honest end.

For about eleven years the name of Poland was erased from the map of Europe. By the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, the Prussian part of that unfortunate country was restored to as much independence as could then be enjoyed, under the name of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; and this revived state received a considerable enlargement by the treaty of Schoenbrunn in 1809, at the expense of Austria. When Napoleon opened the decisive campaign of 1812, in what he called in his proclamations 'the Second Polish War,' he published a Declaration, addressed to the Poles, in which he announced that Poland would be greater than she had been under Stanislaus, and that the Archduke, who then governed Wurtzburg, was to be their sovereign. On the 12th of July in that year, Wybicki, at the head of a deputation of the Diet, told him, at Wilna, with truth, 'The interest of your empire requires the reestablishment of Poland; the honour of France is interested in it.' He told the deputation in return, 'that he had done all that duty to his subjects allowed to restore their country; that he would second their exertions; and that he authorized them to take up arms, everywhere but in the Austrian provinces, of which he had guaranteed the integrity, and which he should not suffer to be disturbed.'* An answer too cold and guarded to inspire enthusiasm, and in which, it is remarkable, that he promises less than he had acquired the power of performing; for, by the secret articles of his treaty with Austria, concluded in March 1812, provision was made for an exchange of the Illyrian provinces (which he had retained at his own disposal) for such a part of Austrian Poland as would be equivalent to them.† What his real designs respecting Poland were, it is not easy to conjecture. That he was desirous of reestablishing that country, and that he looked forward to such an event as the result of his success, can-

* How coolly does *M. Schoell*, counsellor of legation to his Prussian Majesty, ascribe the same principles to his sovereign. 'Quoique il eut paru vouloir reconnoître la Constitution de 3 Mai, il est évident que le changement d'une republique livrée à l'anarchie en une monarchie bien constitué n'avoit rien qui put plaire à des voisins habitués à profiter des troubles qui agitoient ce pays.'—Schoell Hist. de Trait. xiv. 130.

A frank avowal of the principles of the Prussian government, on whom the writer in the same work lavishes the most fulsome panegyrics.

† Schoell, x. 129.

not be doubted. But he had probably grown too much of a politician and an emperor, to trust, or to love that national feeling and popular enthusiasm to which he had owed the splendid victories of his youth. He was willing to owe every thing to his policy and his army. Had he thrown away the scabbard in this just cause; had he solemnly pledged himself to the restoration of Poland; had he obtained the exchange of Galicia for Dalmatia, instead of secretly providing for it; had he considered Polish independence, not merely as the consequence of victory, but as one of the most powerful means of securing it;—had he, in short, retained some part of his early faith in the attachment of nations, instead of relying exclusively on the mechanism of armies; perhaps the success of that memorable campaign might have been more equally balanced. Seventy thousand Poles then fought under his banners.* Numerous bodies had served under him for sixteen years, and adhered to him even to his final defeat. Forty thousand are supposed to have fallen in the French armies from the destruction of Poland to the battle of Waterloo.† There are few instances of the affection of men for their country more touching than that of these gallant Poles, who, in voluntary exile, amidst every privation, without the hope of fame, when all the world had become their enemies, daily sacrificed themselves in the battles of a foreign nation, in the faint hope of that nation's one day delivering Poland from bondage. Kosciusko had originally encouraged his countrymen to devote themselves for this chance of restoring their country. But when he was offered a command in 1807, this perfect hero refused to quit his humble retreat, unless Napoleon would pledge himself for the restoration of Poland. When Alexander entered France in 1814, as the avowed patron of liberal opinions and institutions, Kosciusko addressed a letter to him,‡ in which he makes three requests,—that the Emperor would grant an universal amnesty, a free constitution, resembling, as nearly as possible, that of England, with means of general education, and, after the expiration of ten years, an emancipation of the peasants. It is but justice to Alexander to add, that when Kosciusko died, in 1817, after a public and private life, worthy of the scholar of Washington, the Emperor, on whom the Congress of Vienna had bestowed the greater part of the duchy of Warsaw, with the title of King of Poland, allowed his Polish subjects to pay due honours to the last of their heroes; and that

* Schoel, x. 139.

† Notice Biographique sur Kosciusko, par M. Julien.

‡ Published in M. Julien's interesting little work.

Prince Jablonowski was sent to attend his remains from Switzerland to Cracow, where they were interred in the only spot of the Polish territory which is now not dishonoured by a foreign master. We know not whether the same monarch has paid a still more acceptable tribute to his memory, by executing his pure intentions, and acceding to his disinterested prayers.

The partition of Poland was the model of all those acts of rapine which have been committed by monarchs or republicans during the wars excited by the French revolution. No single cause has contributed so much to alienate mankind from ancient institutions, and loosen their respect for established Governments. When monarchs show so signal a disregard to immemorial possession and legal right, it is in vain for them to hope that subjects will not copy the precedent. The law of nations is a code without tribunals, without ministers, and without arms, which rests only on a general opinion of its usefulness, and on the influence of that opinion in the councils of States, and most of all, perhaps, on a habitual reverence, produced by the constant appeal to its rules even by those who did not observe them, and strengthened by the elaborate artifice to which the proudest tyrants deigned to submit, in their attempts to elude an authority which they did not dare to dispute. One signal triumph over such an authority was sufficient to destroy its power. Philip II. and Louis XIV. had often violated the law of nations; but the spoilers of Poland overthrew it.

In the first moments of the downfall of Napoleon's system, there appeared some symptoms of the return of the European Governments to wise and just principles. The French charter had many characters of a treaty of peace between new opinions and ancient establishments; a principle which, if once adopted in such a country as France, seemed to promise undisturbed quiet and progressive reformation to Europe. The Emperor Alexander professed to be the leader of the liberal party in every part of the Continent. He offered new territory to the Canton of Berne, on condition that they would reform their constitution.* He agreed not only to give a free constitution to his new acquisitions in Poland, but to *intercede* with his Allies that they might bestow the same blessing on their Polish provinces.† The King of Prussia, on the 23d of May

* Rec. de Pieces Off. du Congres de Vienne, IV. 84.

† It should be observed, that the new kingdom of Poland, erected for Alexander in 1815, is composed solely of the Russian part of the Duchy of Warsaw, and does not comprehend the Polish provinces acquired by Russia in 1772, 1793, 1794, 1807, and 1809. He

1815, published a decree, by which he not only promises a popular representation, and a general constitution to his people, but appoints a commission to propose a plan for 'the Provincial Assemblies, the National Representation, and the frame of a constitution.' ‡ All Europe, in short, appeared then to admit, that the return, or the maintenance of old abuses, was incompatible with the present state of European opinion. The House of Austria, and the counsellors of Ferdinand VII., formed the only considerable exceptions to this apparent unanimity.

It cannot be pretended, however, that the task of the Congress of Vienna was easy, either in the allotment of territory, or in the manner and extent of reestablishing governments. At the same time, it is clear, that if the great powers had been tolerably disinterested, the chief difficulties would have disappeared. The Congress must have been successful, if they had been honest; and there surely never was a moment when the policy of being honest had been taught to all governments by lessons so tremendous. To observe any general principle with inflexible uniformity, might be impossible amidst such jarring interests, and is indeed seldom compatible with the unhappy condition of human affairs. But just principles may be looked to as guides, even when we cannot rigorously adhere to them as rules. The first and most sacred principle which ought to have governed the restoration of Europe, was, that the vacant territory, though in form occupied by right of conquest, was in justice held as a trust for the European nations. Some nations wanted means, some opportunity, to throw off the yoke of France. None wanted inclination. All European communities, as far as in them lay, concurred in the effort to regain independence. In some places, a revolt of the people—in others, a mutiny of the army—in others, a breach of treaty by the government, manifested the general sentiment; but it was everywhere displayed. If one or two governments were withheld by their scruples or by their gratitude, or even by their fears, from taking a part in these generous irregularities so soon as the rest, their delay was atoned for by the zeal of their people, or was to be overlooked for the sake of general example.

reserves to himself a power of giving it such an *interior extension* as he thinks fit;—a singular expression, by which is meant the right of incorporating with it the former Polish acquisitions of Russia, which are more than double the extent and population of this new kingdom.

‡ Ann. Reg. 1815, where, besides the general decree, are to be found two specific declarations to the same effect, addressed to the people of the *Polish* and *Saxon* provinces. (

The principle next in authority, perhaps, was the peculiar necessity of restoring nations to their territory who had been deprived of it with flagrant and shocking injustice, which bade defiance to the law of nations, and shook the security of all states. Neither the fatal celebrity of the events, nor the greatness, antiquity, and renown of the nations who had been spoiled, were indifferent circumstances; for they all contributed to make the triumph of injustice more conspicuous, and therefore to render the necessity of reparation greater. Such were the partitions of Poland. Such was the destruction of Venice, by a conspiracy of Austria with France, in 1797.

It must be numbered among the most remarkable eccentricities of the human mind, that many, in the year 1814, blamed the Allies for not inflicting punishment, who justified them for not making reparation. Surely the last is a duty of justice as clear as the first, more agreeable, and allowing fewer exceptions. It may often be wise to pardon the wrongdoer;—it can hardly ever be just not to satisfy the injured. Punishment is indeed useful as example, but so also is restitution. The transfer of conquests is rather an incentive to new conquest; but restoration to the old owner is the most effectual discouragement to new designs of aggrandizement.

Another great and comprehensive principle in all unions and divisions of territory, is, that the most sacred regard is due to the opinions and feelings of the inhabitants; that their deliberate consent is the best foundation of such transactions; that their decisive repugnance ought to be a fatal objection to them; that it is fit to consult their preference to a form of government, or their attachment to the person or family of a sovereign; that it is proper to consider their having long lived together under the same laws, adopted the same manners, spoken the same language, loved the same country, and dreaded the same enemies; that it is unjust to tear men from each other who are bound together by these moral ties; and that it is tyrannical to subject them to the rule of ancient and hereditary foes. These dictates of equity and humanity are independent of any opinion which may be formed on the principles of civil government; they are always, but especially after great convulsions, as much sanctioned by policy as by morality. Communities held together by such ties are alone secure. No others could be attached to their rulers, or ready to resist enemies. It was only by showing the utmost regard to the feelings of nations, that their loyalty could be revived.

If stern necessity should, in some very few cases, render the observance of these principles impossible, the highest equity required that nations or provinces, which should be in that case

sacrificed to the general peace of Europe, should receive every compensation which it was in the power of conquerors to bestow; and more especially, that those institutions should be secured to them which they themselves desired, which would be conducive to their good government, and which might serve as some consolation for the loss of independence, or the dissolution of ancient connexion. Besides, and perhaps even above, the observance of principles, the real restoration of Europe required that the conductors of so mighty an undertaking should display a spirit of disinterestedness, forbearance, sincerity, and good faith; that great empires should seek no accessions of dominion; that no governments should renew the acts of rapine which they were assembled to correct; and that the assembly of restorers should not dishonour their mission by the base and pettifogging expedient of confiscating, for their own purposes, the territory of one or two princes who had been slower in joining the general revolt than their neighbours. To take away territory for demerit, and to bestow it for merit, was to make all authority dependent on themselves, and to show Europe that it had only changed masters.

Few men have ever enjoyed such an opportunity of rendering great services to mankind, as the Sovereigns and Ministers assembled at Vienna. By an approach to the principles which have just been stated, by an honest attempt to carry them into effect wherever it was possible, they would have united nations by firmer bonds, and secured them by stronger bulwarks; they would have attached the people to their rulers, and taught them to engraft reformation on established institutions; they would have rendered monarchy respectable, by an association with justice and liberty; they would have opened a long prospect of peace, prosperity and improvement to the civilized world. The destroyers of the universal monarchy of France might have been for ever revered, as not only the deliverers, but the reformers of Europe.

But they were led by those who made the partition of Poland; and they were influenced by the fatal maxims which produced that deplorable measure. Of the three offenders, it happened again, as it had before in 1772, that Prussia was far the most excusable. That monarchy required an enlargement of territory; but unexceptionable means of affording it were at hand, if Frederic had been declared King of Poland, with the constitution of 1791, and with as much of the ancient territory as could be yielded by the spoilers. But Alexander, the sovereign of the most extensive empire that the world ever saw, would not be satisfied if he did not join to it Poland; that perpetual memorial of the base and cruel ambition of his predecessors.

sors.* He confiscated Saxony, as a compensation which he was ready to compel Prussia to accept. His Ministers, imitating their predecessors at Warsaw and Grodno, gave Europe a foretaste of the arrogance of Russian domination; and before the Congress of Pacification had been two months † assembled, France, England and Austria, were compelled to form a defensive alliance against the threats and preparations of a new dictator. *These differences were compromised by a partition both of Poland and Saxony.* Austria, the third of the partitioning powers, showed, as before, less eagerness and less haughtiness, but, in substance, followed the example of Russia, by reviving the worst maxims of the Partition. Not content with Lombardy, placed without guardian institutions, under her absolute authority, she claimed and obtained Venice, and thus sanctioned the most faithless and lawless of all the acts which the Congress assembled to annul and repair. France had little influence at Vienna, but what the address of M. de Talleyrand found means to steal amidst the squabbles of others for prey, and which he employed to preserve Saxony, and to destroy Murat. England, no longer a passive spectator, as in the case of Poland, sacrificed the last hopes of Italy, by betraying Genoa, which, trusting to her proclamations, had taken up arms to expel the French, into the hands of her oldest enemy. The same spirit guided all the measures of the Allies before the Congress, and since its conclusion, as well as during its progress. From Norway, ‡ in 1813, to Parga, in 1819, there is not a single exception. Neither the illustrious Houses of Denmark and Saxony,

* At the opening of the first Diet of the new kingdom of Poland, Alexander made one of the most modest declarations ever delivered from a throne. 'I wish to observe toward Poland the Christian maxim of returning good for evil.' This was addressed by the Sovereign of Russia to the unfortunate people of Poland!

† 6th January 1815. Schoell, xi. 56.

‡ Let our readers take their opinion of this transaction from unsuspected authorities. In the debate on the motion of Mr Wynne, in May 1814, Mr Canning said, 'that he would pay any price of money or territory to get rid of the obligation.' Mr Wilberforce said, that 'partitioning of States against their will, was a most despicable sacrifice of public right.'—'There was no sacrifice he would not make, to prevent such an act of flagrant injustice.' This language is the more decisive, because both these Gentlemen voted against Mr Wynne's motion, thinking the country bound to perform the compact which she had unfortunately entered into. In a protest, subscribed by Lord Grenville, the transfer of Norway is called 'a manifest violation of the sacred rights of national independence.'

nor the ancient renown of Venice and Genoa, nor the inoffensive feebleness of the republics of Lucca and Ragusa, could divert them from their course. Instead of any regard to the opinions, feelings, prejudices, rights or possessions of nations, the Congress considered only the number of square miles, or of human beings, which were allotted to each prince. These insulting calculations of an arithmetic equally false and profligate, which had first appeared in the division of the Polish spoils, were now applied to a great portion of Europe. The symmetry of a map, the strength of a frontier, the line of a mountain, the course of a river, were now to regulate the distribution of men and territory, while all those moral bands which hold nations together were torn asunder. Principles of *rounding* a territory, and following natural limits, or, in other words, the substitution of convenience for property, and of might for right, were openly avowed, and uniformly acted on. Instead of securing nations *as they were*, the pretended restorers tried to fabricate a new system of stronger states, of which the security was entirely to depend on soldiers and fortresses, mountains and rivers, without the slightest regard to the feelings and principles of human nature; an attempt as unexampled as unreasonable, as daring and as insolent as any of the acts of the revolutionary leaders, from whose hands they professed to deliver Europe.

This new system, founded entirely on physical and military principles, or, in plain language, on the interest and strength of the Partitioning Powers, contradicted, as might be expected in many instances, the policy which allows some consideration of the moral nature of man. But the opposition between them is perhaps in no respect more remarkable, than in their influence on the lot of the inhabitants of a frontier or of a detached territory. The modern system sacrifices them without mercy to its scheme of lines and squares, and always unites them to those neighbours against whom they usually entertain the strongest prejudices, and with whom they have often been engaged in the most cruel hostility.* The old system, on the contrary, spared the prejudices, consulted even the antipathies of these borderers, and considered it as a great

‡ The application of this remark to Norway, to Genoa, and Saxony, is too obvious to require any comment; nor is it any answer to appeal to the apparent acquiescence in Norway. The morality of the Norwegian people is quiet and submissive, to say nothing of the compensation of political liberty. The example loses nothing of its malignity from the happy issue of a single instance.

principle of national honour, and therefore of the highest policy, to cling to those who are most attached to their country, because they are most frequently opposed to her enemies. Some part of the actual proceedings of the Congress of Vienna furnishes also a very striking illustration. The King of Saxony is one of the oldest and most popular princes in Europe; and, so strong is the attachment of his very enlightened subjects, that it has lately outweighed their disapprobation of a refusal, in his circumstances peculiarly impolitic, to amend the national representation. This consideration, however, seems entirely to have been kept out of view at Vienna. When they were considering the propriety of forcing Saxony to become a province of its old neighbour, rival and enemy, Prussia, the only difficulty which occurred to them was, where to find a sufficient number of souls and square miles to form a new kingdom for the dispossessed king. They offered him the choice of seven hundred thousand souls, either on the left bank of the Rhine or in Westphalia. The King of Prussia was willing to cast off that part of his subjects; the people of Saxony were to be forced to renounce their sovereignty. A plantation of proper extent and fertility, with the requisite number of slaves, was the object sought; and the Prince would indeed be unreasonable, who should complain, after being allowed to choose between two of these productive estates. It was in this manner that the Congress showed their esteem for the attachment of a people to their sovereign, and taught the difference between the old system which adapts territory to nations, and the new policy which cuts out nations so as to fit territory. So insolent an avowal of contempt for mankind, is, perhaps, more intolerable than a considerable degree of practical misgovernment; and if the alternative were inevitable, would determine every generous mind to prefer the wildest chimeras of equality to such a degradation of human nature.* It is now two centuries since the excellent GROTIUS, in spite of all his circumspection and moderation, applied still stronger language to the transfer of nations, in speaking of the cession of the Netherlands by Philip II. to Albert and Isabella.

‘Erant qui pravam morem arguerent, quod libera hominum capita, cuu privatum servitium, in censu et commercio haberentur. BARBARIS certe usurpatum, ut imperia donarent legarentque, quippe ignavis Domino Princeps quid intersit, at quibus aliud fas ac nefas minimè his ambiguum, REM ESSE POPULI, INDEQUE DICI REMPUBLICAM.’†—*Grot. Hist. de Reb. Belgicus*, lib. vii.

* Schoell, xi. 53.

† Though the language is put into the mouth of certain objectors, it is evident, from the whole context, that it conveys the opinion of the historian.

To this exhibition of the general principles of the Congress as a collective body, we shall add only two remarkable specimens of the policy of its two most powerful members. In the year 1806, Sweden was the ally of Russia and Great Britain against France. The French government offered to obtain for her Norway, and the vast provinces lost by Charles XII., on condition of her breaking with Russia. Sweden resisted the temptation, and adhered to the faith of treaties. † In the following year it pleased the Emperor Alexander to change his allies, and to connect himself with Napoleon. He required Sweden to follow his example, and to take measures of hostility against England. Sweden braved his threats, and adhered to the faith of treaties. For this offence, Alexander made war upon her; and having invaded Finland in the beginning of 1808, after employing his ambassador to corrupt Swedish generals, and his commanders to stir up revolt and to excite mutiny, he made himself master of the province—he annexed it to his empire—and compelled Sweden to enter into the Continental system in hostility against Great Britain, and in concert with his allies the Emperor of France and *the King of Denmark and Norway*. Thus was Sweden robbed of a province which had been annexed to the crown for many centuries, and which formed the third part of the monarchy, for the crime of having adhered to the faith of treaties.

In four years after, the Emperor Alexander once more changed his alliances. He entered into an alliance with Sweden, and afterwards with England, against France. Russia and Sweden had just grounds of complaint against the French government; but Denmark had been driven into the arms of France by circumstances, which, to say the least, rendered the connexion more excusable in her than in any other state; and she does not appear to have received any injury from France, which, according to the common morality between nations, could release her from the obligations of the treaty. Alexander had contributed to form the alliance between France and Denmark. But it being *convenient* to him, in the spring of 1812, to make an alliance with Sweden; it being also *convenient* for him to retain Finland, to improve his military frontier; † and it being *conve-*

* Schoell, xiv. 185.

† It is deeply to be lamented, that an English statesman should have given any countenance to this execrable principle, by urging it as an extenuation of the treaty between Russia and Sweden; and it is an additional subject of regret, that he should be Lord Liverpool. (Speeches on Norway in 1812 and 1813.) The advantage which the possession of Finland gave to Sweden in wars against Russia was one of those local accidents which formed an element of the balance

nient for Sweden to receive Norway as an equivalent for Finland, on the principle of *rounding* her territory, these two powers concluded a treaty, by which the Emperor bound himself to unite Norway to Sweden; to endeavour to persuade the King of Denmark to cede Norway on amicable terms, and on promise of indemnity; but, in case of his contumacy, to effect the union by the usual means of fire and sword.* It does not appear, that, previous to this treaty, any proposition was made to Denmark to renounce her alliance with Napoleon. On the contrary, the Emperor of Russia cannot be said to have been so much as formally at war with Denmark when the treaty was concluded, since the Danish minister continued at Petersburg for a year after its conclusion. In 1813, England acceded to this treaty of dismemberment, after the Court of Copenhagen had made overtures of peace, and the King of Denmark was required at the same time to renounce the alliance of Napoleon, and to resign the crown of Norway. Thus did Russia punish Denmark for adhering to the faith of treaties; and thus, by the spoliation of Denmark, did she find means of making compensation to Sweden for a former spoliation equally atrocious.

The only example which remains to be stated is taken from the policy of Austria, who, at the very moment of concluding the negotiations of Vienna, adopted a measure which was equivalent to a renewal of the very worst principles of the partition of Poland. No part of that nefarious transaction has been more severely condemned by the unanimous voice of Europe, than the pretended treaties in which Catharine II. forced the Poles to promise that they would perpetuate their own misrule, and for ever abstain from reforming the abuses of their government. Austria copied this precedent. On the 12th of June 1815, a treaty was signed at Vienna between Austria and Naples, containing the following article, which was for a considerable time kept secret:

'It is understood by the High Contracting Parties, that his Majesty the King of the two Sicilies, in reestablishing the government of his kingdom, will not admit any changes irreconcilable either with ancient monarchical institutions, or WITH THE PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY HIS IMPERIAL AND APOSTOLIC MAJESTY FOR THE INTERIOR GOVERNMENT OF HIS ITALIAN PROVINCES.'

of power, by compensating, in some measure, to weaken states for the inequalities of national strength. It secured to Sweden the alliance of some of the greatest powers in Europe. The question was, whether Petersburg should be secured from insult, or Sweden from conquest.

* Hansard's Debates, xxvi. 677.

Now, the government of Lombardy is what our forefathers would have called foreign despotism, and what even the Congress of Vienna must admit to be an unlimited monarchy. The above article is therefore a contract professing to bind a king to admit no limitations on his own prerogatives, however wise and moderate, however essential, in his own opinion, to the good government of his dominions, however called for by the unanimous voice of his people, nay, however, for that reason, necessary to the security of his throne!

Thus have we stated, on incontrovertible evidence, the nature and effects of those principles of policy by which the independence of the European nations received the first blow in the Partition of Poland;—which were adopted by revolutionists in the great commotions which afterwards distracted Europe—which have been renewed, and are now avowed, by those who gave the first fatal example of their application. On occasion of the revolution at Naples, the Partitioning Monarchs met at Troppau and Laybach in the winter of 1820. By their acts and by their declarations, they now, for the first time, extended the pretexts on which they had entered Poland to all states where any reform of absolute monarchy was attempted, which did not originate in the absolute monarch himself.* The language of that assembly was a continued claim to the sovereignty of Europe. Their power was exerted towards Italy. But their principles were declared by themselves to comprehend all nations. ‘They will always mark rebellion. ‘Wherever it appears, and they can reach it, they will repress, condemn, and combat its work.’† With so little disguise did they claim the sovereignty of Europe, that Count Nesselrode thinks it necessary to disavow any design on the part of his master ‘to invade’ at that time ‘the western territories of ‘Europe;’ a new denomination used in Muscovite geography to denote the obscure provinces of France and Spain. That Great Britain was also comprehended under the tutelar supremacy of the spoilers of Poland, if it had not been otherwise obvious, was perfectly ascertained by the noted Circular of the British Government of the 19th January 1821, which was published as a protest against their principles, as subversive of the law of nations, inconsistent with the independence of states and ‘*in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws of this coun-*

* Count Nesselrode’s Circular, 10th May 1821. ‘The monarchical principle rejects every institution which is not determined on by the monarch himself, in the exercise of his own free will.’ Berlin Court Gazette, 19th December 1820.—(from authority).

† Prussian Circular, 5th June 1821.

'try'—which last alarming expressions, were afterwards allowed by the authors of the Circular, to refer to a proposal for the Introduction of foreign armies into England, to afford the same security to free debate which had been enjoyed under their protection at Warsaw and Grodno. These great Powers, it seems, disdained the paltry consideration that what they proposed would be an infraction of the most important provision in the Bill of Rights; a breach of the most sacred condition on which the King of Great Britain holds his throne.

Those who thus claim in effect the dominion of Europe, and, with it, that of the world, are now assembled at Verona to deliberate on farther measures for the consolidation of their authority. Their direct power is exercised over the whole Continent, except France and Spain. The princes of the south of Germany, however reluctantly, must obey. The government of France is regarded as a friend, the temper of whose still agitated subjects requires an union of constant vigilance, with the utmost management. The Spanish peninsula, on the other hand is considered as a rebel province, which it is not, for the present, convenient to reduce to obedience, partly from the fear of stubborn resistance by its inhabitants, partly from obstacles raised by the political apprehensions of some great powers. It is uncertain whether they will not rivet the chains of Italy, and legalize the military domination of Austria, by imposing on that unhappy country the vain and treacherous forms of a confederacy. It is certain, in spite of solemn declarations to the contrary, that great jealousy and frequent differences prevail among the three allied potentates. Prussia, fluctuating between the fear of Russia and the dread of reformation, is not a hearty and determined member of the alliance. Though Italy could not have been reduced to an Austrian province without the countenance and support of Russia, the Court of Vienna is at least as jealous as she was fifty years ago of the aggrandizement of her too formidable ally. Dreading internal reformation less than Prussia, and more capable of making a stand against immediate attack, she probably takes a more steady view of the unvarying progress of the Muscovite empire. It is difficult to trace any uniform principle in the policy of England, which seemed at first, in fact, though not in form, a member of the Holy Alliance; which since, by laws against aliens and foreign enlistments, declared for all governments against all insurrections; but which, since the invasion of Italy in 1821, has, in public acts, solemnly protested against the fundamental principles of the three allies. It is clear, that both Austria and England have not, for some months, been on cordial terms with Russia. The fear of Russian aggrandizement seems likely to produce good conse-

quences to Spain, and very unhappy effects in Greece. These appearances naturally abate our dread of the confederacy. But we must not forget, that, by the discovery of partition, the means of settling such differences are always at hand. It was to preserve the Turkish empire, to find a compensation to Russia for the share of Turkey which she coveted, to maintain the balance between *the three Powers*, and to ensure against the danger of general war, that Poland was dismembered in 1772. There is one other remarkable coincidence between the events of that period and those which may now impend over us. *At the dismemberment of Poland, peace was preserved by the sacrifice of the Greeks.* Twice, in the course of less than a century, have the Russians made that cruel sacrifice before. When the celebrated Marechal Munich conceived the design of restoring an Eastern empire in 1736, he excited the Greeks to revolt, and they listened to his call. By the treaty of Belgrade, in 1739, they were abandoned to the rage of their cruel tyrants. When the same ambitious project was revived in 1770 by Catharine, the Greeks were excited to insurrection by numerous emissaries, by solemn assurances, and even by the appearance of a Russian fleet on the coast of Peloponnesus. At the treaty of Kaynardji, in 1774, they were once more left to the mercy of the Barbarians. It remains to be seen whether, after being encouraged, by a series of acts on the part of Russia, more decisive than any verbal declarations, by the recal of the Russian ambassador from Constantinople, by the advance of Russian armies to the frontiers, by the knowledge that their interests were the object of warm and angry negotiation, they are once more to be delivered up to tyrants, who have not the power, if they had the will, to protect them from a ferocious populace, and from a soldiery formidable only to their Government and their countrymen. As the struggle of the oppressed has been more determined, the revenge of the tyrants will be more barbarous than on former occasions. The misfortune will now be attended with many aggravations. It will occur at a time when the Greeks have made great advances in commerce, in wealth, in intelligence, in literature, and in a familiarity with the opinions and institutions of other Christian nations; when they are more ripe for independence, and will feel slavery with more poignant pain. Their sufferings will be imbittered by the knowledge, that even the general sympathy of Europe is unable to turn aside the destroyers from them; repressed as it is by the general conviction, that the sinister policy of the predominating Governments would render its display unavailing.

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